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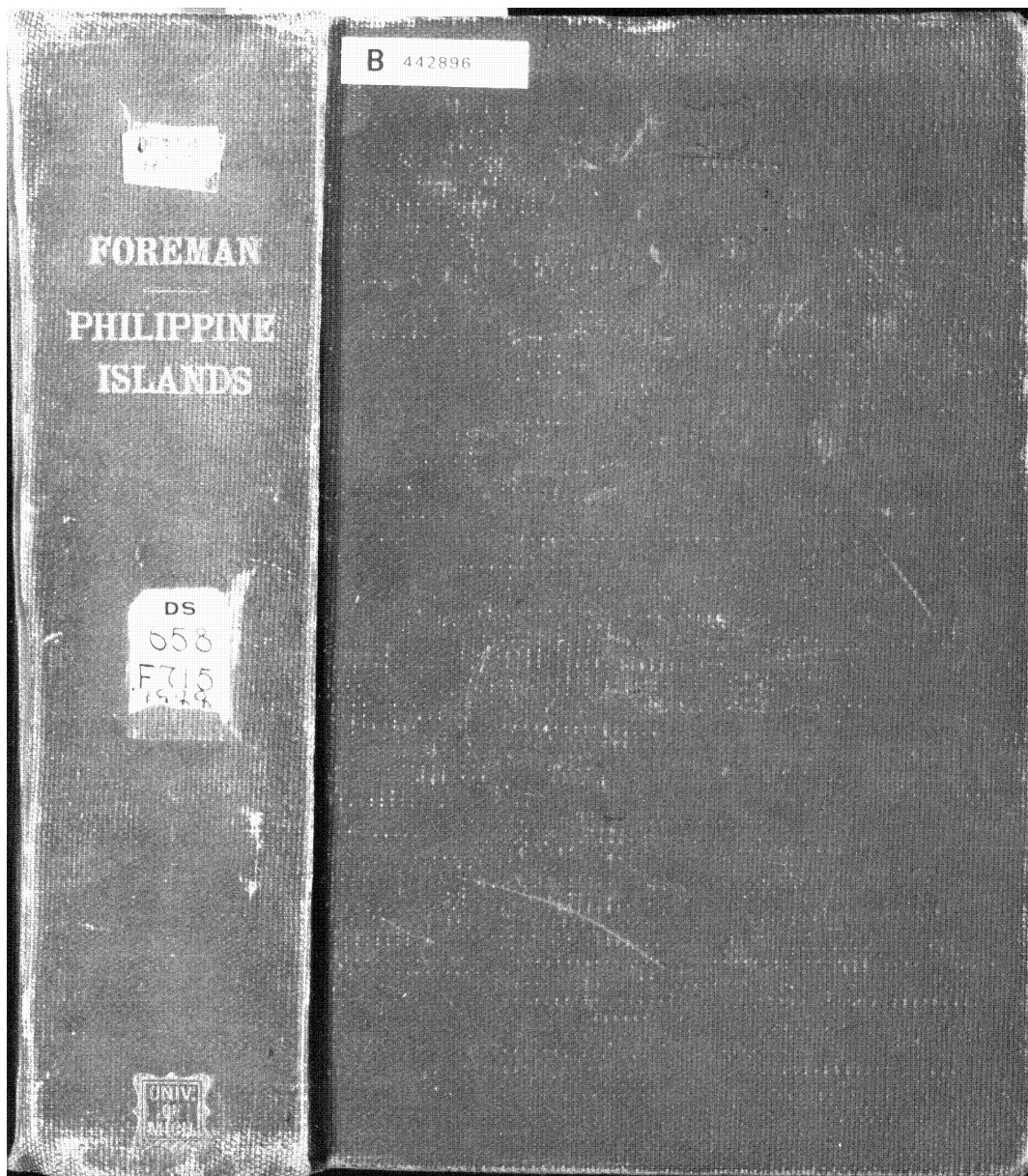
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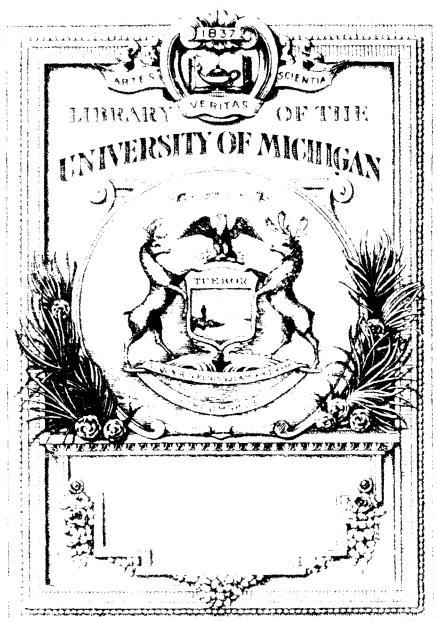
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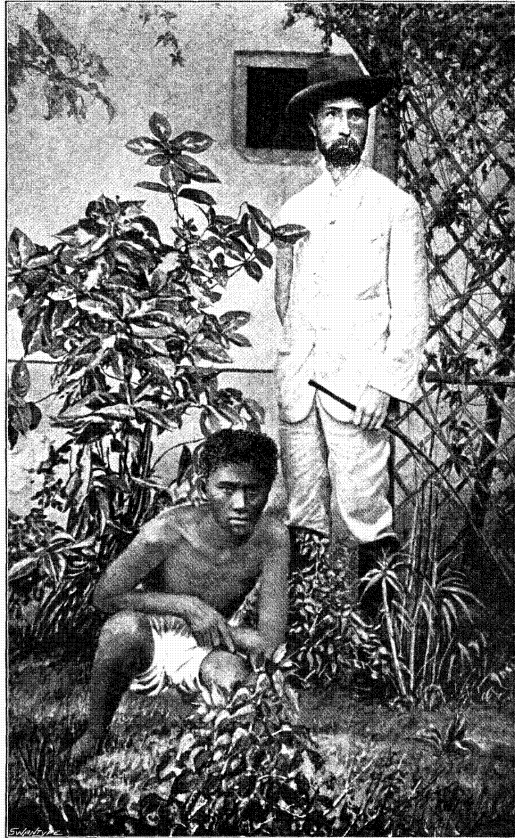
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THE AUTHOR AND HIS TRAVELLING SERVANT.

THE
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial
History of the Philippine Archipelago

AND

ITS POLITICAL DEPENDENCIES,
Embracing the whole Period of Spanish Rule.

BY

JOHN FOREMAN, F.R.G.S.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED,
WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
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1899.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

It would be surprising if the concerns of an interesting Colony like the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS had not commanded the attention of literary genius.

I do not pretend, therefore, to improve upon the able productions of such eminent writers as Juan de le Concepcion, Martinez Zúñiga, Thomas Comin and others, nor do I aspire, through this brief composition, to detract from the merit of Jagor's work, which, in its day, commended itself as a valuable book of reference. But since then, and within the last twenty years, this Colony has made great strides on the path of social and material progress ; its political and commercial importance is rapidly increasing, and many who know the Philippines, have persuaded me to believe that my Notes would be an appreciated addition to what was published years ago on this subject.

The critical opinions herein expressed are based upon personal observations made during the several years I have travelled in and about all the principal Islands of the Archipelago, and are upheld by reference to the most reliable historical records.

An author should be benevolent in his judgment of men and manners and guarded against mistaking isolated cases for rules. In matters of history he should neither hide the truth, nor twist it to support a private view, remembering how easy it is to criticize an act when its sequel is developed : such will be my aim in the fullest measure consistent.

By certain classes I may be thought to have taken a hypercritical view of things ; I may even offend their susceptibilities—if I adulated them, I should fail to chronicle the truth, and my work would be a deliberate imposture.

I would desire it to be understood, with regard to the classes and races in their collectiveness, that my remarks apply only to the large majority ; exceptions undoubtedly there are—these form the small minority. Moreover, I need hardly point out that the native population of the Capital of the Philippines by no means represents the true native character, to comprehend which, so far as its complicacy can be fathomed, one must penetrate into and reside for years in the interior of the Colony, as I have done, in places where extraneous influences have, as yet, produced no effect.

There may appear to be some incongruity in the plan of a work which combines objects so dissimilar as those enumerated in the Contents pages, but this is not a History, nor a Geography, nor an Account of Travels, in the strict sense of the word—it is a concise review of all that may interest the reader who seeks for a general idea of the condition of affairs in this Colony in the past and in the present.

J. F.



PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE success which has attended the publication of the First Edition of this work has induced me to carefully revise it throughout, adding the latest facts of public interest up to the close of Spanish rule in the Philippine Islands.

Long years of personal acquaintance with some of the active movers in the Revolutionary Party enabled me to estimate their aspirations. My associations with Spain and Spaniards since my boyhood helped me, as an eye-witness of the outbreak of the rebellion, to judge of the counterpart to that movement. My connection with the American Peace Commission in Paris afforded me an opportunity of appreciating the noble efforts of a free people to raise the weight of monastic oppression from millions of their fellow creatures.

I would point out that my criticism of the clergy, who exercised governmental functions in these Islands, in no way applies to the Jesuit or the Paul fathers, who have justly gained the respect of both Europeans and natives.

It is confidently hoped that the present Edition (which covers the whole period of Spanish dominion, from the conquest up to the evacuation) may merit that approval from readers of English which has been so graciously accorded to the previous one.

J. F.

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PROLOGUE.

*"Nothing catenate,
"Nor set down aught in malice."—*
OTHELLO, Act V., Sc. 2.

NOTWITHSTANDING the three centuries of more or less complete Spanish dominion, this Archipelago never ranked above the most primitive of Colonial possessions.

That powerful nation which in centuries gone by was built up of Iberians, Celts, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Visigoths, Romans, and Arabs was in its zenith of glory when the conquering spirit and dauntless energy of its people led them to gallant enterprises of discovery which astonished the whole civilised world. But they were satisfied with conquering and leaving unimproved their conquests. Nor did the subsequent example of succeeding colonising nations serve to quench, in spirit, their petrified conservatism. Had they followed up their discoveries by social enlightenment,—by encouragement to commerce and by the development of the new resources under their sway—they would, perhaps even to this day, have preserved the loyalty of those who yearned for and obtained freer institutions. But they had elected to follow the principles of that religious age, although the impellent motive of conquest was divided between rapacity and soul-saving. All we can credit them with is the conversion of millions to Christianity at the expense of cherished liberty; for, ever on the track of that fearless band of warriors followed the satellites of the Roman Pontiff, ready to pass the breach opened for them by the sword, to conclude the conquest by the persuasive influence of the Holy Cross. Successful government by that sublime ethical essence called moral philosophy has fallen away before a more practical *régime*. Liberty to think, to speak, to write, to trade, to travel was only partially and reluctantly yielded under

A

extraneous pressure. The venality of the conqueror's administration—the juridical complicity,¹ want of public works, weak imperial government and arrogant local rule, tended to dismember the once powerful Spanish Empire. The same causes have produced the same effects in all Spain's distant colonies, and to-day the mother country is practically childless.

The civilization of the world is but the outcome of wars, and probably as long as the world lasts the ultimate appeal in all questions will be made to force, notwithstanding Imperial Rescripts. The hope of ever extinguishing warfare is as meagre as the advantage such a state of things would be. The idea of totally suppressing martial instinct in the whole civilized community is as hopeless as the effort to convert all the human race to one religious system. Moreover, the individual benefits derived from war generally exceed the losses it inflicts on others; nor is war an isolated instance of the few suffering for the good of the many. “*Salus populi suprema lex.*” Nearly every step in the world's progress has been reached by warfare. In modern times the peace of Europe is only maintained by the equality of power to coerce by force.

Liberty in England, gained only by an exhibition of force, would have been lost but for bloodshed. The great American Republic owes its existence to this inevitable means, and neither arbitration, moral persuasion, nor sentimental argument would ever have exchanged Philippine monastic oppression for freedom of thought and liberal institutions.

The right of conquest is admissible when it is exercised for the advancement of civilization, and the conqueror takes upon himself the moral obligation to improve the condition of the subjected peoples and render them happier. How far the Spaniards of each generation have fulfilled that obligation may be judged from these pages, the works of Mr. W. H. Prescott, the writings of Padre de las Casas, and other chroniclers of Spanish colonial achievements. The happiest colony is that which yearns for nothing at the hands of the mother country; the most durable bonds are those engendered by gratitude and contentment. Such bonds can never be created by religious teaching alone, unaccompanied by the twofold inseparable conditions

¹ There is a Spanish saying “*Quien hizo la ley hizo la trampa.*”

of moral and material improvement. In British India, equal justice, moral example and constant care for the mutual welfare of the people have riveted our dominion without the dispensable adjunct of an enforced State religion. The reader will judge whether the Spaniards engrafted the true civilization on the races they subdued, for, as mankind has no philosophical criterion of truth, it is a matter of opinion where the unpolluted fountain of the truest modern civilization is to be found. It is claimed by China and by Europe, and the whole universe is schismatic on the subject.

Juan de la Concepcion,¹ who wrote last century, bases the Spaniards' right to conquest solely on the religious theory. He affirms that the Spanish Kings inherited a divine right to these islands, their dominion being directly prophesied in the 18th chapter of Isaiah. Also, that as God gave over the land of Canaan to the Children of Israel, so did He award this territory to the Castilian monarchs. He assures us that this concession from Heaven was confirmed by apostolic authority² and by "the many manifest miracles with which God, the Virgin and the Saints, as auxiliaries of our arms, demonstrated its unquestionable justice." Saint Augustine, he states, considered it a sin to doubt the justice of war which God determines, but, let it be remembered, the same *savant* insisted that the world was flat and that the sun hid every night behind a mountain! We cannot expect ordinary *man* to live in advance of the culture of his generation—but Augustine was a *saint* in embryo.

Could not the Mussulmans use the soul-saving argument with respect to the Sultanate of Sulu? Has not Islam rescued them from complete barbarism and brought them to the fold of the Great Prophet? Have not apostates of the Romish Church, or, at least, their descendants, as successfully established dominion in British India as the Spaniards have in their Indies? An apology for conquest cannot, however, be found in the desire to spread any particular religion, more especially when we treat of Christianity, whose benign radiance was overshadowed

¹ "Historia General de Philipinas," Chap. I., Part I., Vol. I., by Juan de la Concepcion, pub. in 14 Vols., Manila, 1788.

² "No es necesario calificar el derecho á tales reinos ó dominios, especialmente entre vasallos de reyes tan justos y Cathólicos y tan obedientes hijos de la suprema autoridad apostólica con cuius facultad han ocupado estas regiones." —*Ibid.*

by that debasing institution the Inquisition, which sought out the brightest intellects only to destroy them.

It will be seen on future pages that the government of these islands was practically as theocratic as it was civil. Upon the religious principle were founded its statutes, and the reader will now understand the source whence the innumerable Church and State contentions originated. Christianity gave trouble from the first time it became a force in Rome, for under its veil arose the mutiny of the Emperor Diocletian's soldiers. The tendency has always been to combine political power with Christian teaching, and in Rome the first conflicts with religion were the attempts, finally successful, to build up a government within a government; an independent empire over men's minds within the Roman Empire.

Historical facts lead one to enquire: How far was Spain ever a *moral* potential factor in the world's progress? and, if we eliminate the natural effect of her military successes, would it not be more correct to speak of the gradual decline rather than the rise of all Spanish colonization? For the repeated struggles for liberty, generation after generation, in all her colonies, tend to show that Spain's sovereignty was maintained through the inspiration of fear rather than love and sympathy, and that she entirely failed to render her colonial subjects happier than they were before.

That America's conception of the moral duties attaching to conquest will be very different to theirs can hardly be a subject of doubt.



CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

THE Philippine Islands, with the Sulu Protectorate, extend a little over sixteen degrees of latitude—from $4^{\circ} 45'$ to 21° N.—and number some 600 islands, many of which are mere islets. The eleven islands of primary geographical importance are Luzon, Mindanao, Sámar, Panay, Negros, Palaúan (Paragua), Mindoro, Leyte, Cebú, Masbate, and Bojol. The total area is approximately computed to be about 52,500 square miles. Ancient maps show the islands and provinces under a different nomenclature, for example :—

	<i>Old Name.</i>		<i>Old Name.</i>
Negros.	(Buglas.)	Mindoro.	(Mait.)
Cebú.	(Sogbu.)	Cavite.	(Cautit.)
Leyte.	(Baybay.)	Samar.	(Ibabao.)
Albay.	(Ibalon.)	Basilan.	(Taguima.)
Tayabas.	(Calilayan.)	Manila P ^{ce} .	(Tondo.)
Batangas.	(Comintan.)	Bulacan P ^{ce} .	(Meycauayan.)

Luzon and Mindanao would be, in area, larger than all the rest of the islands put together. Luzon is said to have about 40,000 square miles of land area. The northern half of Luzon is a mountainous region formed by ramifications of the great cordilleras, which run N.S. All the islands are mountainous in the interior, the principal peaks being the following, viz. :—

		<i>Feet above sea level.</i>			<i>Feet above sea level.</i>		
Halcon	-	(Mindoro)	8868	Banájao	-	(Luzon)	6097
Apo	-	(Mindanao)	8804	Labo	-	"	5090
Mayon	-	(Luzon)	8283	South Caraballo	"	"	4720
San Cristobal	"	"	7375	Caraballo del Baler	"	"	3933
Isarog	-	"	6443	Maquiling	"	"	3720

Most of these mountains and subordinate ranges are thickly covered with forest and light undergrowth, whilst the stately trees are gaily festooned with clustering creepers and flowering parasites of the most brilliant hues. The Mayon, which is an active volcano, is comparatively bare, whilst also the Apo, although no longer in eruption, exhibits abundant traces of volcanic action in acres of lava and blackened scoriæ. Between the numberless ranges are luxuriant plains glowing in all the splendour of tropical vegetation. The valleys, generally of rich fertility, are about one-third under cultivation.

There are numerous rivers, few of which are navigable by sea-going ships. Vessels drawing up to 13 feet can enter the Pasig River, but this is due to the artificial means employed.

The principal Rivers are :—In *Luzon Island* the Rio Grande de Cagayan, which rises in the South Caraballo mountain in the centre of the island, and runs in a tortuous stream to the northern coast. It has two chief affluents, the Rio Chico de Cagayan and the Rio Magat, besides a number of streams which find their way to its main course. Steamers of 11 feet draught have entered the Rio Grande, but the sand shoals at the mouth are very shifty and frequently the entrance is closed to navigation. The river, which yearly overflows its banks, bathes the great Cagayan Valley,—the richest tobacco growing district in the colony. Immense trunks of trees are carried down in the torrent with great rapidity, rendering it impossible for even small craft—the *barangayanes*—to make their way up or down the river at that period.

The Rio Grande de la Pampanga rises in the same mountain and flows in the opposite direction—southwards,—through an extensive plain until it empties itself by some 20 mouths into the Manila Bay. The whole of the Pampanga Valley and the course of the river present a beautiful panorama from the summit of Arayat mountain, which has an elevation of 2,877 feet above the sea level.

The whole of this flat country is laid out into embanked rice fields and sugar-cane plantations. The towns and villages interspersed are numerous. All the primeval forest, at one time dense, has disappeared; for this being one of the first districts brought under European subjection, it supplied timber to the invaders from the earliest days of Spanish colonisation.

The Rio Agno rises in a mountainous range towards the west coast about 50 miles N.N.W. of the South Caraballo—runs southwards as

far as lat. 16° , where it takes a S.W. direction down to lat. $15^{\circ} 48'$ —thence a N.W. course up to lat. 16° , whence it empties itself by two mouths into the Gulf of Lingayen. At the highest tides there is a maximum depth of 11 feet of water on the sand bank at the E. mouth, on which is situated the port of Dagúpan.

The Bicol River, which flows from the Bató Lake to the Bay of San Miguel, has sufficient depth of water to admit vessels of small draught a few miles up from its mouth.

In *Mindanao Island* the Butuan River or Rio Agusan rises at a distance of about 25 miles from the southern coast and empties itself on the northern coast, so that it nearly divides the island, and is navigable for a few miles from the mouth.

The Rio Grande de Mindanao rises in the centre of the island and empties itself on the west coast by two mouths, and is navigable for some miles by light draught steamers. It has a great number of affluents of little importance.

The only river in *Negros Island* of any appreciable extent is the Danao, which rises in the mountain range running down the centre of the island and finds its outlet on the east coast. At the mouth it is about a quarter of a mile wide, but too shallow to permit large vessels to enter, although past the mouth it has sufficient depth for any ship. I have been up this river six hours' journey in a boat, and saw some fine timber near its banks in many places. Here and there it opens out very wide, the sides becoming mangrove swamps.

The most important Lakes are :—In *Luzon Island* the Bay Lake or Laguna de Bay, supplied by numberless small streams coming from the mountainous district around it. Its greatest length from E. to W. is 25 miles, and its greatest breadth N. to S. 21 miles. In it there is a mountainous island—Talim,—of no agricultural importance, and several islets. Its overflow forms the Pasig River, which empties itself into the Manila Bay. Each wet season—in the middle of the year—the shores of this lake are flooded. These floods recede as the dry season approaches, but only partially so from the south coast, which is gradually being incorporated into the lake bed.

Lake Bombon, in the centre of which is a volcano in constant activity, has a width E. to W. of 11 miles, and its length from N. to S. is 14 miles. The origin of this lake is apparently volcanic. It is not supplied by any streams emptying themselves into it (further than two

insignificant rivulets), and it is connected with the sea by the Pansipit River, which flows into the Gulf of Balayan at lat. $13^{\circ} 52' N$.

Cagayan Lake, in the extreme N.E. of the island, is about 7 miles long by 5 miles broad.

Lake Bató, 3 miles across each way, and Lake Buhi, 3 miles N.S. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, situated in the eastern extremity of Luzon Island, are very shallow.

In the centre of Luzon Island, in the large valley watered by the above-mentioned Pampanga and Agno Rivers, are three lakes respectively : Canarem, Mangabol and Candava ; the last two being lowland meres flooded and navigable by canoes in the rainy season only.

In *Mindoro Island* there is one lake called Naujan, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the N.E. coast. Its greatest width is 3 miles with 4 miles in length.

In *Mindanao Island* there are the Lakes Maguindanao or Boayan, in the centre of the island (20 miles E.W. by 12 N.S.) ; Malanao, 18 miles distant from the north coast ; Liguasan and Buluan towards the south, connected with the Rio Grande de Mindanao, and a group of four small lakes on the Agusuan River.

The Malanao Lake has great historical associations with the struggles between Christians and Moslems during the period of the Spanish conquest.

In some of the straits dividing the islands there are strong currents, rendering navigation of sailing vessels very difficult, notably in the San Bernadino Straits, separating the Islands of Luzon and Sámar ; the roadstead of Yloilo between Panay and Guimarrás Islands, and the passage between the south points of Cebú and Negros Islands.

Most of the islets, if not indeed the whole Archipelago, are of volcanic origin. There are many volcanoes, two of them in almost constant activity, viz., the Mayon, in the extreme east of Luzon Island, and the Taal Volcano, in the centre of Bombon Lake, 34 miles due south of Manila. Also in Negros Island the Canlaúan Volcano—N. lat. $10^{\circ} 24'$ —is occasionally in visible eruption. In 1886 a portion of its crater subsided, accompanied by a tremendous noise and a slight ejection of lava. In the picturesque Island of Camiguin, a volcano mountain suddenly arose from the plain in 1872.

The *Mayon Volcano* is in the Province of Albay, hence it is popularly known as the Albay Volcano. Around its base there are

several towns and villages, the chief being Albay, the capital of the province; Cagsaua (called Darága) and Camáling on the one side, and Malinao, Tobacco, etc. on the side facing the east coast. In 1769 there was a serious eruption, which destroyed the towns of Cagsaua and Malinao, besides several villages; and devastated property within a radius of 20 miles. Lava and ashes were thrown out incessantly during two months, and cataracts of water were formed. In 1811 loud subterranean noises were heard proceeding from the volcano, which caused the inhabitants around to fear an early renewal of its activity, but their misfortune was postponed. On the 1st of February, 1814,¹ it burst with terrible violence. Cagsaua, Badiac, and three other towns were totally demolished. Stones and ashes were ejected in all directions. The inhabitants fled to caves to shelter themselves. So sudden was the occurrence, that many natives were overtaken by the volcanic projectiles and a few by lava streams. In Cagsaua nearly all property was lost. Father Aragonese estimates that 2,200 persons were killed, besides many being wounded.

An eruption took place in the Spring of 1887, but only a small quantity of ashes was thrown out and did very little or no damage to the property in the surrounding towns and villages.

The eruption of the 9th of July, 1888, severely damaged the towns of Libog and Legaspi; plantations were destroyed in the villages of Bigaú and Bonco; several houses were fired, others had the roofs crushed in; a great many domestic animals were killed; fifteen natives lost their lives, and the loss of live stock (buffaloes and oxen) was estimated at 500. The ejection of lava and ashes and stones from the crater continued for one night, which was illuminated by a column of fire.

The last eruption occurred in May, 1897. Showers of red-hot lava fell like rain in a radius of 20 miles from the crater. In the immediate environs about 400 persons were killed. In the village of Bacacay houses were entirely buried beneath the lava ashes and sand. The road to the port of Legaspi was covered out of sight. In the important town of Tobacco there was total darkness and the earth opened. Hemp plantations and a large number of cattle were destroyed. In Libog

¹ *Vide* pamphlet pub. immediately after the event by Father Francisco Aragonese, P.P. of Cagsaua, begging alms for the victims.

over 100 inhabitants perished in the ruins. The hamlets of San Roque, Misericordia, and Santo Niño, with over 150 inhabitants, were completely covered with burning *débris*. At night-time the sight of the fire column, heaving up thousands of tons of stones, accompanied by noises like the booming of cannon afar off, was indescribably grand, but it was the greatest public calamity which had befallen the province for some years past.

The mountain is remarkable for the perfection of its conic form. Owing to the perpendicular walls of lava formed on the slopes all around, it is not possible to reach the crater. The elevation of the peak has been computed at between 8,200 and 8,400 feet. I have been around the base on the E. and S. sides, but the grandest view is to be obtained from Cagsaua (Darága). On a clear night when the moon is hidden, a stream of fire is distinctly seen to flow from the crest.

Taal Volcano is in the island of the Bombon Lake referred to above. The journey by the ordinary route from the capital would be about 60 miles. This volcano has been in an active state from time immemorial, and many eruptions have taken place with more or less effect. The first one of historical importance appears to have occurred in 1641; again, in 1709 the crater vomited fire with a deafening noise; on the 21st of September, 1716, it threw out burning stones and lava over the whole island from which it rises, but so far, no harm had befallen the villagers in its vicinity. In 1731, from the waters of the lake, three tall columns of earth and sand arose in a few days, eventually subsiding into the form of an island about a mile in circumference. In 1749, there was a famous outburst which dilacerated the coniform peak of the volcano, leaving the crater disclosed as it now is.

The last and most desolating of all the eruptions of importance occurred in the year 1754, when the stones, lava, ashes, and waves of the lake, caused by volcanic action, contributed to the utter destruction of the towns of Taal, Tanaúan, Sala and Lipa, and seriously damaged property in Balayan, 15 miles away, whilst cinders are said to have reached Manila, 34 miles distant in a straight line. One writer says in his *MS.*,¹ compiled 36 years after the occurrence, that people in Manila

¹ "Hist. de la Prov. de Batangas," por D. Pedro Andrés de Castro y Amadés. Inedited *MS.* in the Bañan Convent, Batangas.

dined with lighted candles at mid-day and walked about the streets confounded and thunderstruck, clamouring for confession during the eight days that the calamity was visible. The author adds that the smell of the sulphur and fire lasted six months after the event, and was followed by malignant fever, to which half the inhabitants of the province fell victims. Moreover, adds the writer, the lake waters threw up dead alligators and fish, including sharks.

The best detailed account extant is that of the parish priest of Sala at the time of the event.¹ He says that about 11 o'clock at night on the 11th of August, 1749, he saw a strong light on the top of the Volcano Island, but did not take further notice. He went to sleep, when at 3 o'clock the next morning he heard a gradually increasing noise like artillery firing, which he supposed would proceed from the guns of the galleon expected in Manila from Mexico, saluting the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Cagsaysay whilst passing. He only became anxious when the number of shots he heard far exceeded the royal salute, for he had already counted a hundred times and still it continued. So he arose, and it occurred to him that there might be a naval engagement off the coast. He was soon undeceived, for four old natives suddenly called out "Father, let us flee !" and on his enquiry they informed him that the island had burst, hence the noise. Daylight came and exposed to view an immense column of smoke gushing from the summit of the volcano, and here and there from its sides smaller streams rose like plumes. He was joyed at the spectacle, which interested him so profoundly that he did not heed the exhortations of the natives to escape from the grand but awful scene. It was a magnificent sight to watch mountains of sand hurled from the lake into the air in the form of erect pyramids and then falling again like the stream from a fountain jet. Whilst contemplating this imposing phenomenon with tranquil delight, a strong earthquake came and upset everything in the convent. Then he reflected that it might be time to go ; pillars of sand ascended out of the water nearer to the shore of the town and remained erect until, by a second earthquake, they, with the trees on the islet, were violently thrown down and submerged in the lake. The earth opened out here

¹ *MS.* exhaustive report of the eruptions of Taal Volcano in 1749 and 1754, dated 22nd December 1754, compiled by Fray Francisco Vencuchillo. Preserved in the archives of the Corporation of St. Augustine in Manila.

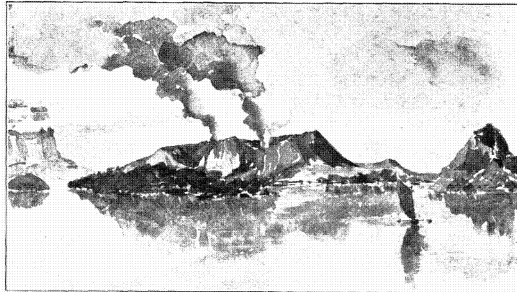
and there as far as the shores of the Laguna de Bay, and the lands of Sala and Tanaúan shifted. Streams found new beds and took other courses, whilst in several places trees were engulfed in the fissures made in the soil. Houses, which one used to go up into, one now had to go down into, but the natives continued to inhabit them without the least concern.

The volcano, on this occasion, was in activity for three weeks; the first three days ashes fell like rain. After this incident, the natives extracted sulphur from the open crater, and continued to do so until the year 1754.

In that year (1754), the same chronieler continues, between nine and ten o'clock at night on the 15th of May, the volcano ejected boiling lava, which ran down its sides in such quantities that only the waters of the lake saved the people on shore from being burnt. Towards the north, stones reached the shore and fell in a place called Bayoyongan, in the jurisdiction of Taal. Stones and fire incessantly came from the crater until the 2nd of June, when a volume of smoke arose which seemed to meet the skies. It was clearly seen from Bauan, which is on a low level about four leagues (14 miles) from the lake.

Matters continued so until the 10th of July, when there fell a heavy shower of mud as black as ink. The wind changed its direction, and a suburb of Sala, called Balili, was swamped with mud. This phenomenon was accompanied by a noise so great, that the people of Batangas and Bauan, who that day had seen the galleon from Acapulco passing on her home voyage, conjectured that she had saluted the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Cagsaysay. The noise ceased, but fire still continued to issue from the crater until the 25th of September. Stones fell all that night; and the people of Taal had to abandon their homes, for the roofs were falling in with the weight upon them. The chronieler was at Taal at this date, and in the midst of the column of smoke a tempest of thunder and lightning raged and continued without intermission until the 4th of December.

The night of All Saints' day was a memorable one (Nov. 1st), for the quantity of falling fire-stones, sand and ashes increased, gradually diminishing again towards the 15th of November. Then, on that night, after vespers, great noises were heard. A long melancholy sound dinned in one's ears; volumes of black smoke rose; an infinite number



TAAL VOLCANO.



MAYON VOLCANO.



of stones fell, and great waves proceeded from the lake, beating the shores with appalling fury. This was followed by another great shower of stones, brought up amidst the black smoke, and lasted until ten o'clock at night. For a short while the devastation was suspended prior to the last supreme effort. All looked half dead and much exhausted after seven months of suffering in the way described.¹ It was resolved to take away the Sanctuary of Cagsaysay and put in its place the second image of Our Lady.

On the 29th of November, from seven o'clock in the evening, the volcano threw up more fire than all put together in the preceding seven months. The burning column seemed to mingle with the clouds; the whole of the island was one ignited mass. A wind blew. And as the priests and the mayor (Alcalde) were just remarking that the fire might reach the town, a mass of stones was thrown up with great violence; thunderclaps and subterranean noises were heard; everybody looked aghast, and nearly all knelt to pray. Then the waters of the lake began to encroach upon the houses, and the inhabitants took to flight, the natives carrying away whatever chattels they could. Cries and lamentations were heard all around; mothers were looking for their children in dismay; half-caste women of the Parian were calling for confession; some of them beseechingly falling on their knees in the middle of the streets. The panic was intense, and was in no way lessened by the Chinese, who set to yelling in their own jargonic syllables.

After the terrible night of the 29th of November they thought all was over, when again several columns of smoke appeared, and the priest went off to the Sanctuary of Cagsaysay, where the prior was. Taal was entirely abandoned, the natives having gone in all directions away from the lake. On the 29th and 30th of November there was complete darkness around the lake vicinity, and when light reappeared a layer of cinders about five inches thick was seen over the lands and houses, and it was still increasing. Total darkness returned, so that one could not distinguish another's face, and all were more horror-stricken than ever. In Cagsaysay the natives climbed on to the housetops and threw down the cinders, which were over-weighting

¹ Still it appears that all classes were willing to risk their lives to save their property. They were not forcibly detained in that plight.

the structures. On the 30th of November, smoke and strange sounds came with greater fury than anything yet experienced, while lightning flashed in the dense obscurity. It seemed as if the end of the world was arriving. When light returned, the destruction was horribly visible; the church roof was dangerously covered with ashes and earth, and the writer opines that its not having fallen in might be attributed to a miracle! Then there was a day of comparative quietude, followed by a hurricane which lasted two days. All were in a state of melancholy, which was increased when they received the news that the whole of Taal had collapsed; amongst the ruins being the Government House and Stores, the Prison, State warehouses and the Royal Rope Walk, besides the Church and Convent.

The Governor-General sent food and clothing in a vessel, which was nearly wrecked by storms, whilst the crew pumped and baled out continually to keep her afloat, until at length she broke up on the shoals at the mouth of the Pansipit River.

Another craft had her mast split by a flash of lightning, but reached port.

With all this, some daft natives lingered about the site of the village of Taal till the last, and two men were sepulchred in the Government House ruins. A woman left her house just before the roof fell in and was carried away by a flood, from which she escaped, and was then struck dead by a flash of lightning. A man who had escaped from Mussulman pirates, by whom he had been held in captivity for years, was killed during the eruption. He had settled in Taal, and was held to be a perfect genius, for he could mend a clock!

The road from Taal to Balayan was impassable for a while on account of the quantity of lava. Taal, once so important, was now gone, and Batangas, on the coast, became the future capital of the province.

The actual duration of this last eruption was 6 months and 17 days.

In 1780 the natives again extracted sulphur, but in 1790 a writer at that date¹ says that he was unable to reach the crater owing to the depth of soft lava and ashes on the slopes.

¹ "Hist. de la Prov. de Batangas," por Don Pedro Andrés de Castro y Amadés. Inedited *MS.* in the Bauan Convent, Province of Batangas.

There is a tradition current amongst the natives that an Englishman some years ago attempted to cut a tunnel from the base to the centre of the volcanic mountain, probably to extract some metallic product or sulphur. It is said that during the work the excavation partially fell in upon the Englishman, who perished there. The cave-like entrance is pointed out to travellers as the *Cueva del Inglés*.

Referring to the volcano, Fray Gaspar de San Agustin in his history¹ remarks as follows :—"The volcano formerly emitted many
 " large fire-stones which destroyed the cotton, sweet potato and other
 " plantations belonging to the natives of Taal on the slopes of the
 " (volcano) mountain. Also it happened that if three persons arrived
 " on the volcanic island, one of them had infallibly to die there
 " without being able to ascertain the cause of this circumstance.
 " This was related to Father Alburquerque² who after a fervent
 " deesis entreating compassion on the natives, went to the island,
 " exorcised the evil spirits there and blessed the land. A religious
 " procession was made, and Mass was celebrated with great humility.
 " On the elevation of the Host, horrible sounds were heard
 " accompanied by groaning voices and sad lamentations ; two craters
 " opened out, one with sulphur in it and the other with green water
 " (*sic*), which is constantly boiling. The crater on the Lipa side is
 " about a quarter of a league wide ; the other is smaller, and in time
 " smoke began to ascend from this opening so that the natives,
 " fearful of some new calamity, went to Father Bartholomew, who
 " repeated the ceremonies already described. Mass was said a second
 " time, so that since then the volcano has not thrown out any more
 " fire or smoke."³ However, whilst Fray Thomas Abresi was parish
 " priest of Taal (about 1611), thunder and plaintive cries were again
 " heard, therefore the priest had a cross made of Anobing wood, borne
 " to the top of the volcano by more than 400 natives ; the result
 " being, that not only the volcano ceased to do harm, but the island
 " has regained its original fertile condition."

¹ "Hist. de Filipinas," by Dr. Gaspar de San Agustin, 2 vols. First part pub. in Madrid, 1698, the second part yet inedited and preserved in the archives of the Corporation of St. Augustine in Manila.

² P.P. of Taal from 1572 to 1575.

³ In the same archives of the St. Augustine Corporation in Manila an eruption in 1641 is recorded.

The Taal Volcano is reached with facility from the N. side of the island, the ascent on foot occupying about half an hour. Looking into the crater, which would be about 4,500 feet wide from one border to the other of the shell, one sees three distinct lakes of boiling liquid, the colours of which change from time to time. I have been up to the crater four times; the last time the liquids in the lakes were respectively of green, yellow and chocolate colours. At the time of my last visit there was also a lava chimney in the middle, from which arose a snow-white volume of smoke.

The Philippine Islands are studded with creeks and bays forming natural harbours, but navigation on the W. coasts of Cebú, Negros and Palauán Islands, is dangerous for any but very light draught vessels, the water being very shallow, whilst there are dangerous reefs all along the W. coast of Palauán and between the south point of this island and Balábac Island.

The S.W. monsoon brings rain to most of the islands, and the wet season lasts nominally six months,—from about the middle of April. The other half of the year is the dry season. However, on those coasts directly facing the Pacific Ocean, the seasons are the reverse of this.

The hottest season is from March to May inclusive, except on the coasts washed by the Pacific, where the greatest heat is felt in June, July and August. The temperature throughout the year varies but slightly, the average heat in Luzon Island being about $81^{\circ} 5'$ Fahr. The average number of rainy days during the years 1881 to 1883 was 203.

The climate is a continual summer, which maintains a rich verdure throughout the year; and during nine months of the twelve an alternate heat and moisture stimulates the soil to the spontaneous production of every form of vegetable life.

The whole of the Archipelago, as far south as 10° lat., is affected by the monsoons, and periodically disturbed by terrible hurricanes, which cause great devastation to the crops and other property.

Earthquakes are also very frequent, the last of great importance having occurred in 1863 and 1880. In 1897 a tremendous tidal wave affected the Island of Leyte, causing great destruction of life and property.

In the wet season the rivers swell considerably, and often overflow their banks; whilst the mountain torrents carry away bridges,

cattle, etc. with terrific force, rendering travelling in some parts of the interior dangerous and difficult. In the dry season, long droughts occasionally occur (about once in three years), to the great detriment of the crops and live stock.

The southern boundary of the Archipelago is formed by a chain of some 140 islands, stretching from the large island of Mindanao as far as Borneo, and constitutes the Sulu Archipelago and Sultanate, which was under the protection of Spain (*vide* Chap. X.).



CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

THE discoveries of Christopher Columbus in 1492—the adventures and conquests of Hernan Cortés, Blasco Nuñez de Balboa and others in the South Atlantic, had awakened an ardent desire amongst those of enterprising spirit to seek beyond these regions which had hitherto not been traversed. It is true the Pacific Ocean had been seen by Balboa, who crossed the Isthmus of Panamá, but how to get there with his ships was as yet a mystery.

On the 10th of April, 1495, the Spanish Government published a general concession to all who wished to search for unknown lands. This was a direct attack upon the privileges of Columbus at the instigation of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, who had the control of the Indian affairs of the realm. Rich merchants of Cádiz and Seville, whose imagination was inflamed by the reports of the abundance of pearls and gold on the American coast, fitted out ships to be manned by the roughest class of gold-hunters : so great were the abuses of this common licence that it was withdrawn by Royal Decree on the 2nd of June, 1497.

It was the age of chivalry, and the restless cavalier who had won his spurs in Europe lent a listening ear to the accounts of romantic glory and wealth attained across the seas.

That an immense ocean washed the western shores of the great American continent was an established fact. That there was a passage connecting the great Southern sea—the Atlantic—with that vast ocean was an accepted hypothesis. Many had sought the passage in vain ; the honour of its discovery was reserved for Hernando de Maghallanes.

This celebrated man was a Portuguese noble who had received the most complete education in the palace of King John II. Having studied mathematics and navigation, at an early age he joined the

Portuguese fleet which left for India in 1505 under the command of Almeida. He was present at the siege of Malacca under the famous Alburquerque, and accompanied another expedition to the rich Moluccas, or Spice Islands, when the Islands of Banda, Tidor and Ternate were discovered. It was here he obtained the information which led him to contemplate the voyages which he subsequently realized.

On his return to Portugal he searched the Crown Archives to see if the Moluccas were situated within the demarcation accorded to Spain.¹ In the meantime he repaired to the wars in Africa, where he was wounded in the knee, with the result that he became permanently lame. He consequently retired to Portugal, and his companions in arms, jealous of his prowess, took advantage of his affliction to assail him with vile imputations. The King Emmanuel encouraged the complaints, and accused him of feigning a malady of which he was completely cured. Wounded to the quick by such an assertion and convinced of having lost the royal favour, Maghallanes renounced for ever, by a formal and public instrument, his duties and rights as a Portuguese subject, and henceforth became a naturalized Spaniard. He then presented himself at the Spanish Court, at that time in Valladolid, where he was well received by the King Charles I., Bishop of Búrgos, Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, Minister of Indian Affairs, and by the King's chancellor. They listened attentively to his narration, and he had the good fortune to secure the personal protection of His Majesty, himself a well-tried warrior.

The Portuguese Ambassador, Alvaro de Acosta, incensed at the success of his late countryman, and fearing that the project under discussion would lead to the conquest of the Spice Islands by the rival kingdom, made every effort to influence the Court against him. At the same time he ineffectually urged Maghallanes to return to Lisbon,

¹ During the previous century jealousy had run so high between Spain and Portugal with regard to their respective colonization and trading rights, that the question of demarcation had to be settled by the Pope Alexander VI., who issued a bull dated 4th of May, 1493 (or 1494), dividing the world into two hemispheres and decreeing that all heathen lands discovered in the Western half, from the meridian of Cape Verde Island, should belong to the Spaniards; in the Eastern half to the Portuguese. The bull was adopted by both nations in the Treaty of Tordesillas. It gave rise to many passionate debates, as the Spaniards wrongly insisted that the Philippines and the Moluccas came within the division allotted to them by Pontifical donation.

alleging that his resolution to abandon Portuguese citizenship required the sovereign sanction. Others even meditated his assassination to save the interests of the King of Portugal. This powerful opposition only served to delay the expedition, for finally the King of Portugal was satisfied that his Spanish rival had no intention to authorize a violation of the Convention of Demarcation.

Between King Charles and Maghallanes a contract was signed in Saragossa by virtue of which the latter pledged himself to seek the discovery of rich spice islands within the limits of the Spanish Empire. If he should not have succeeded in the venture after ten years from the date of sailing he would thenceforth be permitted to navigate and trade without further royal assent, reserving one twentieth of his net gains for the Crown. The King accorded to him the title of Cavalier and invested him with the habit of St. James and the hereditary government in male succession of all the islands he might annex. The Crown of Castile reserved to itself the supreme authority over such government. If Maghallanes discovered so many as six islands, he was to embark merchandise in the King's own ships to the value of one thousand ducats as royal dues. If the islands numbered only two, he would pay to the Crown one fifteenth of the net profits. The King, however, was to receive one fifth part of the total cargo sent in the *first* return expedition. The King would defray the expense of fitting out and arming five ships of from 60 to 130 tons with a total crew of 234 men; he would also appoint captains and officials of the Royal Treasury to represent the State interests in the division of the spoil.

Orders to fulfil the contract were issued to the crown officers in the port of Seville, and the expedition was slowly prepared, consisting of the following vessels, viz.:—The commodore ship “La Trinidad,” under the immediate command of Maghallanes; the “San Antonio,” Captain Juan de Cartagena; the “Victoria,” Captain Luis de Mendoza; the “Santiago,” Captain Juan Rodriguez Serrano, and the “Concepcion,” Captain Gaspar de Quesada.

The little fleet had not yet sailed when dissensions arose.

Maghallanes wished to carry his own ensign, whilst Doctor Sancho Matienza insisted that it should be the Royal Standard.

Another, named Talero, disputed the question of who should be the standard-bearer. The King himself had to settle these quarrels by his own arbitrary authority. Talero was disembarked and the Royal

Standard was formally presented to Maghallanes by injunction of the King in the Church of Santa Maria de la Victoria de la Triana, in Seville, where he and his companions swore to observe the usages and customs of Castile, and to remain faithful and loyal to His Catholic Majesty.

On the 10th of August, 1519, the expedition left the port of San Lúcar de Barrameda in the direction of the Canary Islands.

On the 13th of December they arrived safely at Rio Janeiro.

Following the coast in search of the longed-for passage to the Pacific Ocean, they entered the Solis River—so called because its discoverer, João de Solis, a Portuguese, was murdered there. Its name was afterwards changed to that of Río de la Plata (the Silver River).

Continuing their course, the intense cold determined Maghallanes to winter in the next large river, known then as San Julian.

Tumults arose; some wished to return home; others harboured a desire to separate from the fleet, but Maghallanes had sufficient tact to persuade the crews to remain with him, reminding them of the shame which would befall them if they returned only to relate their failure. He added that, so far as he was concerned, nothing but death would deter him from executing the royal commission.

As to the rebellious captains, Juan de Cartagena was already put in irons and sentenced to be cast ashore with provisions and a disaffected French priest for a companion. The sentence was carried out later on. Then Maghallanes sent a boat to each of three of the ships to enquire of the captains whom they served. The reply from all was that they were for the King and themselves. Thereupon 30 men were sent to the "Victoria" with a letter to Mendoza, and whilst he was reading it, they rushed on board and stabbed him to death. Quesada then brought his ship alongside of the "Trinidad" and, with sword and shield in hand, called in vain upon his men to attack. Maghallanes, with great promptitude, gave orders to board Quesada's vessel. The next day Quesada was executed. After these vigorous, but justifiable, measures obedience was ensured.

Still bearing southwards within sight of the coast, on the 28th of October, 1520, the expedition reached and entered the seaway thenceforth known as the Magellan Straits, dividing the Island of Tierra del Fuego from the mainland of Patagonia.¹

¹ Probably so called from the enormous number of *patos* (ducks) found there.

On the way one ship had become a total wreck, and now the "San Antonio" deserted the expedition; her captain having been wounded and made prisoner by his mutinous officers, she was sailed in the direction of New Guinea. The three remaining vessels waited for the "San Antonio" several days, and then passed through the Straits. Great was the rejoicing of all when, on the 26th of November, 1520, they found themselves on the Pacific Ocean! It was a memorable day. All doubt was now at an end as they cheerfully navigated across that broad expanse of sea.

On the 16th of March, 1521, the Ladrone Islands were reached. There the ships were so crowded with natives that they were obliged to be expelled by force. They stole one of the ship's boats, and 90 men were sent on shore to recover it. After a bloody combat the boat was regained, and the fleet continued its course westward. Coasting along the North of the Island of Mindanao, they arrived at the mouth of the Butuan River, where they were supplied with provisions by the chief. It was Easter week, and on this shore the first Mass was celebrated in the Philippines. The natives showed great friendliness, in return for which Maghallanes took formal possession of their territory in the name of Charles I. The chieftain himself volunteered to pilot the ships to a fertile island—the kingdom of a relation of his—and passing between the Islands of Bojol and Leyte the expedition arrived on the 7th of April at Cebú, where, on receiving the news, over 2,000 men appeared on the beach in battle array with lances and shields.

The Butuan chief went on shore and explained that the expedition brought people of peace who sought provisions. The King agreed to a treaty, and proposed that it should be ratified according to the native formula,—drawing blood from the breast of each party, the one drinking that of the other. This form of bond was called by the Spaniards the *Pacto de sangre*, or the Blood compact (*vide* Chap. XXVI.).

Maghallanes accepted the conditions, and a hut was built on shore in which to say Mass. Then he disembarked with his followers, and the King, Queen and Prince came to satisfy their natural curiosity. They appeared to take great interest in the Christian religious rites and received baptism, although it would be venturesome to suppose they understood their meaning, as subsequent events proved. The princes and headmen of the district followed their example and swore fealty and obedience to the King of Spain.

Maghallanes espoused the cause of his new allies, who were at war with the tribes on the opposite coast, and on the 25th of April, 1521, he passed over to Magtan Island. In the affray he was mortally wounded by an arrow, and thus ended his brief but lustrous career, which fills one of the most brilliant pages in Spanish annals.

On the left bank of the Pasig River, facing the City of Manila, stands a monument to his memory. Another has been erected on the spot in Magtan Island, where he is supposed to have been slain on the 27th of April, 1521. Also in the City of Cebú, near the beach, there is an obelisk to commemorate these heroic events.

It was perhaps well for Maghallanes to have ended his days out of reach of his royal master. Had he returned to Spain he would probably have met a fate similar to that which befell Columbus after all his glories. The "San Antonio," which, as already mentioned, deserted the fleet at the Magellan Straits, continued her voyage from New Guinea to Spain, arriving at San Lúcar de Barrameda in March, 1521. The Captain, Alvaro Mesquita, was landed as a prisoner, accused of having seconded Maghallanes in repressing insubordination. To Maghallanes were ascribed the worst cruelties and infraction of the royal instructions. Accused and accusers were alike cast into prison, and the King, unable to lay hands on the deceased Maghallanes, sought this hero's wife and children. These innocent victims of royal vengeance were at once arrested and conveyed to Búrgos, where the Court happened to be, whilst the "San Antonio" was placed under embargo.

On the decease of Maghallanes, the supreme command of the expedition in Cebú Island was assumed by Duarte de Barbosa, who, with 26 of his followers, was slain at a banquet to which they had been invited by Hamabar, the King of the island. Juan Serrano had so ingratiated himself with the natives during the sojourn on shore that his life was spared for a while. Stripped of his raiment and armour, he was conducted to the beach, where the natives demanded a ransom for his person of two cannons from the ships' artillery. Those on board saw what was passing and understood the request, but they were loath to endanger the lives of all for the sake of one—" *Melius est ut pereat unus quam ut pereat communitas*," Saint Augustine,—so they raised anchors and sailed out of the port, leaving Serrano to meet his terrible fate.

Due to sickness, murder during the revolts, and the slaughter in Cebú, the exploring party, now reduced to 100 souls all told, was deemed insufficient to conveniently manage three vessels. It was resolved therefore to burn the most dilapidated one—the “Concepcion.” At a general council, Juan Caraballo was chosen Commander-in-chief of the expedition, with Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa as Captain of the “Victoria.” The royal instructions were read, and it was decided to go to the Island of Borneo, already known to the Portuguese and marked on their charts. On the way they provisioned the ships off the coast of Palauán Island, and thence navigated to within ten miles of the capital of Borneo (probably Brunei). Here they fell in with a number of native canoes, in one of which was the King’s Secretary. There was a great noise with the sound of drums and trumpets, and the ships saluted the strangers with their guns.

The natives came on board, embraced the Spaniards as if they were old friends, and asked them who they were and what they came for. They replied that they were vassals of the King of Spain and wished to barter goods. Presents were exchanged and several of the Spaniards went ashore. They were met on the way by over 2,000 armed men and safely escorted to the King’s quarters. After satisfying his Majesty’s numerous enquiries, Captain Espinosa was permitted to return with his companions. He reported to Caraballo all he had seen, and in a council it was agreed that the town was too large and the armed men too numerous to warrant the safety of a longer stay. However, being in need of certain commodities, five men were despatched to the town. As days passed by, their prolonged absence caused suspicion and anxiety, so the Spaniards took in reprisal the son of the King of Luzon Island, who had arrived there to trade, accompanied by 100 men and five women in a large prahu. The prince made a solemn vow to see that the five Spaniards returned, and left two of his women and eight chiefs as hostages. Then Caraballo sent a message to the King of Borneo, intimating that if his people were not liberated he would seize all the junks and merchandise he might fall in with and kill their crews. Thereupon two of the retained Spaniards were set free, but, in spite of the seizure of craft laden with silk and cotton, the three men remaining had to be abandoned and the expedition set sail.

For reasons not very clear, Caraballo was deprived of the supreme command and Espinosa was appointed in his place, whilst Juan

Sebastian Elcano was elected captain of the "Victoria." With a native pilot, captured from a junk which they met on the way, the ships shaped their course towards the Moluccas Islands, and on the 8th of November, 1521, they arrived at the Island of Tidor. Thus the essential object of the expedition was gained—the discovery of a Western route to the Spice Islands.

Years previous the Portuguese had opened up trade and still continued to traffic with these islands, which were rich in nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, sage, pepper, etc. It is said that Saint Francis Xavier had propagated his views amongst these islanders, some of whom professed the Christian faith.

The King, richly adorned, went out with his suite to receive and welcome the Spaniards. He was anxious to barter with them, and when the "Trinidad" was consequently laden with valuable spices it was discovered that she had sprung a leak. Her cargo was therefore transferred to the sister ship whilst the "Trinidad" remained in Tidor for repairs, and Elcano was deputed to make the voyage home with the "Victoria," taking the Western route of the Portuguese in violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Elcano's crew consisted of 53 Europeans and a dozen natives of Tidor. The "Victoria" started for Spain at the beginning of the year 1522; passed through the Sunda Straits at great risk of being seized by the Portuguese; experienced violent storms in the Mozambique Channel; was almost wrecked rounding the Cape of Good Hope; a few of the crew died—their only food was a scanty ration of rice,—and in their extreme distress they put in at Santiago Island, off Cape Verd, to procure provisions and beg assistance from the Portuguese Governor. It was like jumping into the lion's mouth. The Governor imprisoned those who went to him, in defence of his sovereign's treaty rights; he seized the boat which brought them ashore; enquired of them where they had obtained the cargo and projected the capture of the "Victoria."

Captain Elcano was not slow to comprehend the situation; he raised anchor and cleared out of the harbour, and, as it had happened several times before, those who had the misfortune to be sent ashore were abandoned by their countrymen.

The "Victoria" made the port of San Lúcar de Barrameda on the 6th of September, 1522, so that in a little over three years Juan Sebastian Elcano had performed the most notable voyage hitherto on

record—it was the first yet accomplished round the world. It must however be borne in mind that the discovery of the way to the Moluccas, going Westward, was due to Maghallanes—of Portuguese birth,—and that the route thence to Europe, continuing Westward, had long before been determined by the Portuguese traders, whose charts Elcano used.

When Elcano and his 17 companions disembarked, their appearance was most pitiable—mere skeletons of men, weather-beaten and famished. The City of Seville received them with acclamation ; but their first act was to walk barefooted, in procession, holding lighted candles in their hands, to the church to give thanks to the Almighty for their safe deliverance from the hundred dangers which they had encountered. Clothes, money and all necessities were supplied to them by royal bounty, whilst Elcano and the most intelligent of his companions were cited to appear at Court to narrate their adventures. His Majesty received them with marked deference. Elcano was rewarded with a life pension of 500 ducats (worth at that date about £112 10s.), and as a lasting remembrance of his unprecedented feat, his royal master knighted him and conceded to him the right of using on his escutcheon a globe bearing the motto : “*Primus circumdedit me.*”

Two of Elcano’s officers, Miguel de Rodas and Francisco Alva, were each awarded a life pension of 50,000 maravedis (worth at that time about 14 guineas), whilst the King ordered one fourth of that fifth part of the cargo which by contract with Maghallanes belonged to the State Treasury, to be distributed amongst the crew, including those imprisoned in Santiago Island.

The cargo of the “Victoria” consisted of $26\frac{1}{2}$ tons of cloves, a quantity of cinnamon, sandalwood, nutmegs, etc. Amongst the Tidor Islanders who were presented to the King, one of them was not allowed to return to his native home because he had carefully enquired the value of the spices in the Spanish bazaars.

Meanwhile the “Trinidad” was repaired in Tidor and on her way to Panamá, when continued tempests and the horrible sufferings of the crew determined them to retrace their course to the Moluccas. In this interval Portuguese ships had arrived there, and a fort was being constructed to defend Portuguese interests against the Spaniards, whom they regarded as interlopers. The “Trinidad” was seized, and the Captain Espinosa with the survivors of his crew were afforded a passage

to Lisbon, which place they reached five years after they had set out with Maghallanes.

The enthusiasm of King Charles was equal to the importance of the discoveries which gave renown to his subjects and added glory to his crown. Notwithstanding a protracted controversy with the Portuguese Court, which claimed the exclusive right of trading with the Spice Islands, he ordered another squadron of six ships to be fitted out for a voyage to the Moluccas. The supreme command was confided to Garcia Yofre de Loaisa, Knight of Saint John, whilst Sebastian Elcano was appointed captain of one of the vessels. After passing through the Magellan Straits, the Commander Loaisa succumbed to the fatigues and privations of the stormy voyage. Elcano succeeded him, but only for four days, when he too expired. The expedition, however, arrived safely at the Moluccas Islands, where they found the Portuguese in full possession and strongly established, but the long series of combats, struggles and altercations which ensued between the rival powers, in which Captain Andrés de Urdaneta prominently figured, left no decisive advantage to either nation.

But the King was in no way disheartened. A third expedition—the last under his auspices—was organized and despatched from the Pacific Coast of Mexico by the Viceroy, by royal mandate. It was composed of two ships, two transports and one galley, well manned and armed, chosen from the fleet of Pedro Alvarado, the late Governor of Guatemala. Under the leadership of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos it sailed on the 1st of November, 1542 ; discovered many small islands in the Pacific ; lost the galley on the way, and anchored off an island about 20 miles in circumference which was named Antonia. They found its inhabitants very hostile. A fight ensued, but the natives finally fled, leaving several Spaniards wounded, of whom six died. Villalobos then announced his intention of remaining here some time, and ordered his men to plant maize. At first they demurred, saying that they had come to fight, not to till land, but at length necessity urged them to obedience, and a small but insufficient crop was reaped in due season. Hard pressed for food, they lived principally on cats, rats, lizards, snakes, dogs, roots and wild fruit, and several died of disease. In this plight a ship was sent to Mindanao Island, commanded by Bernardo de la Torre, to seek provisions. The voyage was fruitless. The party was opposed by the inhabitants, who fortified themselves, but were

dislodged and slain. Then a vessel was commissioned to Mexico with news and to solicit reinforcements. On the way, Volcano Island (of the Ladrone Islands group) was discovered on the 6th of August, 1543. A most important event followed. A galiot was built and despatched to the islands (it is doubtful which), named by this expedition the *Philippine Islands* in honour of Philip, Prince of Asturias, the son of King Charles I., heir apparent to the throne of Castile, to which he ascended in 1555 under the title of Philip II. on the abdication of his father.

The craft returned from the Philippine Islands laden with abundance of provisions, with which the ships were enabled to continue the voyage.

By the royal instructions, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos was strictly enjoined not to touch at the Moluccas Islands, peace having been concluded with Portugal. Heavy gales forced him nevertheless to take refuge at Gilolo. The Portuguese, suspicious of his intentions in view of the treaty, arrayed their forces against his, inciting the King of the island also to discard all Spanish overtures and refuse assistance to Villalobos. The discord and contentions between the Portuguese and Spaniards were increasing; nothing was being gained by either party. Villalobos personally was sorely disheartened in the struggle, fearing all the while that his opposition to the Portuguese in contravention of the royal instructions would only excite the King's displeasure and lead to his own downfall. Hence he decided to capitulate with his rival and accepted a safe conduct for himself and party to Europe in Portuguese ships. They arrived at Amboina Island, where Villalobos, already crushed by grief, succumbed to disease. The survivors of the expedition, amongst whom were several priests, continued the journey home viâ Malacca, Cochin China and Goa, where they embarked for Lisbon, arriving there in 1549.

In 1558, King Charles was no more, but the memory of his ambition outlived him. His son Philip, equally emulous and unscrupulous, was too narrow-minded and subtly cautious to initiate an expensive enterprise encompassed by so many hazards—as materially unproductive as it was devoid of immediate political importance. Indeed the basis of the first expedition was merely to discover a Western route to the rich Spice Islands, already known to exist; the second went there to attempt to establish Spanish empire; and the third to search for, and annex to, the Spanish crown, lands as wealthy as those claimed by, and now yielded to, the Portuguese.

But the value of the Philippine Islands, of which the possession was but recent and nominal, was thus far a matter of doubt.

One of the most brave and intrepid captains of the Loaisa expedition—Andrés de Urdaneta—returned to Spain in 1536. In former years he had fought under King Charles I., in his wars in Italy, when the study of navigation served him as a favourite pastime. Since his return from the Moluccas his constant attention was given to the project of a new expedition to the Far West, for which he unremittingly solicited the royal sanction and assistance. But the King had grown old and weary of the world, and whilst he did not openly discourage Urdaneta's pretensions he gave him no effective aid. At length in 1553, two years before Charles abdicated, Urdaneta, convinced of the futility of his importunity at the Spanish Court, and equally unsuccessful with his scheme in other quarters, retired to Mexico, where he took the habit of an Augustine monk. Ten years afterwards King Philip, inspired by the religious sentiment which pervaded his whole policy, urged his Viceroy in Mexico to fit out an expedition to conquer and christianize the Philippine Islands. Urdaneta, now a priest, was not overlooked. Accompanied by five priests of his order, he was entrusted with the spiritual care of the races to be subdued by an expedition composed of four ships and one frigate well armed, carrying 400 soldiers and sailors, commanded by a Basque navigator, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. This remarkable man was destined to acquire the fame of having established Spanish dominion in these islands. He was of noble birth and a native of the Province of Guipúzcoa in Spain. Having settled in the City of Mexico, of which place he was elected Mayor, he there practised as a notary. Of undoubted piety, he enjoyed reputation for his justice and loyalty, hence he was appointed General of the forces equipped for the voyage.

The favourite desire to possess the valuable Spice Islands still lurked in the minds of many Spaniards—amongst them was Urdaneta, who laboured in vain to persuade the Viceroy of the superior advantages to be gained by annexing New Guinea instead of the Philippines,—whence the conquest of the Moluccas would be but a facile task. However, the Viceroy was inexorable and resolved to fulfil the royal instructions to the letter, so the expedition set sail from the Mexican port of Navidad for the Philippine Islands on the 21st of November, 1564.

The Ladrone Islands were passed on the 9th of January, 1565, and on the 13th of the following month the Philippines were sighted. A call for provisions was made at several small islands, including Camiguin, whence the expedition sailed to Bojol Island. A boat despatched to the port of Butuan returned in a fortnight with the news that there was much gold, wax and cinnamon in that district. A small vessel was also sent to Cebú, and on its return reported that the natives showed hostility, having decapitated one of the crew whilst he was bathing.

Nevertheless, General Legaspi resolved to put in at Cebú, which was a safe port; and on the way there the ships anchored off Limasana Island (to the south of Leyte). Thence running S.W., the Port of Dapitan (Mindanao Island) was reached.

Prince Pagbuaya, who ruled there, was astonished at the sight of such formidable ships, and commissioned one of his subjects, specially chosen for his boldness, to take note of their movements, and report to him. His account was uncommonly interesting. He related that enormous men with long pointed noses, dressed in fine robes, ate stones (hard biscuits), drank fire and blew smoke out of their mouths and through their nostrils. Their power was such that they commanded thunder and lightning (discharge of artillery), and that at meal times they sat down at a clothed table. From their lofty port, their bearded faces and rich attire, they might have been the very gods manifesting themselves to the natives; so the Prince thought it wise to accept the friendly overtures of such marvellous strangers. Besides obtaining ample provisions in barter for European wares, Legaspi procured from this chieftain much useful information respecting the condition of Cebú. He learnt that it was esteemed a powerful kingdom, of which the magnificence was much vaunted amongst the neighbouring states; that the port was one of great safety, and the most favourably situated amongst the islands of the painted faces.¹

The General resolved therefore to filch it from its native king and annex it to the crown of Castile.

He landed in Cebú on the 27th of April, 1565, and negotiations were entered into with the natives of that island. Remembering

¹ The Visayos, inhabiting the southern group of the Archipelago, tattooed themselves, hence for many years their islands were called by the Spaniards *Islas de los pintados*.

how successfully they had rid themselves of Maghallanes' party, they naturally opposed this renewed menace to their independence. The Spaniards occupied the town by force and sacked it, but for months were so harassed by the surrounding tribes that a council was convened to discuss the prudence of continuing the occupation. The General decided to remain, and, little by little, the natives yielded to the new condition of things, and thus the first step towards the final conquest was achieved. The natives were declared Spanish subjects, and hopeful with the success thus far attained, Legaspi determined to send despatches to the King by the priest Urdaneta, who safely arrived at Navidad on the 3rd of October, 1565, and proceeded thence to Spain.

The pacification of Cebú and the adjacent islands was steadily and successfully pursued by Legaspi; the confidence of the natives was assured, and their dethroned King Tupas accepted Christian baptism, whilst his daughter married a Spaniard.

In the midst of the invaders' felicity, the Portuguese arrived to dispute the possession, but they were compelled to retire. A fortress was constructed and plots of land were marked out for the building of the Spanish settlers' residences, and finally, in 1570, Cebú was declared a City, after Legaspi had received from his royal master the title of Governor-General of all the lands which he might be able to conquer.

In May, 1570, Captain Juan Salcedo, Legaspi's grandson, was despatched to the Island of Luzon to reconnoitre the territory and bring it under Spanish dominion.

The history of these early times is very confused, and there are many contradictions in the authors of the Philippine chronicles, none of which seem to have been written contemporaneously with the first events. It appears, however, that Martin de Goiti and a few soldiers accompanied Salcedo to the north. They were well received by the native chiefs or petty Kings Lacandola, Rajah of Tondo (known as Rajah Matandá, which means in native dialect the aged Rajah) and his nephew the young Rajah Soliman of Manila.

The sight of a body of European troops armed as was the custom in the 16th century, must have profoundly impressed and overawed these chieftains, otherwise it seems almost incredible that they should have consented, without protest, or attempt at resistance, to (for ever) give up their territory, yield their independence, pay

tribute,¹ and become the tools of invading foreigners with which to conquer their own race without recompense whatsoever.

A treaty of peace was signed and ratified by an exchange of drops of blood between the parties thereto. Soliman however soon repented of his poltroonery and roused the war-cry among some of his tribes. To save his capital (then called Maynila) falling into the hands of the invaders he set fire to it. Lacandola remained passively watching the issue. Soliman was completely routed by Salcedo and pardoned on his again swearing fealty to the King of Spain. Goiti remained in the vicinity of Manila with his troops whilst Salcedo fought his way to the Bombon Lake (Taal) district. The present Batangas Province was subdued by him and included in the jurisdiction of Mindoro Island. During the campaign Salcedo was severely wounded by an arrow and returned to Manila.

Legaspi was in the Island of Panay when Salcedo (some writers say Goiti) arrived to advise him of what had occurred in Luzon. They at once proceeded together to Cavite, where Lacandola visited Legaspi on board, and, prostrating himself, averred his submission. Then Legaspi continued his journey to Manila and was received there with acclamation. He took formal possession of the surrounding territory, declared Manila to be the capital of the Archipelago, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the King of Spain over the whole group of islands. Gaspar de San Agustin, writing of this period says: "He (Legaspi) ordered them (the natives) to finish the building of the fort in construction at the mouth of the river (Pasig) so that His

¹ Legaspi and Guido Lavezares, under oath, made promises of rewards to the Lacandola family and a remission of tribute in perpetuity, but they were not fulfilled. In the following century—year 1660—it appears that the descendants of the Rajah Lacandola still upheld the Spanish authority, and having become sorely impoverished thereby, the heir of the family petitioned the Governor (Sabiniano Manrique de Lara) to make good the honour of his first predecessors. Eventually the Lacandolas were exempted from the payment of tribute and poll tax for ever, as recompense for the filching of their domains.

In 1884, when the fiscal reforms were introduced which abolished the tribute and established in lieu thereof a document of personal identity (*cédula personal*), for which a tax was levied, the last vestige of privilege disappeared.

Descendants of Lacandola are still to be met with in several villages near Manila. They do not seem to have materially profited by their transcendent ancestry—one of them I found serving as a waiter in a French restaurant in the capital in 1885.

“ Majesty’s artillery might be mounted therein for the defence of the
 “ port and the town. Also he ordered them to build a large house
 “ inside the battlement walls for Legaspi’s own residence—another
 “ large house and church for the priests, etc.
 “ Besides these two large houses he told them to erect 150 dwellings
 “ of moderate size for the remainder of the Spaniards to live in.
 “ All this they promptly promised to do, but they did not obey, for
 “ the Spaniards were themselves obliged to terminate the work of the
 “ fortifications.”

The City Council of Manila was constituted on the 24th of June, 1571. On the 20th of August, 1572, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi succumbed to the fatigues of his arduous life, leaving behind him a name which will always maintain a prominent place in Spanish colonial history. He was buried in Manila in the Augustine Chapel of San Fausto, where hung the Royal Standard and the hero’s armorial bearings until the British troops occupied the city in 1763.

“ Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
 For now he lives in fame, though not in life.”

Richard III., Act 3, Sc. 1.

In the meantime Salcedo continued his task of subjecting the tribes in the interior. The natives of Taytay and Cainta, in the present military district of Morong, submitted to him on the 15th of August, 1571. He returned to the Laguna de Bay to pacify the villagers, and penetrated as far as Camarines Norte to explore the Biccol River. Bolinao and the provinces of Pangasinan and Ylocos yielded to his prowess, and in this last province he had well established himself when the defence of the capital obliged him to return to Manila.

At the same time Martín de Goiti was actively employed in overrunning the Pampanga territory with the double object of procuring supplies for the Manila camp and coercing the inhabitants on his way to acknowledge their new liege lord. It is recorded that in this expedition Goiti was joined by the Rajahs of Tondo and Manila. Yet Lacandola appears to have been regarded more as a servant of the Spaniards *nolens volens* than as a free ally, for, because he absented himself from Goiti’s camp “without licence from the *Maestre de Campo*,” he was suspected by some writers of having favoured opposition to the Spaniards’ incursions in the Marshes of Hagonoy (Pampanga coast, N. boundary of Manila Bay).

C

The district which constituted the ancient province of Taal y Balayan, subsequently denominated Province of Batangas, was formerly governed by a number of caciques, the most notable of whom were Gatpagil and Gatjinlantan. They were usually at war with their neighbours. Gatjinlantan, the cacique of the Batangas River at the time of the conquest, was famous for his valour. Gatsungayan, who ruled on the other side of the river, was celebrated as a hunter of deer and wild boar. These men were half-castes of Borneo and Aeta extraction, who formed a distinct race called by the natives Dagbagang. None of them would submit to the King of Spain or become Christians, hence their descendants were offered no privileges.

The Aetas collected tribute. Gabriel Montoya, a Spanish soldier of Legaspi's legion, partially conquered those races, and supported the mission of an Austin Friar amongst them. This was probably Fray Diego Moxica, who undertook the mission of Batangas on its separation from the local administration of Mindoro Island in 1581. The first Governor of San Pablo or Sampaloc in the name of the King of Spain was appointed by the soldier Montoya, and was called Bartolomé Maghayin; the second was Cristobal Somañalit and the third was Bernabé Pindan, all of whom had adopted Christianity. Bay, on the borders of the lake of that name, and four leagues from San Pablo, was originally ruled by the cacique Agustin Maglansaingan. Calilayan, now called Tayabas, was founded by the woman Ladía, and subsequently administered by a native Alcalde, who gave such satisfaction that he was three times appointed the King's lieutenant and baptized as Francisco de San Juan.

The system established by Juan Salcedo was to let the conquered lands be governed by the native caciques and their male successors so long as they did so in the name of the King of Castile. Territorial possession seems to have been the chief aim of the European invaders, and records of having improved the condition of the people or of having opened up means of communication and traffic as they went on conquering, or even having explored the natural resources of the colony for their own benefit, are extremely rare.

San Pablo, the centre of a once independent district, is situated at the foot of the mountains of San Cristobal and Banájao, from which over fourteen streams of fresh water flow through the villages.



CHAPTER III.

PHILIPPINE DEPENDENCIES.

THE LADRONES, CAROLINES AND PELEW ISLANDS.

IN 1521 Maghallanes cast anchor off the Ladrone Islands (situated between 17° and 20° N. lat. by 146° E. long.) on his way to the discovery of the Philippines. This group was named by him *Islas de las Velas*.¹ Legaspi called them the *Ladrones*.² Subsequently, several navigators sighted or touched at these Islands, and the indistinct demarcation which comprised them, acquired the name of Saint Lazarus' Archipelago.

In 1662 the Spanish vessel "San Damian," on her course from Mexico to Luzon, anchored here. On board was a missionary Fray Diego Luis de San Victores, who was so impressed with the dejected condition of the natives, that on reaching Manila he made it his common theme of conversation. In fact, so importunately did he pursue the subject with his superiors, that he had to be constrained to silence. The Governor, Diego Salcedo, replied to his urgent appeal for a mission there in terms which permitted no further solicitation in that quarter. But the Friar was persistent in his project, and petitioned the Archbishop's aid. The prelate submitted the matter to King Philip IV., and the Friar himself wrote to his father, who presented a memorial to His Majesty and another to the Queen beseeching her influence. Consequently in 1666, a Royal Decree was received in Manila sanctioning a mission to the *Ladrones*.

The galleon "San Diego" was ready to sail, and Fray Diego was to take passage to Acapulco to organize his expedition, but meanwhile the merchants proposed to change her route, sending her to Peru, in

¹ *Velas*, Spanish for Sails.

² *Ladrones*, Spanish for Thieves.

which case they would give her a full cargo. The priest protested. The galleon was so heavily laden on one side, that she could not right herself. The cunning Friar declared it was a sign from Heaven, but that if she started on the voyage to Acapulco all would go well. The shippers, however, were not so readily gulled, and although, in the end, she was despatched to Acapulco, the vessel was lightened of part of her cargo.

Fray Diego arrived safely in the Viceregal Court of Mexico, and pressed his views on the Viceroy, who declared that he had no orders. Then the priest appealed to the Viceroy's wife, who, it is said, was entreating her husband's help on bended knee, when an earthquake occurred which considerably damaged the city. It was a manifestation from Heaven, the wily priest avowed, and the Viceroy yielded to the superstition of the age.

Therefore, in March 1668, Fray Diego started from Acapulco in charge of a Jesuit mission for the Ladrões, where they subsequently received a pension of \$3,000 per annum from Queen Maria Ana, who meanwhile, had become a widow and Regent. To commemorate this Royal munificence, these islands have since been called by the Spaniards "Islas Marianas," whilst the older name—Ladrões—is better known to the world.

When the mission was fairly established, troops were sent there, consisting of 12 Spaniards and 19 Philippine natives, with two pieces of artillery.

The acquiescence of the Ladroné natives was being steadily gained by the old policy of conquest, under the veil of Christianity, until a revolution broke out, on the discovery that the stranger's religion brought with it restraint of liberty and a social dominion which practically amounted to slavery. Fortunately, Nature came again to the aid of Fray Diego, for, whilst the natives were in open rebellion, a severe storm levelled their huts to the ground. The priest persuaded them it was a visitation from Heaven, and peace was concluded.

Fray Diego left the mission for Visayas, where he was killed. After his departure, the natives again revolted because they failed to comprehend the mysteries of Christian rites, which, in those days, involved a servile subjection. Many priests were slain from time to time—some in the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, others in open warfare.

In 1778 a Governor was sent there from Mexico with 30 soldiers, but he resigned his charge after two years' service, and others succeeded him.

The Islands are very poor. The products are Rice, Sago, Coconuts and Cane-sugar to a small extent; there are also pigs and fowls in abundance. The Spaniards taught the natives the use of fire. They were a warlike people; every man had to carry arms. Their language is Chamorro, much resembling the Visayan dialect. The population, for a hundred years after the Spanish occupation, diminished. Women purposely sterilized themselves. Some threw their new-born offspring into the sea, hoping to liberate them from a world of woe, and that they would regenerate in happiness. In the beginning of the 17th century, the population was further diminished by an epidemic disease. During the first century of Spanish rule, the Government were never able to exact the payment of tribute. At the present day, the revenue of the islands is not nearly sufficient to cover the entire cost of administration. A few years ago, the Governor, Sr. Pazos, was assassinated there.

There are nine towns with parish priests. All the Churches are built of stone, and roofed with reed thatching, except that of the capital, which has an iron roof. Six of the towns have Town Halls made of bamboo and reed grass; one has a wooden building, and in two of them (including the capital) the Town Halls are of stone.

The Seat of Government is at Agaña (called in old official documents the "City of San Ignacio de Agaña"). It is situated in the creek called the Port of Apra. Ships cannot get up to the capital; they lie about two miles off Punta Piti, where passengers, stores and mails are conveyed to a wooden landing-stage. Five hundred yards from here is the Harbour-master's office, built of stone, with a tile roof. From Punta Piti there is a bad road of about five miles. The situation of Agaña seems to be ill-suited for communication with vessels, and proposals were ineffectually made by two Governors, since 1835, to establish the capital town elsewhere. The central Government took no heed of their recommendations. In Agaña there is a Government House, a Military Hospital and Pharmacy, an Artillery Dépôt and Infantry Barracks, a well-built Prison, a Town Hall, the Administrator's Office, called by the natives "the shop," and the ruins of former public buildings. It is a rather pretty town, but there is nothing notable to be seen.

The natives are as domesticated as the Philippine Islanders, and have much better features. Spanish and a little English are spoken by many of them, as these Islands in former years were the resort of English-speaking whalers. For the elementary Education of the natives, there is the College of San Juan de Letran for boys, and a girls' school in Agaña; and in seven of the towns, there was, in 1888, a total of four schools for boys, five schools for girls, and nine schools for both sexes, under the direction of 20 masters and ix mistresses.

When the Ladrone Islands (Marianas) were a dependency of the Philippine General-Government, a subsidized mail steamer left Manila for Agaña, and two or three other ports, every three months. For the Government of these Islands under the Spaniards, *vide* Chap. XIII.

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An island was discovered by one of the Spanish galleon pilots in 1686, and called CAROLINA, in honour of Charles II. of Spain, but its bearings could not be found again for years.

In 1696 two canoes, with 29 Pelew Islanders, drifted to the coast of Sámar Island, and landed at the Town of Guivan. They were 60 days on the drift, and five of them died of privations. They were terror-stricken when they saw a man on shore making signs to them. When he went out to them in a boat, and boarded one of the canoes, they all jumped out and got into the other; then when the man got into that, they were in utter despair, considering themselves prisoners.

They were conducted to the Spanish priest of Guivan, whom they supposed would be the King of the Island, and on whom would depend their lives and liberty. They prostrated themselves, and implored his mercy and the favour of sparing their lives, whilst the priest did all he could, by signs, to reassure them.

It happened that there had been living here, for some years, two other strange men brought to this shore by currents and contrary winds. These came forward to see the novelty, and served as interpreters, so that the newcomers were all lodged in native houses in twos and threes, and received the best hospitality.

They related that their Islands numbered 32, and only produced fowls and sea-birds. One man made a map, by placing stones in the relative position of the Islands. When asked about the number of the inhabitants, one took a handful of sand to demonstrate that they were countless. There was a King, they explained, who held his court in

the Island of Lamurree, to whom the chiefs were subject. They much respected and obeyed him. Among these castaways was a chief, with his wife—the daughter of the King.

The men had a leaf-fibre garment around their loins, and to it was attached a piece of stuff in front, which was thrown over the shoulders and hung loose at the back. The women were dressed the same as the men, except that their loin vestment reached to their knees. The King's daughter wore, moreover, tortoise-shell ornaments.

They were afraid when they saw a cow and a dog, their Island having no quadrupeds. Their sole occupation consisted in providing food for their families. Their mark of courtesy was to take the hand of the person whom they saluted and pass it softly over the face.

The priest gave them pieces of iron, which they prized as if they had been of gold, and slept with them under their heads. Their only arms were lances, with human bones for points. They seemed to be a pacific people, intelligent and well-proportioned physically. Both sexes wore long hair down to their shoulders.

Very content to find so much luxury in Sámar, they offered to return and bring their people to trade. The Jesuits considered this a capital pretext for subjecting their Islands, and the Government approved of it. At the instance of the Pope, the King ordered the Governor-General, Domingo Zabálburu, to send out expeditions in quest of these Islands; and, between 1708 and 1710, several unsuccessful efforts were made to come across them. In 1710, two islands were discovered, and named San Andrés. Several canoes arrived alongside of the ship, and the occupants accepted the Commander's invitation to come on board. They were much astonished to see the Spaniards smoke, and admired the iron fastenings of the vessel. When they got near shore, they all began to dance, clapping their hands to beat time. They measured the ship, and wondered where such a large piece of wood could have come from. They counted the crew, and presented them with cocoa-nuts, fish, and herbs from their canoes. The vessel anchored near to the shore, but there was a strong current and a fresh wind blowing, so that it was imprudent to disembark. However, two priests insisted upon erecting a cross on the shore, and were accompanied by the quarter-master and an officer of the troops. The weather compelled the master to weigh anchor, and the vessel set sail, leaving

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intentionally) in trivial formalities, and whilst two Spanish men-o'-war—the “ Manila ” and the “ San Quintin ”—were already anchored in the Port of Yap, the German warship “ Iltis ” entered, landed marines, and hoisted their national flag, whilst the Spaniards looked on. Then the German Commander went on board the “ San Quintin ” to tell the Commander that possession of the Islands had been taken in the name of the Emperor of Germany. Neither Capriles, the appointed Governor, nor España, the Commander of the “ San Quintin ” made any opposition, and as we can hardly attribute their inactivity to cowardice (for surely Spanish valour has not degenerated to such a degree), we can only suppose that they followed their Government's instructions. Capriles and España returned to Manila, and were both rewarded for their inaction ; the former being appointed to the Government of Mindoro Island. In Manila, a ridiculous report was circulated, that the Germans contemplated an attack upon the Philippines. Earthworks were thrown up outside the city wall ; cannons were mounted, and the cry of invasion resounded all over the Colony. Hundreds of families fled from the capital and environs to adjacent provinces, and the personal safety of the German residents was menaced by individual patriotic enthusiasts.

In Madrid, popular riots followed the publication of the incident. The German Embassy was assaulted, and its escutcheon was burnt in the streets by the indignant mob, although, probably, not five per cent. of the rioters had any idea where the Caroline Islands were, or anything about them. Spain acted so feebly, and Germany so vigorously, in this affair, that many asked—was it not due to a secret *entente cordiale* between the respective Ministries, disrupted only by the weight of Spanish public opinion ? Diplomatic notes were exchanged between Madrid and Berlin, and Germany, anxious to withdraw with apparent dignity from an affair over which it was probably never intended to waste powder and shot, referred the question to the Pope, who arbitrated in favour of Spain.

But for these events, it is probable that Spain would never have done anything to demonstrate possession of the Caroline Islands, and, for 16 months after the question was solved by Pontific mediation, there was a Spanish Governor in Yap—Sr. Elisa—a few troops and officials, but no Government. No laws were promulgated, and everybody continued to do as heretofore.

In Ponapé (Asencion Island) Sr. Posadillo was appointed Governor. A few troops were stationed there under a sub-lieutenant, whilst some Capuchin Friars—European ecclesiastics of the meanest type—were sent there to compete with the American Protestant missionaries in the salvation of natives' souls. A collision naturally took place, and the Governor—well known in Manila as crack-brained and tactless—sent the chief Protestant missionary, Mr. E. T. Doane, a prisoner to Manila on the 16th of June, 1887.¹ He was sent back to Ponapé by the Governor-General, but, during his absence, the eccentric Posadillo exercised a most arbitrary authority over the natives. The chiefs were compelled to serve him as menials, and their subjects were formed into gangs, to work like convicts; native teachers were suspended from their duties under threat, and the Capuchins disputed the possession of land, and attempted to coerce the natives to accept their religion.

On the 1st of July the natives did not return to their bondage, and all the soldiers, led by the sub-lieutenant, were sent to bring them in by force. A fight ensued, and the officer and troops, to the last man, were killed or mortally wounded by clubs, stones and knives. The astonished Governor fortified his place, which was surrounded by the enemy. The tribes of the chiefs Nott and Jockets were up in arms. There was the hulk "D^a. Maria de Molina" anchored in the roadstead, and the Capuchins fled to it on the first alarm. The Governor escaped from his house on the night of the 4th of July with his companions, and rushed to the sea, probably intending to swim out to the hulk. But who knows? He and his partisans were chased by natives, who killed them all.

On the 21st of September, the news of the tragedy reached Manila by the man-o'-war "San Quintin" About six weeks afterwards, three men-o'-war were sent to Ponapé with infantry, artillery, a mountain battery, and a section of Engineers—a total of about 558 men—but on their arrival they met an American warship—the "Essex"—which had hastened on to protect American interests. The Spaniards limited their operations to the seizure of a few accused individuals, whom they brought to Manila, and the garrison of Yap was increased to 100 men, under a Captain and subordinate officers. The prisoners

¹ Mr. Doane is reported to have died in Honolulu about June 1890.

were tried in Manila by court-martial, and I acted as interpreter. It was found that they had only been loyal to the bidding of their chiefs, and were not morally culpable, whilst the action of the late Governor of Ponapé met with general reprobation. Public opinion gave expression to the little sympathy due to a man who had expiated his own imprudence.

Again, in July 1890, a party of 54 soldiers, under Lieutenant Porras, whilst engaged in felling timber in the forest, was attacked by the Malatana (Caroline) tribe, who killed the officer and 27 of his men. The news was telegraphed to the Home Government, and caused a great sensation in Madrid. A conference of Ministers was at once held. Professional politicians in the Spanish metropolis made an attempt, through the public journals, to gain something for their respective parties from the occurrence—whilst the Cánovas Ministry cabled to the Governor-General Weyler discretionary power to punish these Islanders. Within a few months, troops were sent from Manila for that purpose. Instead, however, of chastising the *Kanakas*, the Government forces were repulsed by them with great slaughter. The commissariat arrangements were most deficient: my friend Colonel Gutierrez Soto, who commanded the expedition, was so inadequately supported by the War Department, that, yielding to despair, and crestfallen by reason of the open and adverse criticism of his plan of campaign—he shot himself.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPTED CONQUEST BY CHINESE.

ON the death of General Legaspi, the Government of the Colony was assumed by the Royal Treasurer, Guido de Lavezares, in conformity with the sealed instructions from the Supreme Court of Mexico, which were now opened. During this period, the possession of the Islands was unsuccessfully disputed by a rival expedition under the command of a Chinaman, Li-ma-hong, whom the Spaniards were pleased to term a pirate, forgetting, perhaps, that they themselves had only recently wrested the country from its former possessors by virtue of might against right. On the coasts of his native country he had indeed been a pirate. For the many depredations committed by him against private traders and property, the Celestial Emperor, failing to catch him by cajolery, outlawed him.

Born in the port of Tinchin, Li-ma-hong at an early age evinced a martial spirit and joined a band of corsairs which for a long time had been the terror of the China coasts. On the demise of his chief he was unanimously elected leader of the buccaneering cruisers. At length, pursued in all directions by the imperial ships of war, he determined to attempt the conquest of the Philippines. Presumably the same incentives which impelled the Spanish mariners to conquer lands and overthrow dynasties—the vision of wealth, glory and empire,—awakened a like ambition in the Chinese adventurer. It was the spirit of the age.¹ In his sea-wanderings he happened to fall in with a Chinese trading junk returning from Manila with the proceeds of

¹ Guido de Lavezares deposed a Sultan in Borneo in order to aid another to the throne, and even asked permission of King Philip II. to conquer China which of course was not conceded to him. *Vide* also the history of the destruction of the Aztec (Mexican) and Incas (Peruvian) dynasties by the Spaniards.

her cargo sold there. This he seized, and the captive crew were constrained to pilot his fleet towards the capital of Luzon. From them he learnt how easily the natives had been plundered by a handful of foreigners—the probable extent of the opposition he might encounter—the defences established—the wealth and resources of the district, and the nature of its inhabitants.

His fleet consisted of 62 war ships or armed junks, well found, having on board 2,000 sailors, 2,000 soldiers, 1,500 women, a number of artisans, and all that could be conveniently carried with which to gain and organize his new Kingdom. On its way the squadron cast anchor off the Province of Ilocos Sur, where a few troops were sent ashore to get provisions. Whilst returning to the junks, they sacked the village and set fire to the huts. The news of this outrage was hastily communicated to Juan Salcedo, who had been pacifying the Northern Provinces since July, 1572, and was at the time in Villa Fernandina (now called Vigan). Li-ma-hong continued his course until calms compelled his ships to anchor in the roads of Caoayan (Ilocos coast), where a few Spanish soldiers were stationed under the orders of Juan Salcedo, who still was in the immediate town of Vigan. Under his direction, preparations were made to prevent the enemy entering the river, but such was not Li-ma-hong's intention. He again set sail; whilst Salcedo, naturally supposing his course would be towards Manila, also started at the same time for the capital with all the fighting men he could collect, leaving only 30 men to garrison Vigan and protect the State interests there.

On the 29th of November, 1574, the squadron arrived in the Bay of Manila, and Li-ma-hong sent forward his Lieutenant Sioco—a Japanese—at the head of 600 fighting men to demand the surrender of the Spaniards. A strong gale however destroyed several of his junks, in which about 200 men perished.

With the remainder he reached the coast at Parañaque, a village a few miles south of Manila. Thence, with tow lines, the 400 soldiers hauled their junks up to the beach of the capital.

Already at the village of Malate the alarm was raised, but the Spaniards could not give credit to the reports, and no resistance was offered until the Chinese were within the gates of the city. Martin de Goiti, the Maestre de Campo, second in command to the Governor, was the first victim of the attack.

The flames and smoke arising from his burning residence were the first indications which the Governor received of what was going on. The Spaniards took refuge in the Fort of Santiago, which the Chinese were on the point of taking by storm, when their attention was drawn elsewhere by the arrival of fresh troops led by a Spanish sub-lieutenant. Under the mistaken impression that these were the vanguard of a formidable corps, Sioco sounded the retreat. A bloody hand-to-hand combat followed, and with great difficulty the Chinese collected their dead and regained their junks.

In the meantime Li-ma-hong, with the reserved forces, was lying in the roadstead of Cavite, and Sioco hastened to report to him the result of the attack, which had cost the invader over one hundred dead and more than that number wounded. Thereupon Li-ma-hong resolved to rest his troops and renew the conflict in two days' time under his personal supervision. The next day Juan Salcedo arrived by sea with reinforcements from Vigan, and preparations were unceasingly made for the expected encounter. Salcedo having been appointed to the office of Maestre de Campo, vacant since the death of Goiti, the organisation of the defence was entrusted to his immediate care.

By daybreak on the 3rd of December, the enemy's fleet hove to off the capital, where Li-ma-hong harangued his troops, whilst the cornets and drums of the Spaniards were sounding the alarm for their fighting men to assemble in the fort.

Then 1,500 chosen men, well armed, were disembarked under the leadership of Sioco, who swore to take the place or die in the attempt. Sioco separated his forces into three divisions. The city was set fire to, and Sioco advanced towards the fort, into which hand-grenades were thrown, whilst Li-ma-hong supported the attack with his ships' cannon.

Sioco, with his division, at length entered the fort, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued. For a while the issue was doubtful. Salcedo fought like a lion. Even the aged Governor was well at the front to encourage the deadly struggle for existence. The Spaniards finally gained the victory; the Chinese were repulsed with great slaughter, and their leader having been killed, they fled in complete disorder. Salcedo, profiting by the confusion, now took the offensive and followed up the enemy, pursuing them along the sea-shore, where they were joined by the third division, which had remained inactive. The panic of the Chinese spread rapidly, and Li-ma-hong, in despair, landed

another contingent of about 500 men, whilst he still continued afloat, but even with this reinforcement the *morale* of his army could not be regained.

The Chinese troops therefore, harassed on all sides, made a precipitate retreat on board the fleet, and Li-ma-hong set sail again for the west coast of the island. Foiled in the attempt to possess himself of Manila, Li-ma-hong determined to set up his capital in other parts. In a few days he arrived at the mouth of the Agno River, in the province of Pangasinan, where he proclaimed to the natives that he had gained a signal victory over the Spaniards. The inhabitants there, having no particular choice between two masters, received Li-ma-hong with welcome, and he thereupon set about the foundation of his new capital some four miles from the mouth of the river. Months passed before the Spaniards came in force to dislodge the invader. Feeling themselves secure in their new abode, the Chinese had built many dwellings, a small fortress, a pagoda, etc. At length an expedition was despatched under the command of Juan Salcedo. This was composed of about 250 Spaniards and 1,600 natives well equipped with small arms, ammunition and artillery. The flower of the Spanish Colony, accompanied by two priests and the Rajah of Tondo, set out to expel the formidable foe. Li-ma-hong made a bold resistance and refused to come to terms with Salcedo. In the meantime, the Viceroy of Fokien, having heard of Li-ma-hong's daring exploits, had commissioned a ship of war to discover the whereabouts of his imperial master's old enemy. The envoy was received with delight by the Spaniards, who invited him to accompany them to Manila to interview the Governor.

Li-ma-hong still held out, but perceiving that an irresistible onslaught was being projected against him by Salcedo's party, he very cunningly and quite unexpectedly gave them the slip, and sailed out of the river with his ships by one of the mouths unknown to his enemies.¹ In order to divert the attention of the Spaniards, Li-ma-hong ingeniously feigned an assault in an opposite quarter. Of course, on his escape, he had to abandon the troops employed in this manœuvre. These, losing all hope, and having indeed nothing but their lives to

¹ According to Juan de la Concepcion, in his "Hist. Gen. de Philipinas," Vol. I., page 431, Li-ma-hong made his escape by cutting a canal for his ships to pass through, but this appears to me highly improbable under the circumstances.

fight for, fled to the mountains. Hence, it is popularly supposed that from these fugitives descends the race of people in that province still distinguishable by their oblique eyes and known by the name of Igorrote-Chinese.

"*Aide toi et Dieu t'aidera*" is an old French maxim, but the Spaniards chose to attribute their deliverance from their Chinese rival to the friendly intervention of Saint Andrew. This Saint was declared thenceforth to be the Patron Saint of Manila, and in his honour High Mass is celebrated in the Cathedral at 8 a.m. on the 30th of each November. It is a public holiday and gala-day, when all the highest civil, military and religious authorities attend the *Funcion votiva de San Andrés*. This opportunity to assert the supremacy of ecclesiastical power was not lost to the Church, and for many years it was the custom after hearing Mass, to spread the Spanish national flag on the floor of the Cathedral for the metropolitan Archbishop to walk over it. It has been asserted, however, that a few years ago the Governor-General refused to witness this antiquated formula which, in public at least, no longer obtains. Latterly it was the practice to carry the Royal Standard before the altar. Both before and after the Mass, the bearer (*Alférez Real*), wearing his hat and accompanied by the Mayor of the City, stood on the altar floor, raised his hat three times, and three times dipped the flag before the Image of Christ, then, facing the public, he repeated this ceremony. On Saint Andrew's Eve, the Royal Standard was borne in procession from the Cathedral through the principal streets of the city, escorted by civil functionaries and followed by a band of music. This ceremony was known as the *Paseo del Real Pendon*.

According to Juan de la Concepcion, the Rajahs¹ Soliman and Lacandola took advantage of these troubles to raise a rebellion against the Spaniards. The natives too of Mindoro Island revolted and maltreated the priests, but all these disturbances were speedily quelled by a detachment of soldiers.

The Governor willingly accepted the offer of the commander of the Chinese man-o'-war to convey ambassadors to his country to visit the Viceroy and make a commercial treaty. Therefore two priests, Martin Rada and Gerónimo Martin, were commissioned to carry a

¹ Other authors assert that only Soliman rebelled.

letter of greeting and presents to this personage, who received them with great distinction, but objected to their residing in the country.

After the defeat of Li-ma-hong, Juan Salcedo again set out to the Northern Provinces of Luzon Island, to continue his task of reducing the natives to submission. On the 11th of March, 1576, he died of fever near Vigan (then called Villa Fernandina), capital of the Province of Ilocos Sur. A year afterwards, what could be found of his bones were placed in the ossuary of his illustrious grandfather, Legaspi, in the Augustine Chapel of Saint Fausto, Manila. His skull, however, which had been carried off by the natives of Ilocos, could not be recovered in spite of all threats and promises. In Vigan there is a small monument raised to commemorate the deeds of this famous warrior, and there is also a street bearing his name.

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For several years following these events, the question of prestige in the civil affairs of the colony was acrimoniously contested by the Governor-General, the Supreme Court and the ecclesiastics.

The Governor was censured by his opponents for alleged undue exercise of arbitrary authority. The Supreme Court, established on the Mexican model, was reproached with seeking to overstep the limits of its functions. Every legal quibble was adjusted by a dilatory process, impracticable in a colony yet in its infancy, where summary justice was indispensable for the maintenance of order imperfectly understood by the masses. But the fault laid less with the justices than with the constitution of the Court itself. Nor was this state of affairs improved by the growing discontent and immoderate ambition of the clergy, who unremittingly urged their pretensions to immunity from State control, affirming the supramundane condition of their office.

An excellent code of laws, called the *Leyes de Indias*, in force in Mexico, was adopted here, but modifications in harmony with the special conditions of this colony were urgently necessary, whilst all the branches of government called for reorganization or reform. Under these circumstances, the Bishop of Manila, Domingo Salazar, took the initiative in commissioning a priest, Fray Alonso Sanchez, to repair firstly to the Viceroy of Mexico and afterwards to the King of Spain, to expose the grievances of his party.

Alonso Sanchez left the Philippines with his appointment as procurator-general for the Augustine order of monks. As the execution

of the proposed reforms, which he was charged to lay before His Majesty, would, if conceded, be entrusted to the Government of Mexico, his first care was to seek the partisanship of the Viceroy of that Colony ; and in this he succeeded. Thence he continued his journey to Seville, where the Court happened to be, arriving there in September, 1587. He was at once granted an audience of the King, to present his credentials and memorials relative to Philippine affairs in general, and ecclesiastical, judicial, military and native matters in particular. The King promised to peruse all the documents, but suffering from gout, and having so many and distinct State concerns to attend to, the negotiations were greatly delayed. Finally, Sanchez sought a minister who had easy access to the Royal apartments, and this personage obtained from the King permission to examine the documents and hand to him a succinct *résumé* of the whole for His Majesty's consideration. A commission was then appointed, including Sanchez, and the deliberations lasted five months.

At this period, public opinion in the Spanish Universities was very divided with respect to Catholic missions in the Indies.

Some maintained that the propaganda of the faith ought to be purely Apostolic, such as Jesus Christ taught to his disciples, inculcating doctrines of humility and poverty without arms or violence, and if, nevertheless, the heathens refused to welcome this mission of peace, the missionaries should simply abandon them in silence without further demonstration than that of shaking the dust off their feet.

Others held, and amongst them was Sanchez, that such a method was useless and impracticable, and that it was justifiable to force their religion upon primitive races at the point of the sword if necessary, using any violence to enforce its acceptance.

Much ill-feeling was aroused in the discussion of these two and distinct theories. Juan Volante, a Dominican Friar of the Convent of Our Lady of Atocha, presented a petition against the views of the Sanchez faction, declaring that the idea of ingrafting religion with the aid of arms was scandalous. Fray Juan Volante was so importunate, that he had to be heard in Council, but neither party yielded. At length, the intervention of the Bishops of Manila, Macao and Malacca and several captains and governors in the Indies influenced the King to put an end to the controversy, on the ground that it would lead to no good.

The King retired to the Monastery of the Escorial, and Sanchez was cited to meet him there to learn the Royal will. About the same time the news reached the King of the loss of the so-called Invincible Armada, sent under the command of the incompetent Duke of Medina Sidonia to annex England. Notwithstanding this severe blow to the vain ambition of Philip, the affairs of the Philippines were delayed but a short time. On the basis of the recommendation of the junta, the Royal Assent was given to an important decree, of which the most significant articles are the following, namely :—The tribute was fixed by the King at ten reales (5/-) per annum, payable by the natives in gold, silver, or grain, or part in one commodity and part in the other. Of this tribute, eight reales were to be paid to the Treasury, one half real to the bishop and clergy, and one-and-a-half reales to be applied to the maintenance of the soldiery. Full tribute was not to be exacted from the natives still unsubjected to the Crown. Until their confidence and loyalty should be gained by friendly overtures, they were to pay a small recognition of vassalage, and subsequently the tribute in common with the rest.

Instead of one-fifth value of gold and hidden treasure due to His Majesty (*real quinto*), he would henceforth receive only one-tenth of such value, excepting that of gold, which the natives would be permitted to extract free of rebate.

A customs duty of 3% *ad valorem* was to be paid on merchandise sold, and this duty was to be spent on the army.

Export duty was to be paid on goods shipped to New Spain (Mexico), and this impost was also to be exclusively spent on the armed forces.

The number of European troops in the Colony was fixed at 400 men-at-arms, divided into six companies, each under a captain, a sub-lieutenant, a sergeant, and two corporals. Their pay was to be as follows, namely :—Captain \$35, sub-lieutenant \$20, sergeant \$10, corporal \$7, rank and file \$6 per month ; besides which, an annual gratuity of \$10,000 was to be proportionately distributed to all.

Recruits from Mexico were not to enlist under the age of 15 years.

The Captain-General was to have a body-guard of 24 men (Halberdiers) with the pay of those of the line, under the immediate command of a Captain to be paid \$15 per month.

Salaries due to State employés were to be punctually paid when due ; and when funds were wanted for that purpose, they were to be supplied from Mexico.

The King made a donation of \$12,000, which, with another like sum to be contributed by the Spaniards themselves, would serve to liquidate their debts incurred on their first occupation of the Islands.

The Governor and Bishop were recommended to consider the project of a refuge for young Spanish women arrived from Spain, and to study the question of dowries for native women married to poor Spaniards.

The offices of Secretaries and Notaries were no longer to be sold, but conferred on persons who merited such appointments.

The governors were instructed not to make grants of land to their relations, servants or friends, but solely to those who should have resided at least three years in the islands, and have worked the lands so conceded. Any grants which might have already been made to the relations of the governors or magistrates were to be cancelled.

The rent paid by the Chinese for the land they occupied was to be applied to the necessities of the capital.

The Governor and Bishop were to enjoin the judges not to permit costly law-suits, but to execute summary justice verbally, and so far as possible, fines were not to be inflicted.

The City of Manila was to be fortified in a manner to ensure it against all further attacks or risings.

Four penitentiaries were to be established in the Islands in the most convenient places, with the necessary garrisons, and six to eight galleys and frigates well armed and ready for defence against the English corsairs who might come by way of the Moluccas.

In the most remote and unexplored parts of the Islands, the Governor was to have unlimited powers to act as he should please, without consulting His Majesty; but projected enterprises of conversion, pacification, &c., at the expense of the Royal Treasury, were to be submitted to a Council comprising the Bishop, the captains, &c. The Governor was authorised to capitulate and agree with the captains and others who might care to undertake conversions and pacifications on their own account, and to concede the title of *Maestre de Campo* to such persons, on condition that such capitulations should be forwarded to His Majesty for ratification.

Only those persons domiciled in the Islands would be permitted to trade with them.

A sum of \$1,000 was to be taken from the tributes paid into the Royal Treasury for the foundation of the Hospital for the Spaniards, and the annual sum of \$600, appropriated by the Governor for its support, was confirmed. Moreover, the Royal Treasury of Mexico was to send clothing to the value of 400 ducats for the Hospital use.

The Hospital for the natives was to receive an annual donation of \$600 for its support, and an immediate supply of clothing from Mexico to the value of \$200.

Slaves held by Spaniards were to be immediately set at liberty. No native was thenceforth to make slaves. All new-born natives were declared free. The bondage of all existing slaves from ten years of age was to cease on their attaining twenty years of age. Those above twenty years of age were to serve five years longer, and then become free. At any time, notwithstanding the foregoing conditions, they would be entitled to purchase their liberty, the price of which was to be determined by the Governor and the Bishop.¹

There being no tithes payable to the Church by Spaniards or natives, the clergy were to receive for their maintenance the half real above mentioned in lieu thereof, from the tribute paid by each native subjected to the Crown. When the Spaniards should have crops, they were to pay tithes to the clergy.

A grant was made of 12,000 ducats for the building and ornaments of the Cathedral, and an immediate advance of 2,000 ducats on account of this grant was made from the funds to be remitted from Mexico.

Forty Austin Friars were to be sent at once to the Philippines, to be followed by missionaries from other corporations. The King allowed \$500 to be paid against the \$1,000 passage money for each priest, the balance to be defrayed out of the common funds of the clergy, derived from their share of the tribute.

¹ Bondage in the Philippines was apparently not so necessary for the interests of the Church as it was in Cuba, where a commission of Friars, appointed soon after the discovery of the island, to deliberate on the policy of partially permitting slavery there, reported "that the Indians would not labour without compulsion" and that, unless they laboured, they could not be brought into communication "with the whites, nor be converted to Christianity." *Vide* W. H. Prescott's "Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico," tom. II., Chap. I., page 104, ed. 1878.

Missionaries in great numbers had already flocked to the Philippines and roamed wherever they thought fit, without license from the Bishop, whose authority they utterly repudiated.

Affirming that they had the direct consent of His Holiness the Pope, they menaced with excommunication whosoever attempted to impede them in their free peregrination. Five years after the foundation of Manila, the city and environs were infested with niggardly mendicant Friars, whose slothful habits placed their supercilious countrymen in ridicule before the natives. They were tolerated but a short time in the Islands; not altogether because of the ruin they would have brought to European moral influence on the untutored tribes, but because the Bishop was highly jealous of all competition against the Augustine order to which he belonged. Consequent on the representations of Fray Alonso Sanchez, His Majesty ordained that all priests who went to the Philippines were, in the first place, to resolve never to quit the Islands without the Bishop's sanction, which was to be conceded with great circumspection and only in extreme cases, whilst the Governor was instructed not to afford them means of exit on his sole authority.

Neither did the Bishop regard with satisfaction the presence of the Commissary of the Inquisition, whose secret investigations, shrouded with mystery, curtailed the liberty of the loftiest functionary, sacred or civil. At the instigation of Fray Alonso Sanchez, the junta recommended the King to recall the Commissary and extinguish the office, but he refused to do so. In short, the chief aims of the Bishop were to enhance the power of the Friars, raise the dignity of the Colonial mitre, and secure a religious monopoly for the Augustine order.

Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was the next Governor appointed to these Islands, on the recommendation of Fray Alonso Sanchez. In the Royal Instructions which he brought with him were embodied all the above-mentioned civil, ecclesiastical and military reforms.

At the same time, King Philip abolished the Supreme Court. He wished to put an end to the interminable lawsuits so prejudicial to the development of the Colony. Therefore the President and Magistrates were replaced by Justices of the Peace, and the former returned to Mexico in 1591. This measure served only to widen the breach between the Bishop and the Civil Government. Dasmariñas compelled

him to keep within the sphere of his sacerdotal functions, and tolerated no rival in State concerns. There was no appeal on the spot against the Governor's authority. This restraint irritated and disgusted the Bishop to such a degree, that, at the age of 78 years, he resolved to present himself at the Spanish Court. On his arrival there, he explained to the King the impossibility of one Bishop attending to the spiritual wants of a people dispersed over so many islands. For seven years after the foundation of Manila as capital of the Archipelago, its principal church was simply a parish church. In 1578 it was raised to the dignity of a Cathedral, at the instance of the King. Three years after this date the Cathedral of Manila was solemnly declared to be a "Suffragan Cathedral of Mexico, under the Advocation of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception;" Domingo Salazar being the first Bishop consecrated. He now proposed to raise the Manila See to an Archbishopric, with three Suffragan Bishops. The King gave his consent, subject to approval from Rome, and this following in due course, Salazar was appointed first Archbishop of Manila, but he died before the Papal Bull arrived, dated 14th of August, 1595, officially authorising his investiture.

In the meantime, Alonso Sanchez had proceeded to Rome in May, 1589. Amongst many other Pontifical favours conceded to him, he obtained the right for himself, or his assigns, to use a die or stamp of any form with one or more images, to be chosen by the holder, and to contain also the Figure of Christ, the Very Holy Virgin, or the Saint Peter or Paul. On the reverse was to be engraven a bust portrait of His Holiness, with the following indulgences attached thereto, viz. :—"To him who should convey the word of God to the infidels, " or give them notice of the holy mysteries—each time 300 years' " indulgence. To him who, by industry, converted any one of these, " or brought him to the bosom of the Church—full indulgence for all " sins." A number of minor indulgences were conceded for services to be rendered to the Pontificate, and for the praying so many *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias*. This Bull was dated in Rome 28th of July, 1591.

Popes Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX. granted other Bulls relating to the rewards for using beads, medals, crosses, pictures, blessed images, etc., with which one could gain nine plenary indulgences every day or rescue nine souls from purgatory; and each day, twice over, all the

full indulgences yet given in and out of Rome could be obtained for living and deceased persons.

Sanchez returned to Spain (where he died), bringing with him the body of Saint Policarp, relics of Saint Potenciana, and 157 Martyrs; amongst them, 27 popes, for remission to the Cathedral of Manila.

The Supreme Court was re-established with the same faculties as those of Mexico and Lima in 1598, and since then, on seven occasions, when the Governorship has been vacant, it has acted *pro tem*. The following interesting account of the pompous ceremonial attending the reception of the Royal Seal, restoring this Court, is given by Concepcion.¹ He says :—"The Royal Seal of office was received from the ship with the accustomed solemnity. It was contained in a chest covered with purple velvet and trimmings of silver and gold, over which hung a cloth of silver and gold. It was escorted by a majestic accompaniment, marching to the sounds of clarions and cymbals and other musical instruments. The *cortège* passed through the noble city with rich vestments, with leg trimmings and uncovered heads. Behind these followed a horse, gorgeously caparisoned and girthed, for the President to place the coffer containing the Royal Seal upon its back. The streets were beautifully adorned with exquisite drapery. The High Bailiff, magnificently robed, took the reins in hand to lead the horse under a purple velvet pall, bordered with gold. The magistrates walked on either side; the aldermen of the city, richly clad, carried their staves of office in the august procession, which concluded with a military escort, standard bearers, etc., and proceeded to the Cathedral, where it was met by the Dean, holding a Cross. As the company entered the sacred edifice, the *Te Deum* was intoned by a band of music."

In 1886 a Supreme Court, exactly similar to, and independent of, that of Manila, was established in the City of Cebú. The question of precedence in official acts having been soon after disputed between the President of the Court and the Brigadier-Governor of Visayas, it was decided in favour of the latter, on appeal to the Governor-General. In

¹ "Hist. Gen. de Philipinas," by Juan de la Concepcion, Vol. III., Chap. IX., page 365, pub. Manila, 1788.

the meantime, the advisability of abolishing the Supreme Court of Cebú, was debated by the public.

* * * * *

For many years after the conquest, deep religious sentiment pervaded the State policy, and not a few of the Governors-General acquired fame for their demonstrations of piety.

Nevertheless, the conflictive ambition of the State and Church representatives was a powerful hindrance to the progress of the Colony.

The quarrel between Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644) and the Archbishop arose from a circumstance of little concern to the Colony. The Archbishop ordered a military officer, who had a slave, to either sell or liberate her. The officer, rather than yield to either condition, wished to marry her, but failing to obtain her consent, he stabbed her to death. He thereupon took asylum in a convent, whence he was forcibly removed, and publicly executed in front of St. Augustine's Church by order of the Governor. The Archbishop protested against the act, which, in those days, was qualified as a violation of sanctuary.

The churches were closed whilst the dispute lasted. The Jesuits, always opposed to the Austin Friars, sided with the Governor. The Archbishop therefore prohibited them to preach outside their churches in any public place, under pain of excommunication and 4,000 ducats fine, whilst the other priests agreed to abstain from attending their religious or literary réunions. Finally, a religious council was called, but a coalition having been formed against the Archbishop, he was excommunicated—his goods distrained—his salary stopped, and he was suspended in his archiepiscopal functions under a penalty of 4,000 ducats fine. At this crisis, he implored mercy and the intervention of the Supreme Court. The magistrates decided against the prelate's appeal, and allowed him twelve hours to comply, under pain of continued excommunication and a further fine of 1,000 ducats. The Archbishop thereupon retired to the Convent of St. Francis, where the Governor visited him. The Archbishop subsequently made the most abject submission in an archiepiscopal decree which fully sets forth the admission of his guilt. Such a violent settlement of disputes did not long remain undisturbed, and the Archbishop again sought the first opportunity of opposing the lay authority. In this he can only be

excused—if excuse it be—as the upholder of the traditions of cordial discord between the two great factions—Church and State. The Supreme Court, under the presidency of the Governor, resolved therefore to banish the Archbishop from Manila. With this object, 50 soldiers were deputed to seize the prelate, who was secretly forewarned of their coming by his co-conspirators. On their approach he held the Host in his hand, and it is related that the sub-lieutenant sent in charge of the troops, was so horrified at his mission, that he placed the hilt of his sword upon the floor and fell upon the point, but as the sword bent he did not kill himself. The soldiers waited patiently until the Archbishop was tired out, and compelled, by fatigue, to replace the Host on the altar. Then they immediately arrested him, conducted him to a boat under a guard of five men, and landed him on the desert Island of Corregidor. The churches were at once re-opened; the Jesuits preached where they chose; terms were dictated to the contumacious Archbishop, who accepted everything unconditionally, and was thereupon permitted to resume his office.

The acts of Corcuera were enquired into by his successor, who caused him to be imprisoned for five years, but it is to be presumed that Corcuera was justified in what he did, for on his release and return to Spain, the King rewarded him with the Governorship of the Canary Islands.

It is chronicled that Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, who arrived in the galleon “San Francisco Xavier” in 1653 with the Archbishop Poblete, refused to disembark until this dignitary had blessed the earth he was going to tread. It was he too who had the privilege of witnessing the expurgation of the islands of the excommunications and admonitions of Rome. The Archbishop brought peace and good-will to all men, being charged by His Holiness to sanctify the Colony.

The ceremony was performed with great solemnity, from an elevation, in the presence of an immense concourse of people. Later on, the pious Lara was accused of perfidy to his Royal Master, and was fined \$60,000, but on being pardoned, he retired to Spain, where he took holy orders.

His successor, Diego Salcedo (1663–1668), was not so fortunate in his relations with Archbishop Poblete, for during five years he warmly contested his intervention in civil affairs. Poblete found it hard to

yield the exercise of veto in all matters which, by courtesy, had been conceded to him by the late Governor Lara. The Archbishop refused to obey the Royal decrees relating to Church appointments under the Royal patronage, such preferments being in the hands of the Governor-General as vice-royal patron. These decrees were twice notified to the Archbishop, but as he still persisted in his disobedience, Salcedo signed an order for his expulsion to Mariveles. This brought the prelate to his senses, and he remained more submissive in future. It is recorded that the relations between the Governor and the Archbishop became so strained, that the latter was compelled to pay a heavy fine—to remain standing whilst awaiting an audience—to submit to contumely during the interviews—and when he died, the Governor ordered royal feasts to celebrate the joyful event, whilst he prohibited the *de profundis* Mass, on the ground that such would be inconsistent with the secular festivities.

The King, on being apprised of this, permitted the Inquisition to take its course. Diego Salcedo was surprised in his Palace, and imprisoned by the bloodthirsty agents of the *Santo Oficio*. Some years afterwards, he was shipped on board a galleon as a prisoner to the Inquisitors of Mexico, but the ship had to put back under stress of weather, and Salcedo returned to his dungeon. There he suffered the worst privations, until he was again embarked for Mexico. On this voyage he died of grief and melancholy. The King espoused the cause of the ecclesiastics, and ordered Salcedo's goods, as well as those of his partisans, to be confiscated.

Manuel de Leon (1669) managed to preserve a good understanding with the clergy, and, on his decease, he bequeathed all his possessions to the Obras Pias (*vide* Chap. XV., foot note).

Troubles with the Archbishop and Friars were revived on the Government being assumed by Juan de Nargas (1678–1684). In the last year of his rule, the Archbishop was banished from Manila. It is difficult to adequately appreciate the causes of this quarrel, and there is doubt as to which was right—the Governor or the Archbishop. On his restoration to his See, he was one of the few prelates—perhaps the only one—who personally sought to avenge himself. During the dispute, a number of Friars had supported the Government, and these he caused to stand on a raised platform in front of a church, and

publicly recant their former acts, declaring themselves miscreants. Juan de Nargas had just retired from the Governorship after seven years' service, and the Archbishop called upon him likewise to abjure his past proceedings and perform the following penance :—To wear a penitent's garb—to place a rope around his neck, and carry a lighted candle to the doors of the cathedral and the churches of the Parian, San Gabriel and Binondo, on every feast day during four months. Nargas objected to this degradation, and claimed privilege, arguing that the Archbishop had no jurisdiction over him, as he was a Cavalier of the military order of St. James. But the Archbishop only desisted in his pretensions when the new Governor threatened to expel him again.

Fernando Bustamente Bustillo y Rueda (1717-1719) adopted stringent measures to counteract the Archbishop's excessive claims to immunity. Several individuals charged with heinous crimes had taken church asylum and defied the civil power and justice. The Archbishop was appealed to, to hand them over to the civil authorities, or allow them to be taken. He refused to do either, supporting the claim of immunity of sanctuary.

At the same time it came to the knowledge of the Governor that a movement had been set on foot against him by those citizens who favoured the Archbishop's views, and that even the Friars had so debased themselves as to seek the aid of the Chinese residents against the Governor.

Torralba, the late acting-Governor, was released from confinement by the Governor, and re-instated by him as judge in the Supreme Court, although he was under an accusation of embezzlement to the extent of \$700,000. The Archbishop energetically opposed this act. He notified to Torralba his excommunication and ecclesiastical pains, and, on his own authority, attempted to seize his person in violation of the privileges of the Supreme Court. Torralba with his sword and shield in hand expelled the Archbishop's messenger by force. Then, as judge in the Supreme Court, he hastened to avenge himself of his enemies by issuing warrants against them. They fled to church asylum, and, with the moral support of the Archbishop, laughed at the magistrates. There the refugees provided themselves with arms, and prepared for rebellion. When the Archbishop was officially informed of these facts, he still maintained that nothing could violate their

immunity. The Governor then caused the Archbishop to be arrested and confined in a fortress, with all the ecclesiastics who had joined the conspiracy against the Government.

Open riot ensued, and the priests marched to the Palace, amidst hideous clamourings, collecting the mob and citizens on the way. It was one of the most revolting scenes and remarkable events in Philippine history. Priests of the Sacred Orders of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, and Saint Augustine joined the Recoletos in shouting "Viva la Iglesia," "Viva nuestro Rey Don Felipe Quinto."¹ The excited rabble rushed to the Palace, and the guard having fled, they easily forced their way in. One priest who impudently dared to advance towards the Governor, was promptly ordered by him to stand back. The Governor, seeing himself encircled by an armed mob of laymen and servants of Christ clamouring for his downfall, pulled the trigger of his gun, but the flint failed to strike fire. Then the crowd took courage and attacked him, whilst he defended himself bravely with a bayonet, until he was overwhelmed by numbers. From the Palace he was dragged to the common jail, and stabbed and maltreated on the way.

His son, hearing of this outrage, arrived on horseback, but was run through by one of the rebels, and fell to the ground. He got up, cut his way through the infuriated rioters, but was soon surrounded and killed by numbers, who horribly mutilated his body.

The populace, urged by the clerical party, now fought for the liberty of the Archbishop. The prison doors were broken open, and the Archbishop was amongst the number of offenders liberated. The prelate came in triumph to the Palace, and assumed the Government in October, 1719. The mob, during their excesses, tore down the Royal Standard, and maltreated those whom they met of the unfortunate Governor's faithful friends. A mock enquiry into the circumstances of the riot was made in Manila in apparent judicial form. Another investigation was instituted in Mexico, which led to several of the minor actors in this sad drama being made the scapegoat victims of the more exalted criminals. The Archbishop held the Government for nine years, and was then transferred to the Mexican Bishopric of Mechoacan.

¹ "Long live the Church," "Long live our King Philip V."

Pedro Manuel de Arandia (1754–1759) is said to have died of melancholy consequent, in a measure, on his futile endeavours to govern at peace with the Friars, who always secured the favour of the King.

On four occasions the Supreme State authority in the Colony has been vested in the prelates. Archbishop Manuel Rojo, acting-Governor at the time of the British occupation of Manila in 1763, is said to have died of grief and shame in prison (1764) through the intrigues of the violent Simon de Anda y Salazar.

José Raon was Governor-General in 1768 when the expulsion of the Jesuits was decreed. After the secret determination was made known to him, he was accused of having divulged it, and of having concealed his instructions. He was thereupon placed under guard in his own residence, where he expired.

Domingo Moriones y Murillo (1877–1880), it is alleged, had altercations with the Friars, and found it necessary to remind the Archbishop Payo that the supreme power in the Philippines belonged to the State—not to the Church representative.

From the earliest times of Spanish dominion, it had been the practice of the natives to expose to view the corpses of their relations and friends in the public highways and villages whilst conveying them to the parish churches, where they were again exhibited to the common gaze, pending the pleasure of the parish priest to perform the last obsequies. This outrage on public decorum was proscribed by the Director-General of Civil Administration in a circular of the 18th of October, 1887, addressed to the Provincial Governors, enjoining them to prohibit such indecent scenes in future. Thereupon the parish priests simply showed their contempt for restraint by the civil authorities, and simulated their inability to elucidate to the native petty Governors the true intent and meaning of the order. At the same time, the Archbishop of Manila issued instructions on the subject to his subordinates in very equivocal language. The native local authorities then petitioned the Civil Governor of Manila to make the matter clear to them.

The Civil Governor of Manila referred the matter back to the Director-General of Civil Administration. This functionary, in a new circular dated 4th of November, confirmed his previous mandate of the 18th October, and censured the action of the parish priests, who “in

improper language and from the pulpit," had incited the native headmen to set aside his authority. The author of the circular sarcastically added the pregnant remark, that he was penetrated with the conviction that the Archbishop's sense of patriotism and rectitude *would deter him from subverting the law*. This incident seriously aroused the jealousy of the Friars holding vicarages, and did not improve the relations between Church and State.



CHAPTER V.

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND JAPAN.

Two decades of existence in the 16th century was but a short period in which to make known the conditions of this new Colony to its neighbouring States, when its only regular intercourse with them was through the Chinese who came to trade with Manila. Japanese mariners, therefore, appear to have continued to regard the north of Luzon as "no-man's-land," for years after its nominal annexation by the Spaniards they assembled there, whether as merchants or buccaneers it is difficult to determine. Spanish authority had been asserted by Salcedo along the west coast about as far as lat. 18° N., but in 1591 the north coast was only known to Europeans geographically. So far, the natives there had not made the acquaintance of their new masters.

A large Spanish galley cruising in these waters met a Japanese vessel off Cape Bojeador (N.W. point) and fired a shot which carried away the stranger's mainmast, obliging him to heave-to. Then the galley-men, intending to board the stranger, made fast the sterns, whilst the Spaniards rushed to the bows, but the Japanese came first, boarded the galley and drove the Spaniards aft, where they would have all perished had they not cut away the mizzenmast and let it fall with all sail set. Behind this barricade, they had time to load their arquebuses and drive back the Japanese, over whom they gained a victory. The Spaniards then entered the Rio Grande de Cagayan, where they met a Japanese fleet, between which they passed peacefully. On shore they formed trenches, and mounted cannons on earthworks, but the Japanese scaled the fortifications and pulled down the cannons by the mouths.

These were recovered, and the Spanish captain had the cannon mouths greased, so that the Japanese tactics should not be repeated.

A battle was fought, and the defeated Japanese set sail ; whilst the Spaniards remained to obtain the submission of the natives by force or by persuasion.

Japanese had also come to Manila to trade, and were located in the neighbouring village of Dilao,¹ where the Franciscan Friars undertook their conversion to Christianity, whilst the Dominican order considered the spiritual care of the Chinese their especial charge.

The Portuguese had been in possession of Macao since the year 1557, and traded with various Chinese ports, whilst in the Japanese town of Nagasaki there was a small colony of Portuguese merchants. These were the indirect sources whence the Emperor of Japan learnt that Europeans had founded a colony in Luzon Island, and in 1593 he sent a message to the Governor of the Philippines calling upon him to surrender and become his vassal, threatening invasion in the event of refusal. The Spanish colonies at that date were hardly in a position to treat with haughty scorn the menaces of the Japanese potentate, for they were simultaneously threatened with troubles with the Dutch in the Moluccas, for which they were preparing an armament (*vide* Chap. VI.). The want of men, ships and war material obliged them to seek conciliation with dignity. The Japanese Ambassador, Farranda Kiemon, was received with great honours and treated with the utmost deference during his sojourn in Manila.

The Governor replied to the Emperor, that being but a lieger of the King of Spain—a mighty monarch of unlimited resources and power,—he was unable to acknowledge the Emperor's suzerainty ; for the most important duty imposed upon him by his Sovereign was the defence of his vast domains against foreign aggression ; that, on the other hand, he was desirous of entering into amicable and mutually advantageous relations with the Emperor, and solicited his conformity to a treaty of commerce, the terms of which would be elucidated to him by an envoy.

A priest, Juan Cobo, and an infantry captain were thereupon accredited to the Japanese Court as Philippine ambassadors. On their arrival they were, without delay, admitted in audience by the Emperor ; the treaty of commerce was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties, and the ambassadors, with some Japanese nobles, set sail for Manila in Japanese ships, which foundered on the voyage, and all perished.

¹ Now the suburb of Paco. Between 1606 and 1608, owing to a rising of the Japanese settlers, their dwellings in Dilao were sacked and the settlement burnt.

Neither the political nor the clerical party in Manila was, however, dismayed by this first disaster, and the prospect of penetrating Japan was followed up by a second expedition.

Between the Friars an animated discussion arose, when the Jesuits protested against members of any other order being sent to Japan. Saint Francis Xavier had, years before, obtained a Papal Bull from Pope Gregory XIII., awarding Japan to his Order, which had been the first to establish missions in Nagasaki. Jesuits were still there in numbers, and the necessity of sending members of rival religious bodies is not made clear in the historical records. The jealous feud between those holy men was referred to the Governor, who naturally decided against the Jesuits, in pursuit of the King's policy of grasping territory under the cloak of piety. A certain Fray Pedro Bautista was chosen as ambassador, and in his suite were three other priests. These embarked in a Spanish frigate, whilst Farranda Kiemon, who had remained in Manila the honoured guest of the Government, took his leave, and went on board his own vessel. The authorities bid farewell to the two embassies with ostentatious ceremonies and amidst public rejoicings, and on the 26th of May, 1593, the two ships started on their journey.

After 30 days' navigation, one ship arrived safely at Nagasaki and the other at a port 35 miles off it.

Pedro Bautista, introduced by Farranda Kiemon, was presented to the Emperor Taycosama, who welcomed him as an ambassador authorized to *negotiate a treaty of commerce, and conclude an offensive and defensive alliance for mutual protection*. The Protocol was agreed to, and signed by both parties, and the relations between the Emperor and Pedro Bautista became more and more cordial. The latter solicited, and obtained, permission to reside indefinitely in the country, and send the treaty on by messenger to the Governor of the Philippines, hence the ships in which the envoys had arrived remained about ten months in port. A concession was also granted to build a church at Meaco, near Osaka, and it was opened in 1594, when Mass was publicly celebrated.

In Nagasaki the Jesuits were allowed to reside unmolested, and practise their religious rites amongst the Portuguese population of traders and others who might have voluntarily embraced Christianity. Bautista went there to consult with the chief of the Jesuit Mission, who energetically opposed what he held to be an encroachment upon

the monopoly rights of his Order, conceded by the self-constituted Monarch of the whole world, Pope Gregory XIII., and confirmed by Royal Decrees. Bautista, however, showed a permission which he had received from the Jesuit General, by virtue of which he was suffered to continue his course until the arrival of that dignitary himself.

The Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki were not slow to comprehend that Bautista's coming with priests at his command was but a prelude to Spanish territorial conquest, in which they would naturally be the losers when their hoped-for emancipation from the Spanish yoke should one day be realized.¹ Therefore to save their own interests, they forewarned the Governor of Nagasaki, who prohibited Bautista from continuing his propaganda against the established religion of the country in contravention of the Emperor's commands. But little heed was taken of this injunction, and Bautista was expelled from Nagasaki for contumacy.

It was now manifest to the Emperor that he had been basely deceived; he was persuaded to believe that under the pretext of concluding a commercial and political treaty as Philippine ambassador, Bautista and his party had, in effect, introduced themselves into his realm with the clandestine object of seducing his subjects from their allegiance, of undermining their consciences, perverting them from the religion of their forefathers, and that all this would bring about the dismemberment of his Empire and the overthrow of his dynasty. Not only had Taycosama abstained from persecuting foreigners for the exercise of their religious rites, but he freely licensed the Jesuits to continue their mission in Nagasaki and wherever Catholics happened to congregate. He had permitted the construction of their temples, but he could not tolerate a deliberate propaganda which foreshadowed his own ruin.²

Pedro Bautista's designs being prematurely obstructed, he took his passage back to Manila from Nagasaki in a Japanese vessel, leaving behind him his interpreter, Fray Jerome, with the other Franciscan Monks. An Imperial Decree was then issued to prohibit foreign priests from interfering with the religion of Japanese subjects; but

¹ Portugal was forcibly annexed to the Spanish Crown from 1581 to 1640.

² The persecution of religious apostates by Philip II.'s Generals during the "Wars of the Flanders," was due to his foresight of the political disadvantages which would ensue from religious discord.

this law being set at naught by Bautista's colleagues, one was arrested and imprisoned, and warrants were issued against the others; meanwhile the Jesuits in Nagasaki were in no way restrained.

The Governor of Nagasaki caused the Franciscan propagandists to be conducted on board a Portuguese ship and handed over to the charge of the captain, under severe penalties if he aided or allowed their escape, but they were free to go wherever they chose outside the Japanese Empire. The captain, however, permitted one to return ashore, and for some time he wandered about the country in disguise.

Pedro Bautista had reached Manila, where the ecclesiastical dignitaries prevailed upon the Governor to sanction another expedition to Japan, and Bautista arrived in that country a second time with a number of Franciscan Friars. The Emperor now lost all patience, and determined not only to repress these venturesome foreigners, but to stamp out the last vestige of their revolutionary machinations. Therefore, by Imperial Decree, the arrest was ordered of all the Franciscan Friars, and all natives who persisted in their adhesion to these missionaries' teachings. Twenty-six of those taken were tried and condemned to ignominious exhibition and death—the Spaniards, because they had come into the country and had received royal favours under false pretences, representing themselves as political ambassadors and suite—the Japanese, because they had forsworn the religion of their ancestors and bid fair to become a constant danger and source of discord in the realm. Amongst these Spaniards was Pedro Bautista. And after their ears and noses had been cut off, they were promenaded from town to town in a cart, finally entering Nagasaki on horseback. Each bore the sentence of death on a breast-board, which stated the reasons why they were so condemned. The sentence was to be carried out where common felons were ordinarily executed; but a deputation of Portuguese merchants waited upon the Governor at Nagasaki to beg that the crucifixions should take place elsewhere. The Governor readily acceded to their request—indeed there is nothing in the history of these events which points to vindictiveness on the part of the Japanese Emperor or his officers.

On a high ground, near the City and the port, in front of the Jesuits' Church, these 26 persons were crucified and stabbed to death with lances, in expiation of their political offences. It was a sad fate for men who conscientiously believed that they were justified in

violating rights and laws of nations for the propagation of their particular views, but can one complain? Would Buddhist missionaries in Spain have met with milder treatment at the hands of the Inquisitors?¹

Each Catholic body was supposed to designate the same road to Heaven—each professed to teach the same means of obtaining the grace of God; yet, strange to say, each bore the other an implacable hatred—an inextinguishable jealousy! If conversion to Christianity were for the glory of God and not for the glory of the Friars, what could it have mattered to the Franciscan order whether souls of Japanese were saved by them or by others? For King Philip it was the same whether his political tools were of one denomination or the other, but many of the Jesuits in Japan happened to be Portuguese.

The Jesuits in Manila probably felt that in view of their opposition to the Franciscan missions, they might incur public censure, and be held morally responsible for indirectly contributing to the unfortunate events related; therefore, they formally declared that Pedro Bautista and his followers died excommunicated, because they had disobeyed the Bull of Pope Gregory XIII.

The general public were much excited when the news spread through the City, and a special Mass was said, followed by a religious procession through the streets. The Governor sent a commission to Japan, under the control of Luis de Navarrete, to ask for the dead bodies and chattels of the executed priests. The Emperor showed no rancour whatsoever; on the contrary, his policy was already carried out; and to welcome the Spanish lay deputies, he gave a magnificent banquet and entertained them sumptuously. Luis de Navarrete having claimed the dead bodies of the priests, the Emperor at once ordered the guards on the execution ground to retire, and told Navarrete that he could dispose as he pleased of the mortal remains. Navarrete thereupon hastened to Nagasaki, but before he could reach there, devout Catholics had cut up the bodies; one carrying away a head, another a

¹ Religious intolerance in Spain was confirmed in 1822, by the New Penal Code of that date; the text reads thus:—"Todo el que conspirase directamente y de hecho á establecer otra religion en las Españas, ó á que la Nacion Española deje de profesar la religion Apostólica Romana es traidor y sufrirá la pena de " muerte." Artículo 227 del Código Penal presentado á las Córtes en 22 de Abril de 1821 y sancionado en 1822.

leg, and so forth. It happened too, that Navarrete died of disease a few days after his arrival in Nagasaki. His successor, Diego de Losa, recovered the pieces of the deceased priests, which he put into a box and shipped for Manila, but the vessel and box were lost on the way.

Diego de Losa returned to Manila, the bearer of a polite letter, and very acceptable presents from the Emperor to the Governor of the Philippines.

The letter fully expatiated on recent events, and set forth a well-reasoned justification of the Emperor's decrees against the priests, in terms which proved that he was neither a tyrant nor a wanton savage, but an astute politician. The letter stated, that under the pretext of being ambassadors, the priests in question had come into the country and had taught a diabolical law belonging to foreign countries, and which aimed at superseding the rites and laws of his own religion, confused his people, and destroyed his Government and Kingdom ; for which reason he had rigorously proscribed it. Against these prohibitions, the religious men of Luzon preached their law publicly to humble people, such as servants and slaves. Not being able to permit this persistence in law-breaking, he had ordered their death by placing them on crosses ; for he was informed that in the Kingdom where Spaniards dominated, this teaching of their religious doctrine was but an artifice and stratagem by means of which the civil power was deceitfully gained. He astutely asks the Governor-General if he would consent to Japanese preaching their laws in his territory, perturbing public peace with such novelties amongst the lower classes ?

It is certain he would not permit it, argues the Emperor—it would be severely repressed, and he had done the same in the exercise of his absolute power and for the good of his subjects. Thus, he adds, he has avoided the occurrence in his dominions of what has taken place in those regions where the Spaniards deposed the legitimate Kings, and had constituted themselves masters by religious fraud.

It is true, he admits, that he seized the cargo of a Spanish ship, but it was only as a reprisal for the harm which he had suffered by the tumult raised when they evaded the edict.

But as the Spanish Governor had thought fit to send another ambassador from so far, risking the perils of the sea, he was anxious for peace and mutual good-feeling, but only on the precise condition that no more individuals should be sent to teach a law foreign to his

realm, and under these unalterable conditions the Governor's subjects were at liberty to trade freely with Japan ; that by reason of his former friendship and royal clemency, he had refrained from killing all the Spaniards with the priests and their servants, and had allowed them to return to their country.

As to religion itself, Taycosama is said to have remarked that among so many professed, one more was of little consequence,—hence his toleration in the beginning, and his continued permission to the Jesuits to maintain their doctrines amongst their own sectarians. Moreover, it is said that a map was shown to Taycosama, marking the domains of the King of Spain and Portugal, and that in reply to his enquiry : “How could one man have conquered such vast territory ?”—a certain Father Guzman (or more probably it was a Portuguese) answered : “By secretly sending religious men to teach their doctrine, and when a sufficient number of persons were so converted, the Spanish soldiery, with their aid, annexed their country and overthrew their Kings.” Such an avowal naturally impressed Taycosama profoundly.¹

In Seville there was quite a tumult when the details of the executions in Japan were published.

In the meantime, the lamentable end of the Franciscan missionaries did not deter others from making further attempts to follow their example. During the first 20 years of the 17th century, priests succeeded in entering Japan, under the pretence of trading, in spite of the extreme measures adopted to discover them and the precautions taken to uproot the new doctrine, which it was feared would become the forerunner of sedition. Indeed, many Japanese nobles professing Christianity had already taken up their residence in Manila, and were regarded by the Emperor as a constant danger to his realm, hence he was careful to avoid communication with the Philippines. During the short reigns of Dayfusama and his son Xogusama, new decrees were issued, not against foreign Christians, but against those who made apostates amongst the Japanese ; and consequently two more Spanish priests were beheaded.

In September, 1622, a large number of Spanish missionaries and Christian Japanese men and children were executed in Nagasaki.

¹ “Hist. Gen. de Philipinas,” by Juan de la Concepcion, Vol. III., Chap. VIII.

Twenty-five of them were burnt, and the rest beheaded ; their remains being thrown into the sea to avoid the Christians following their odious custom of preserving parts of corpses as relics. Two days afterwards, four Franciscan and two Dominican Friars with five Japanese were burnt in Omura. Then followed an edict, stating the pains and penalties, civil deprivations, etc. against all who refused to abandon their apostasy and return to the faith of their forefathers. Another edict was issued, imposing death upon those who should conduct priests to Japan, and forfeiture of the ships in which they should arrive and the merchandise with which they should come. To all informers against native apostates, the culprits' estates and goods were transferred as a reward.

A Spanish deputation was sent to the Emperor of Japan in 1622, alleging a desire to renew commercial relations, but the Emperor was so exasperated at the recent defiance of his decrees, that he refused to accept the deputies' presents from the Philippine Government, and sent them and the deputation away.

Still there were Friars in Manila eager to seek martyrdom, but the Philippine traders, in view of the danger of confiscation of their ships and merchandise if they carried missionaries, resolved not to despatch vessels to Japan if ecclesiastics insisted on taking passage. The Government supported this resolution in the interests of trade, and formally prohibited the transport of priests. The Archbishop of Manila, on his part, imposed ecclesiastical penalties on those of his subordinates who should clandestinely violate this prohibition.

Supplicatory letters from Japan reached the religious communities in Manila, entreating them to send more priests to aid in the spread of Christianity, therefore the chiefs of the Orders consulted together, bought a ship, and paid high wages to its officers to carry four Franciscan, four Dominican and two Recoleta priests to Japan. When the Governor, Alonso Fajardo, heard of the intended expedition, he threatened to prohibit it, affirming that he would not consent to any more victims being sent to Japan. Thereupon representatives of the religious orders waited upon him, to state that if he persisted in his prohibition, upon his conscience would fall the enormous charge of having lost the souls which they had hoped to save. The Governor therefore retired from the discussion, remitting the question to the Archbishop, who at once permitted the ship to leave, conveying the ten priests disguised as merchants. Several times the vessel was nearly

wrecked, but at length arrived safely in a Japanese port ; the ten priests landed, and were shortly afterwards burnt by Imperial order.

In Rome, a very disputed enquiry had been made into the circumstances of the Franciscan mission ; but in spite of the severe ordeal of the *diaboli advocatus*, canonization was conceded to Pedro Bantista and his companions.

In 1629, the Papal Bull of Urban VIII., dated 14th of September, 1627, was published in Manila, amidst public feasts and popular rejoicing. The Bull declared the missionaries of Japan to be Saints and Martyrs and Patron Saints of the second class. Increased animation in favour of missions to Japan became general in consequence. Ten thousand dollars were collected to fit out a ship to carry 12 priests from Manila, besides 24 priests who came from Pangasinan to embark secretly. The ship, however, was wrecked off the Ilocos Province coast, but the crew and priests were saved.

A large junk was then secretly prepared at a distance from Manila for the purpose of conveying another party of friars to Japan ; but just as they were about to embark, the Governor sent a detachment of soldiers with orders to prevent them doing so, and he definitely prohibited further missionary expeditions.

In 1633, the final extinction of Christians was vigorously commenced by the Emperor To-Kogunsama ; and in the following year 79 persons were executed. The same Emperor sent a ship to Manila with a present of 150 lepers, saying that as he did not permit Christians in his country, and knowing that the priests had specially cared for these unfortunate beings, he remitted them to their care. The first impulse of the Spaniards was to sink the ship with cannon shots, but finally it was agreed to receive the lepers, who were conducted with great pomp through the city and lodged in a large shed at Dilao (now the suburb of Paco). This gave rise to the foundation of the Saint Lazarus' (Lepers') Hospital, existing at the present day.¹ The Governor replied to the Emperor that if any more were sent he would kill them and their conductors.

The Emperor then convoked a great assembly of his vassal Kings and Nobles, and solemnly imposed upon them the strict obligation to

¹ This Hospital was rebuilt with a legacy left by the Gov.-Gen. Don Manuel de Leon in 1677. It was afterwards subsidized by the Government, and was under the care of the Franciscan Friars, up to the close of Spanish dominion.

fulfil all the edicts against the entry and permanence of Christians, under severe penalties, forfeiture of property, deprivation of dignities, or death. So intent was this Prince on effectually annihilating Christianity within his Empire, that he henceforth interdicted all trade with Macao; and when in 1640 his decree was disregarded by four Portuguese traders, who, describing themselves as ambassadors, arrived with a suite of 46 Orientals, they were all executed.

In the same year, the Governor of the Philippines called a Congress of local officials and ecclesiastics; amongst whom it was agreed that to send missionaries to Japan was to send them directly to death, and it was henceforth resolved to abandon Catholic missions in that country.

Secret missions and consequent executions still continued until about the year 1642, when the Dutch took Tanchiu—in Formosa Island—from the Spaniards, and intercepted the passage to Japan of priests and merchants alike. The conquest of Japan was a feat which all the artifice of King Philip IV.'s favourites and their monastic agents could not compass.



CHAPTER VI.

CONFLICTS WITH THE DUTCH.

CONSEQUENT on the union of the Crowns of Portugal and Spain (1581 to 1640), the feuds, as between nations, diplomatically subsided, although the individual antagonism was as rife as ever.

Spanish and Portuguese interests in the Moluccas, as elsewhere, were thenceforth officially mutual. In the Molucca group, the old contests between the once rival Kingdoms had estranged the natives from their forced alliances. Anti-Portuguese and Philo-Portuguese parties had sprung up amongst the petty sovereignties, but the Portuguese fort and factory established in Ternate Island were held for many years, despite all contentions. But another rivalry, as formidable and more detrimental than that of the Portuguese in days gone by, now menaced Spanish ascendancy.

From the close of the 16th century up to the year of the "Family Compact" Wars (1763), Holland and Spain were relentless foes. To recount the numerous combats between their respective fleets during this period, would itself require a volume. It will suffice here to show the bearing of these political conflicts upon the concerns of the Philippine colony. The treaty of Antwerp, which was wrung from the Spaniards in 1609, twenty-eight years after the union of Spain and Portugal, broke the scourge of their tyranny, whilst it failed to assuage the mutual antipathy. One of the consequences of the "Wars of the Flanders," which terminated with this treaty, was that the Dutch were obliged to seek in the Far East the merchandise which had hitherto been supplied to them from the Peninsula. The short-sighted policy of the Spaniards in closing to the Dutch the Portuguese markets, which were now theirs, brought upon themselves the destruction of

the monopolies which they had gained by the Union. The Dutch were now free, and their old tyrant's policy induced them to independently establish their own trading headquarters in the Molucca Islands, whence they could obtain directly the produce forbidden to them in the home ports. Hence, from those islands, the ships of a powerful Netherlands Trading Company sallied forth from time to time to meet the Spanish galleons from Mexico laden with silver and manufactured goods.

Previous to this, and during the Wars of the Flanders, Dutch corsairs hovered about the waters of the Moluccas, to take reprisals from the Spaniards. These encounters frequently took place at the eastern entrance of the San Bernadino Straits, where the Dutch were accustomed to heave-to in anticipation of the arrival of their prizes.

In this manner, constantly roving about the Philippine waters, they enriched themselves at the expense of their detested adversary, and, in a small degree, avenged themselves of the bloodshed and oppression which for over sixty years had desolated the Low Countries.

The Philippine Colony lost immense sums in the seizure of its galleons from Mexico, upon which it almost entirely depended for subsistence. Being a dependency of New Spain, its whole intercourse with the civilized world, its supplies of troops and European manufactured articles, were contingent upon the safe arrival of the galleons. Also the dollars with which they annually purchased cargoes from the Chinese for the galleons came from Mexico.

Consequently, the Dutch usually took the aggressive in these sea-battles, although they were not always victorious. When there were no ships to meet, they bombarded the ports where others were being built. The Spaniards, on their part, from time to time fitted out vessels to run down to the Molucca Islands to attack the enemy in his own waters.

During the Governorship of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (1590-1593), the native King of Siao Island—one of the Molucca group—came to Manila to offer homage and vassalage to the representative of the King of Spain and Portugal, in return for protection against the incursions of the Dutch and the raids of the Ternate natives. Dasmariñas received him and the Spanish priests who accompanied him with affability, and, being satisfied with his credentials, he prepared a large expedition to

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also well armed, besides a number of small light vessels, to assist in the formation of line of battle.

All the European fighting men in Manila and Cavite embarked—over 1,000 Spaniards—the flower of the Colony, together with a large force of natives, who were taught to believe that the Dutch were infidels. On the issue of this day's events perchance depended the possession of the Colony. Manila and Cavite were garrisoned by volunteers. Orations were offered in the Churches. The Miraculous Image of Our Lady of the Guide was taken in procession from the Hermit, and exposed to public view in the Cathedral. The Saints of the different churches and sanctuaries were adored and exhibited daily. The Governor himself took the supreme command, and dispelled all wavering doubt in his subordinates by proclaiming Saint Mark's promise of intercession. On his ship he hoisted the Royal Standard, on which was embroidered the Image of the Holy Virgin, with the motto "*Mostrate esse Matrem*," and over a beautifully calm sea he led the way to battle.

A shot from the Spanish heavy artillery opened the bloody combat. The Dutch were completely vanquished, after a fierce struggle, which lasted six hours. Their three ships were destroyed, and their flags, artillery, and plundered merchandise to the value of \$300,000, were seized. This famous engagement was thenceforth known as the Battle of Playa Honda.

Again in 1611, under Silva, a squadron sailed to the Moluccas and defeated the Dutch off Gilolo Island.

In 1617, the Spaniards had a successful engagement off the Zambales coast with the Dutch, who lost three of their ships.

In July, 1620, three Mexican galleons were met by three Dutch vessels off Cape Espíritu Santo (Samar Island), at the entrance of the San Bernadino Straits, but managed to escape in the dark. Two ran ashore and broke up; the third reached Manila. After this, the Governor-General, Alonso Fajardo de Tua, ordered the course of the State ships to be varied on each voyage.

In 1625, the Dutch again appeared off the Zambales coast, and Gerónimo de Silva went out against them. The Spaniards having lost one man, relinquished the pursuit of the enemy, and the Commander was brought to trial by the Supreme Court.

In 1626, at the close of the Governorship of Fernando de Silva, a

Spanish Colony was founded on Formosa Island, but no supplies were sent to it, and consequently in 1642 it surrendered to the Dutch, who held it for 20 years, until they were driven out by the Chinese adventurer Koxinga. And thus for over a century and a half the strife continued, until the Dutch concentrated their attention on the development of their Eastern Colonies, which the power of Spain, growing more and more effete, was incompetent to impede.

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The rule of the Governors-General of the Islands was, upon the whole, benignant with respect to the natives when these manifested submission. Apart from the unconcealed animosity of the monastic party, the Governor-General's liberty of action was always very much locally restrained by the Supreme Court and by individual officials. The standing rule was, that in the event of the death or deprivation of office of the Governor-General, the Civil Government was to be assumed by the Supreme Court, and the military administration by the senior magistrate. Latterly, in the absence of a Governor-General, from any cause whatsoever, the sub-inspector of the forces became Acting Governor-General.

Up to the beginning of the present century, the authority of the King's absolute will was always jealously imposed, and the Governors-General were frequently rebuked for having exercised independent action, taking the initiative in what they deemed the best policy. But Royal decrees could not enforce honesty ; the peculations and frauds on the part of the secular authorities, and increasing quarrels and jealousies amongst the several religious bodies, seemed to annihilate all prospect of social and material progress of the Colony. As early as the reign of Philip III. (1598 to 1621), the procurators of Manila had, during three years, been unsuccessfully soliciting from the mother country financial help for the Philippines to meet official discrepancies. The affairs of the Colony were eventually submitted to a special Royal Commission in Spain, the result being, that the King was advised to abandon this possession, which was not only unproductive, but had become a costly centre of disputes and bad feeling. However, Fray Hernando de Moraga, a missionary from the Philippines, happened to be in the Peninsula at the time, and successfully implored the King to withhold his ratification of the recommendation of the Commission. His Majesty avowed, that even though the maintenance of this Colony should exhaust

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his Mexican Treasury, his conscience would not allow him to consent to the perdition of souls which had been saved, and the hope of rescuing yet far more in these distant regions.

During the first two centuries following the foundation of the Colony, it was the custom for a Royal Commission to be appointed to enquire into the official acts of the outgoing Governor before he could leave the islands.—*Hacérle la residencia*, as it was called.

Whilst on the one hand this measure effectually served as a check upon a Governor who might be inclined to adopt unjustifiable means of coercion, or commit defalcations, it was also attended with many abuses ; for against an energetic ruler, an antagonistic party was always raised, ready to join in the ultimate ruin of the Governor who had aroused their susceptibilities by refusing to favour their nefarious schemes. Hence when a *prima facie* case was made out against a Governor, his inexperienced successor was often persuaded to consent to his incarceration whilst the articles of impeachment were being investigated.

Sebastian Hurtado de Coreuera (1635–1644) had been Governor of Panamá before he was appointed to the Philippines. During his term of office here he had usually sided with the Jesuits on important questions taken up by the Friars, and on being succeeded by Diego Fajardo, he was brought to trial, fined \$25,000, and put into prison. After five years' confinement, he was released by Royal order and returned to Spain, where the King partially compensated him with the Government of the Canary Islands.

Juan Vargas (1678–1684) had been in office for nearly seven years, and the Royal Commissioner who enquired into his acts took four years to draw up his report. He filled 20 large volumes of a statement of the charges made against the late Governor, some of which were grave, but the majority of them were of a very frivolous character. This is the longest enquiry of the kind on record.

Acting-Governor José Torralba (1715–1717) was arrested on the termination of his Governorship and confined in the Fortress of Santiago, charged with embezzlement to the amount of \$700,000. He had also to deposit the sum of \$20,000 for the expenses of the enquiry commission. Several other officials were imprisoned with him as accomplices in his crimes. He is said to have sent his son with public funds on trading expeditions around the coasts, and his wife and young

children to Mexico with an enormous sum of money defrauded from the Government. Figures at that date show, that when he took the Government, there was a balance in the Treasury of \$238,849, and when he left it in two years and a half, the balance was \$33,226, leaving a deficit of \$205,623, whilst the expenses of the colony were not extraordinary during that period. Amongst other charges, he was accused of having sold ten Provincial Government licences (*encomiendas*), many offices of notaries, scribes, &c., and conceded 27 months' gambling licences to the Chinese in the Parian without accounting to the Treasury. He was finally sentenced to pay a fine of \$100,000, the costs of the trial, the forfeiture of the \$20,000 already deposited, perpetual privation of public office, and banishment from the Philippine Islands and Madrid. When the Royal order reached Manila, he was so ill that his banishment was postponed. He lived for a short time nominally under arrest, and was permitted to beg alms for his subsistence until he died in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios in 1736.

The defalcations of some of the Governors caused no inconsiderable anxiety to the Sovereign. Pedro de Arandia (1754-1759) was a corrupt administrator of his country's wealth. He is said to have amassed a fortune of \$25,000 during his five years' term of office, and on his death he left it all to pious works.

Governor Berenguer y Marquina (1788-1793) was accused of bribery, but the King absolved him.

In the present century, a Governor of Yloilo is said to have absconded in a sailing ship with a large sum of the public funds. A local Governor was then also *ex-officio* administrator; and, although the system was afterwards reformed, official extortion was rife throughout the whole Spanish administration of the Colony, up to the last.

A strange drama of the year 1622 well portrays the spirit of the times—the immunity of a Governor-General in those days, as well as the religious sentiment which accompanied his most questionable acts. Alonso Fajardo de Tria having suspected his wife of infidelity, went to the house where she was accustomed to meet her paramour. Her attire was such as to confirm her husband's surmises. He called a priest and instructed him to confess her, telling him that he intended to take her life. The priest failing to dissuade Fajardo from inflicting such an extreme penalty, took her confession and proffered her spiritual

consolation. Then Fajardo, incensed with jealousy, mortally stabbed her. No inquiry into the occurrence seems to have been made, and he continued to govern for two years after the event, when he died of melancholy. It is recorded that the paramour, who was the son of a Cádiz merchant, had formerly been the accepted *fiancé* of Fajardo's wife, and that he arrived in Manila in their company. The Governor gave him time to confess before he killed him, after which (according to one account) he caused his house to be razed to the ground, and the land on which it stood to be strewn with salt. Juan de la Concepcion, however, says that the house stood for one hundred years after the event as a memorial of the punishment.

In 1640, Olivarez, King Philip IV.'s chief counsellor, had succeeded by his arrogance and unconstitutional policy of repression, in arousing the latent discontent of the Portuguese. A few years previously they had made an unsuccessful effort to regain their independent nationality under the sovereignty of the Duke of Braganza. At length, when a call was made upon their boldest warriors to support the King of Spain in his protracted struggle with the Catalonians, an insurrection broke out, which only terminated when Portugal had thrown off, for ever, the scourge of Spanish supremacy.

The Duke of Braganza was crowned King of Portugal, under the title of John IV., and every Portuguese colony declared in his favour, except Ceuta, on the African coast. The news of the separation of Portugal from Spain reached Manila in the following year. The Governor-General at that time—Sebastian Hurtado de Coreuera—sent out at once an expedition of picked men under Juan Claudio with orders to take Macao,—a Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the Canton River, about 40 miles west of Hongkong. The attempt miserably failed, and the blue and white ensign continued to waive unscathed over the little territory. The Governor of Macao, who was willing to yield, was denounced a traitor to Portugal, and killed by the populace. Juan Claudio, who fell a prisoner, was generously liberated by favour of the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, and returned to Manila.

The Convent of Santa Clara was founded in Manila in 1621 by Gerónima de la Asuncion, who, three years afterwards, was expelled from the management by the Friars because she refused to admit reforms in the conventual regulations. The General Council

subsequently restored her to the matronship for 20 years. Public opinion was, at this time, vividly aroused against the superiors of the convents, who, it was alleged, made serious inroads on society by inveigling the marriageable young women into taking the veil and to live unnatural lives. The public demanded that there should be a fixed limit to the number of nuns admitted. An ecclesiastic of high degree made strenuous efforts to rescue three nuns who had just been admitted, but the abbess refused to give them up until her excommunication was published on the walls of the nunnery.

In 1750, a certain Mother Cecilia, who had been in the nunnery of Santa Catalina since she was 16 years of age, fell in love with a Spaniard who lived opposite, named Francisco Antonio de Figueroa, and begged to be relieved of her vows and have her liberty restored to her. The Archbishop was willing to grant her request, which was, however, stoutly opposed by the Dominican Friars. On appeal being made to the Governor, as viceregal patron, he ordered her to be set at liberty. The Friars, nevertheless, defied the Governor, who, to sustain his authority, was compelled to order the troops to be placed under arms, and the commanding officer of the artillery to hold the cannons in readiness to fire when and where necessary. In view of these preparations, the Friars allowed the nun to leave her confinement, and she was lodged in the College of Santa Potenciana pending the dispute. Public excitement was intense. The Archbishop ordered the girl to be liberated, but as his subordinates were still contumacious to his bidding, the Bishop of Cebú was invited to arbitrate on the question, but he declined to interfere, therefore an appeal was remitted to the Archbishop of Mexico. In the meantime, the girl was married to her lover, and long afterwards a citation arrived from Mexico for the woman to appear at that ecclesiastical court. She went there with her husband, from whom she was separated whilst the case was being tried, but in the end her liberty and marriage were confirmed.

During the Government of Niño de Tabora (1626-1632), the High Host and sacred vessels were stolen from the Cathedral of Manila. The Archbishop was, in consequence, sorely distressed, and walked barefooted to the Jesuits' convent to weep with the priests, and therein find a solace for his mental affliction. It was surmised that the wrath of God at such a crime would assuredly be avenged by calamities on the inhabitants, and confessions were made daily. The Friars agreed to

appease the anger of the Almighty by making public penance and by public prayer. The Archbishop gave himself up to the most fanciful follies. He perpetually fasted, ate herbs, drank only water, slept on the floor with a stone for a pillow, and flagellated his own body. On Corpus Christi day, a religious procession passed through the public streets, exhorting the delinquents to restore the body of Our Saviour, but all in vain. The melancholy prelate, weak beyond recovery from his self-imposed privations, came to the window of his retreat as the *cortége* passed in front of it, and there he breathed his last.

As in all other Spanish Colonies, the Inquisition had its secret agents or commissaries in the Philippines. Sometimes a priest would hold powers for several years to inquire into the private lives and acts of individuals, whilst no one knew who the informer was. The Holy Office ordered that its Letter of Anathema, with the names in full of all persons who had incurred pains and penalties for heresy, should be read in public places, every three years, but this order was not fulfilled. The Letter of Anathema was so read in 1669, and the only time since then up to the present date was in 1718.

In the middle of the 17th century, the Tartars invaded China and overthrew the Min Dynasty—at that time represented by the Chinese Emperor Yunglic. He was succeeded on the throne by the Tartar Emperor Kungeli, to whose arbitrary power nearly all the Chinese Empire had submitted. Amongst the few Mongol chiefs who held out against Ta-Tsing dominion, was a certain Mandarin, known under the name of Koxinga, who retired to the Island of Kimmuen, where he asserted his independence and defied his nation's conqueror. Securely established in his stronghold, he invited the Chinese to take refuge in his island and oppose the Tartar's rule. Therefore the Emperor ordered that no man should inhabit China within four leagues of the coast, except in those provinces which were undoubtedly loyal to the new Government. The coast was consequently laid bare; vessels, houses, plantations, and everything useful to man was destroyed in order to effectually cut off all communications with lands beyond the Tartar Empire. The Chinese from the coast, who for generations had earned a living by fishing, etc., crowded into the interior, and their misery was indescribable.

Koxinga, unable to communicate with the mainland of the Empire, turned his attention to the conquest of Formosa Island, at the time in

the possession of the Dutch. According to Dutch accounts, the European settlers numbered about 600, with a garrison of 2,200. The Dutch artillery, stores and merchandise were valued at \$8,000,000, and the Chinese, who attacked them under Koxinga, were about 100,000 strong. The settlement surrendered to the invaders' superior numbers, and Koxinga established himself as King of the Island. Koxinga had become acquainted with an Italian Dominican missionary named Vittorio Riccio, whom he created a Mandarin, and sent him as Ambassador to the Governor of the Philippines. Riccio therefore arrived in Manila in 1662, the bearer of Koxinga's despatches calling upon the Governor to pay tribute, under threat of the Colony being attacked by Koxinga if his demand were refused.

The position of Riccio as an European Friar and Ambassador of a Mongol adventurer was as awkward as it was novel. He was received with great honour in Manila, where he disembarked, and rode to the Government House in the full uniform of a Chinese envoy, through lines of troops drawn up to salute him as he passed. At the same time, letters from Formosa had also been received by the Chinese in Manila, and the Government at once accused them of conniving at rebellion. All available forces were concentrated in the capital; and to increase the garrison, the Governor published a Decree, dated 6th of May, 1662, ordering the demolition of the forts of Zamboanga, Yligan (Mindanao Island), Calamianes and Ternate¹ (Moluccas).

The only provincial fort preserved was that of Surigao (then called Caraga), consequently in the south the Mussulmans became complete masters on land and at sea for half a year.

The troops in Manila numbered 100 cavalry and 8,000 infantry. Fortifications were raised, and redoubts were constructed in which to secrete the Treasury funds. When all the armament was in readiness, the Spaniards incited the Chinese to rebel, to afford a pretext for their massacre.

Two junk masters were seized, and the Chinese population was menaced; therefore they prepared for their own defence, and then opened the affray, for which the Government was secretly longing, by

¹ From this date the Molucca Islands were definitely evacuated and abandoned by the Spaniards, although as many men and as much material and money had been employed in garrisons and conveyance of subsidies there as in the whole Philippine Colony up to that period.

killing a Spaniard in the market place. Suddenly artillery fire was opened out on the Parian, and many of the peaceful Chinese traders, in their terror, hanged themselves ; many were drowned in the attempt to reach the canoes in which to get away to sea ; some few did safely arrive in Formosa Island and joined Koxinga's camp, whilst others took to the mountains. Some 8,000 to 9,000 Chinese remained quiet, but ready for any event, when they were suddenly attacked by Spaniards and natives. The confusion was general, and the Chinese seemed to be gaining ground, therefore the Governor sent the Ambassador Riccio and a certain Fray Joseph de Madrid to parley with them. The Chinese accepted the terms offered by Riccio, who returned to the Governor, leaving Fray Joseph with the rebels, but when Riccio went back with a general pardon and a promise to restore the two junk masters, he found that they had beheaded the priest. A general carnage of the Mongols followed, and Juan de la Concepcion says¹ that the original intention of the Spaniards was to kill every Chinaman, but that they desisted in view of the inconvenience which would have ensued from the want of tradesmen and mechanics. Therefore they made a virtue of a necessity, and graciously pardoned in the name of His Catholic Majesty all who laid down their arms.

Riccio returned to Formosa Island, and found Koxinga preparing for warfare against the Philippines, but before he could carry out his intentions he died of fever. This chief's successor, of a less bellicose spirit, sent Riccio a second time to Manila, and a treaty was agreed to, re-establishing commercial relations with the Chinese. Shortly after Koxinga's decease, a rebellion was raised in Formosa ; and the Island falling at length into the hands of a Tartar party, became annexed to China under the new dynasty. Then Riccio was called upon to relate the part he had taken in Koxinga's affairs, and he was heard in council. Some present were in favour of invading the Philippines in great force because of the cruel and unwarranted general massacre of the Chinese in cold blood, but Riccio took pains to show how powerful Spain was, and how justified was the action of the Spaniards, as a measure of precaution, in view of the threatened invasion of Koxinga. The Chinese party was appeased, but had the Tartars cared to take

¹ "Hist. Gen. de Philipinas," by Juan de la Concepcion, Vol. VII., page 48, pub. Manila, 1788.

up the cause of their conquered subjects, the fate of the Philippines would have been doubtful.

During the minority of the young Spanish King Charles II., the Regency was held by his mother, the Queen Dowager, who was unfortunately influenced by favourites, to the great disgust of the Court and the people. Amongst these sycophants was a man named Valenzuela, of noble birth, who, as a boy, had followed the custom of those days, and entered as page to a nobleman—the Duke del Infantado—to learn manners and Court etiquette.

The Duke went to Italy as Spanish Ambassador, and took Valenzuela under his protection. He was a handsome and talented young fellow,—learned for those times,—intelligent, well versed in all the generous exercises of chivalry, and a poet by nature. On his return from Italy with the Duke, his patron caused him to be created a Cavalier of the Order of Saint James. The Duke shortly afterwards died, but through the influence of the Dowager Queen's confessor—the notorious Nitard, also a favourite—young Valenzuela was presented at Court. There he made love to one of the Queen's maids-of-honour—a German—and married her. The Prince, Don Juan de Austria, who headed the party against the Queen, expelled her favourite (Nitard) from Court, and Valenzuela became Her Majesty's sole confidential adviser. Nearly every night, at late hours, the Queen went to Valenzuela's apartment to confer with him, whilst he daily brought her secret news learnt from the courtiers. The Queen created him Marquis of San Bartolomé and of Villa Sierra, a first-class Grandee of Spain, and Prime Minister.

He was a most perfect courtier; and it is related of him that when a bull fight took place, he used to go to the Royal box richly adorned in fighting attire, and, with profound reverence, beg Her Majesty's leave to challenge the bull. The Queen, it is said, never refused him the solicited permission, but tenderly begged of him not to expose himself to such dangers.

Sometimes he would appear in the ring as a cavalier, in a black costume embroidered with silver and with a large white and black plume, in imitation of the Queen's half mourning. It was much remarked that on one occasion he wore a device of the sun with an eagle looking down upon it, and the words, "*I alone have licence.*"

He composed several comedies, and allowed them to be performed at his expense for the free amusement of the people. He also much improved the City of Madrid with fine buildings, bridges and many public works to sustain his popularity amongst the citizens.

The young King, now a youth, ordered a deer hunt to be prepared in the Escorial grounds; and during the diversion, His Majesty happened to shoot Valenzuela in the muscle of his arm, whether intentionally or accidentally is not known. However, the terrified Queen-mother fainted and fell into the arms of her ladies-in-waiting. This circumstance was much commented upon, and contributed in no small degree to the public odium and final downfall of Valenzuela in 1684. At length, Don Juan de Austria returned to the Court, when the young King was of an age to appreciate public concerns, and he became more the Court favourite than ever Valenzuela or Nitard had been during the Dowager Queen's administration. Valenzuela fell at once from the exclusive position he had held in Royal circles and retired to the Escorial, where, by order of Don Juan de Austria, a party of young noblemen, including Don Juan's son, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Valparaiso and others of rank, accompanied by 200 horsemen, went to seize the disfavoured courtier. He was out walking at the time of their arrival, but he was speedily apprised of the danger by his bosom friend, the Prior of St. Jerome Monastery. The priest hid him in the roof of the Monastery, where, being nearly suffocated for want of ventilation, a surgeon was sent up to bleed him and make him sleep. The search party failed to find the refugee, and were about to return, when the surgeon treacherously betrayed the secret to them, and Valenzuela was discovered sleeping with arms by his side. He was made prisoner, confined in a castle, degraded of all his honours and rank, and finally banished by Don Juan de Austria to the furthestmost Spanish possession in the world—the Philippines,—whilst his family were incarcerated in a convent at Talavera in Spain.

When the Pope heard of this violation of church asylum in the Escorial committed by the nobles, he excommunicated all concerned in it; and in order to purge themselves of their sin and obtain absolution, they were compelled to go to church in their shirts, each with a rope around his neck. They actually performed this penance, and then the

Nuncio, Cardinal Mellini, relieved them of their ecclesiastical pains and penalties.

Valenzuela was permitted to establish a house within the prison of Cavite, where he lived for several years as a State prisoner and exile. When Don Juan de Austria died, the Dowager-Queen regained in a measure her influence at Court, and one of the first favours she begged of her son, the King, was the return of Valenzuela to Madrid. The King granted her request, and she at once despatched a ship to bring him to Spain, but the Secretary of State interfered and stopped it. Nevertheless, Valenzuela, pardoned and liberated, set out for the Peninsula, and reached Mexico, where he died from the kick of a horse.

In 1703, a vessel arrived in Manila Bay from India, under an Armenian captain, bringing a young man 35 years of age, a native of Turin, who styled himself Monseigneur Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, Visitor-General, Bishop of Savoy, Patriarch of Antioch, Apostolic Nuncio and Legate *ad latere* of the Pope. He was on his way to China to visit the missions, and called at Manila with eight priests and four Italian families.

Following the custom established with foreign ships, the custodian of the Fort of Cavite placed guards on board this vessel. This act seems to have aroused the indignation of the exalted stranger, who assumed a very haughty tone, and arrogantly insisted upon a verbal message being taken to the Governor (Domingo Zabálburu), to announce his arrival. In Manila these circumstances were much debated, and at length the Governor instructed the custodian of Cavite Fort to accompany the stranger to the City of Manila. On his approach, a salute was fired from the City battlements, and he took up his residence in the house of the Maestre de Campo. There the Governor went to visit him as the Pope's legate, and was received with great arrogance. However, the Governor showed no resentment; he seemed to be quite dumfounded by the dignified airs assumed by the patriarch, and consulted with the Supreme Court about the irregularity of a legate arriving without exhibiting the *regium exequatur*. The Court decided that the stranger must be called upon to present his Papal credentials and the Royal confirmation of his powers with respect to Spanish dominions, and with this object a magistrate was commissioned to wait upon him. The patriarch treated the commissioner with undisguised contempt, expressing

his indignation and surprise at his position being doubted ; he absolutely refused to show any credentials, and turned out the commissioner, raving at him and causing an uproarious scandal. At each stage of the negotiations with him, the patriarch put forward the great authority of the Pope, and his unquestionable right to dispose of realms and peoples at his will, and somehow this ruse seemed to subdue everybody ; the Governor, the Archbishop and all the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, were overawed. The Archbishop, in fact, made an unconditional surrender to the patriarch, who now declared that all State and religious authority must be subordinate to his will. The Archbishop was ordered by him to set aside his Archiepiscopal Cross, whilst the patriarch used his own particular cross in the religious ceremonies, and left it in the Cathedral of Manila on his departure. He went so far as to cause his master of the ceremonies to publicly divest the Archbishop of a part of his official robes and insignia, to all which the prelate meekly consented. All the chief authorities visited the patriarch, who, however, was too dignified to return their calls. Here was, in fact, an extraordinary case of a man unknown to everybody and refusing to prove his identity, having actually brought all the authority of a colony under his sway ! He was, as a matter of fact, the legate of Clement XI.

The only person to whom he appears to have extended his friendship was the *Maestre de Campo*, at the time under ecclesiastical arrest. The *Maestre de Campo* was visited by the patriarch, who so ingeniously blinded him with his patronage, that this official squandered about \$20,000 in entertaining his strange visitor and making him presents. The patriarch in return insisted upon the Governor and Archbishop pardoning the *Maestre de Campo* of all his alleged misdeeds, and when this was conceded, he caused the pardon to be proclaimed in a public act. All the Manila officials were treated by the patriarch with open disdain, but he created the Armenian captain of the vessel which brought him to Manila, a knight of the "Golden Spur," in a public ceremony in the *Maestre de Campo's* house, in which the Governor-General was ignored.

From Manila the patriarch went to China, where his meddling with the Catholic missions was met with fierce opposition. He so dogmatically asserted his unproved authority, that he caused European missionaries to be cited to the Chinese Courts and sentenced for their disobedience ; but he was playing with fire, for at last the Emperor of

China, wearied of his importunities, banished him from the country. Thence he went to Macao, where, much to the bewilderment of the Chinese population, he maintained constant disputes with the Catholic missionaries until he died there in 1710 in the Inquisition prison, where he was placed at the instance of the Jesuits.

When King Philip V. became aware of what had occurred in Manila, he was highly incensed, and immediately ordered the Governor-General to Mexico, declaring him disqualified for life to serve under the Crown. The senior magistrates of the Supreme Court were removed from office. Each priest who had yielded to the legate's authority without previously taking cognizance of the *regium exequatur* was ordered to pay \$1,000 fine. The Archbishop was degraded and transferred from the Archbishopric of Manila to the Bishopric of Guadalajara in Mexico. In spite of this punishment, it came to the knowledge of the King that the ex-Archbishop of Manila, as Bishop of Guadalajara, was still conspiring with the patriarch to subvert civil and religious authority in his dominions, with which object he had sent him \$1,000 from Mexico, and had promised him a fixed sum of \$1,000 per annum with whatever further support he could afford to give him. Therefore the King issued an edict to the effect that any legate who should arrive in his domains without Royal confirmation of his Papal credentials should thenceforth be treated simply with the charity and courtesy due to any traveller; and in order that this edict should not be forgotten, or evaded, under pretext of its having become obsolete, it was further enacted that it should be read in full on certain days in every year before all the civil and ecclesiastical functionaries.



CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF MANILA.

IN 1761, King George III. had just succeeded to the throne of England, and the protracted contentions with France had been suspended for a while. It was soon evident, however, that efforts were being employed to extinguish the power and prestige of Great Britain, and with this object a convention had been entered into between France and Spain known as the "Family Compact." It was so called because it was an alliance made by the three branches of the House of Bourbon, namely, Louis XV. of France, Charles III. of Spain, and his son Ferdinand, who, in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna, had ascended the throne of Naples. Spain engaged to unite her forces with those of France against England on the 1st of May, 1762, if the war still lasted, in which case France would restore *Minoreas* to Spain. Pitt was convinced of the necessity of meeting the coalition by force of arms, but he was unable to secure the support of his Ministry to declare war, and he therefore retired from the premiership. The succeeding Cabinet were, nevertheless, compelled to adopt his policy, and after having lost many advantages by delaying their decision, war was declared against France and Spain.

The British were successful everywhere. In the West Indies, the Caribbean Islands and Havana were captured with great booty by Rodney and Monckton, whilst a British Fleet was despatched to the Philippine Islands with orders to take Manila.

There are many versions of this event given by different historians, and amongst them there is not wanting an author who, following the Spanish custom, has accounted for defeat by alleging treason.

On the 14th of September, 1762, a British vessel arrived in the Bay of Manila, refused to admit Spanish officers on board, and after taking soundings she sailed again out of the harbour.

In the evening of the 22nd of September, the British squadron, composed of 13 ships, under the command of Admiral Cornish, entered the bay, and the next day two British officers were deputed to demand the surrender of the Citadel, which was refused.

Brigadier-General Draper thereupon disembarked his troops, and again called upon the city to yield. This citation being defied, the bombardment commenced the next day. The Fleet anchored in front of a powder-magazine, took possession of the Churches of Malate, Hermita, San Juan de Bagumbayan and Santiago. Two picket guards made an unsuccessful sortie against them. The whole force in Manila, at the time, was the King's regiment, which mustered about 600 men and 80 pieces of artillery. The British forces consisted of 1,500 European troops (one regiment of infantry and two companies of artillery), 3,000 seamen, 800 Sepoy fusileers, and 1,400 Sepoy prisoners, making a total of 6,830 men, including officers.¹

There was no Governor-General here at the time, and the only person with whom the British Commander could treat was the Acting-Governor, the Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo, who was willing to yield. His authority was, however, set aside by a rebellious war party, who placed themselves under the leadership of a magistrate of the Supreme Court, named Simon de Anda y Salazar. This individual, instead of leading them to battle, fled to the Province of Bulacan the day before the capture of Manila in a prahu with a few natives, carrying with him some money and half a ream of official stamped paper.² He knew perfectly well that he was defying the legal authority of the Acting-Governor, and was, in fact, in open rebellion against his mandate. It was necessary, therefore, to give an official colour to his acts by issuing his orders and proclamations on Government-stamped paper, so that their validity might be recognized if he subsequently succeeded in justifying his action at Court.

On the 24th of September, the Spanish batteries of San Diego and San Andrés opened fire, but with little effect. A richly laden galleon—the “*Philipino*”—was known to be on her way from Mexico to Manila, but the British ships which were sent in quest of her fell in with

¹ Zúñiga's History, Eng. trans. London, 1814, Vol. II., Chap. XIII.

² *Crónica de los P. P. Dominicos*, ed. of Rivadenayra, Madrid, Vol. IV., pp. 637 to 650.

another galleon—the “Trinidad”—and brought their prize to Manila. Her treasure amounted to about \$2,500,000.¹

A Frenchman resident in Manila, Monsieur Faller, made an attack on the British, who forced him to retire, and he was then accused by the Spaniards of treason. Artillery fire was kept up on both sides. The Archbishop's nephew was taken prisoner, and an officer was sent with him to hand him over to his uncle. However, a party of natives fell upon them and murdered them all. The officer's head having been cut off, it was demanded by General Draper. Excuses were made for not giving it up, and the General determined thenceforth to continue the warfare with vigour and punish this atrocity. The artillery was increased by another battery of three mortars, placed behind the Church of Santiago, and the bombardment continued.

Five thousand native recruits arrived from the provinces, and out of this number, 2,000 Pampangos were selected. They were divided into three columns, in order to advance by different routes and attack respectively the church of Santiago—Malate and Hermita—and the troops on the beach. At each place they were driven back. The leader of the attack on Malate and Hermita—Don Santiago Orendain—was declared a traitor. The two first columns were dispersed with great confusion and loss. The third column retreated before they had sustained or inflicted any loss. The natives fled to their villages in dismay, and on the 5th of October the British entered the walled city. After a couple of hours' bombardment, the forts of San Andrés and San Eugenio were demolished, the artillery overturned, and the enemy's fusileers and sappers were killed.

A council of war was now held by the Spaniards. General Draper sustained the authority of the Archbishop against the war party, composed chiefly of civilians, who determined to continue the defence in spite of the opinion of the military men, who argued that a capitulation was inevitable. But matters were brought to a crisis by the natives, who refused to repair the fortifications, and the Europeans were unable to perform such hard labour. Great confusion reigned in the city—the clergy fled through the Puerta del Parian, where there

¹ This money constituted the Manila merchants' specie remittances from Acapulco, together with the Mexican subsidy to support the administration of this Colony, which was merely a dependency of Mexico up to the second decade of this century (*vide* Chap. XV.).

was still a native guard. According to Zúñiga, the British spent 20,000 cannon balls and 5,000 shells in the bombardment of the city.

Major Fell entered the city (Oct. 6th) at the head of his troops, and General Draper followed, leading his column unopposed, with two field pieces in the van, whilst a constant musketry fire cleared the Calle Real as they advanced. The people fled before the enemy. The gates being closed, they scrambled up the walls and got into boats or swam off.

Colonel Monson was sent by Draper to the Archbishop-Governor to say that he expected immediate surrender. This was disputed by the Archbishop, who presented a paper purporting to be terms of capitulation. The Colonel refused to take it, and demanded an unconditional surrender. Then the Archbishop, a Colonel of the Spanish troops, and Colonel Monson went to interview the General, whose quarters were in the Palace. The Archbishop, offering himself as a prisoner, presented the terms of capitulation, which provided for the free exercise of their religion ; security of private property ; free trade to all the inhabitants of the islands, and the continuation of the powers of the Supreme Court to keep order amongst the ill-disposed. These terms were granted, but General Draper, on his part, stipulated for an indemnity of four millions of dollars, and it was agreed to pay one half of this sum in specie and valuables and the other half in Treasury bills on Madrid. The capitulation, with these modifications, was signed by Draper and the Archbishop-Governor. The Spanish Colonel took the document to the Fort to have it countersigned by the magistrates, which was at once done ; the Fort was delivered up to the British, and the magistrates retired to the Palace to pay their respects to the conquerors.

When the British flag was seen floating from the Fort of Santiago there was great cheering from the British Fleet. The Archbishop stated that when Draper reviewed the troops, more than 1,000 men were missing, including sixteen officers. Among these officers were a Major, fatally wounded by an arrow on the first day of the assault, and the Vice-Admiral, who was drowned whilst coming ashore in a boat.

The natives who had been brought from the provinces to Manila were plundering and committing excesses in the city, so Draper had them all driven out. Guards were placed at the doors of the nunneries

and convents to prevent outrages on the women, and then the city was given up to the victorious troops for pillage during three hours. Zúñiga, however, remarks that the European troops were moderate, but that the Indian contingents were insatiable. They are said to have committed many atrocities, and, revelling in bloodshed, even murdered the inhabitants. They ransacked the suburbs of Santa Cruz and Binondo, and, acting like savage victorious tribes, they ravished women, and even went into the highways to murder and rob those who fled. The three hours expired, and the following day a similar scene was permitted. The Archbishop thereupon besought the General to put a stop to it, and have compassion on the city. The General complied with this request, and restored order under pain of death for disobedience—some Chinese were in consequence hanged. General Draper himself killed one whom he found in the act of stealing, and he ordered that all Church property should be restored, but only some priests' vestments were recovered.

Draper demanded the surrender of Cavite, which was agreed to by the Archbishop and magistrates, but the Commanding Officer refused to comply. The Major of that garrison was sent with a message to the Commander, but on the way he talked with such freedom about the surrender to the British, that the natives quitted their posts and plundered the Arsenal. The Commander, rather than face humiliation, retired to a ship, and left all further responsibility to the Major.

Measures were now taken to pay the agreed indemnity. Heavy contributions were levied upon the inhabitants, which, however, together with the silver from the pious establishments, church ornaments, plate, the Archbishop's rings and breast-cross, only amounted to \$546,000. The British then proposed to accept one million at once and draw the rest from the cargo of the galleon "Philipino," if it resulted that she had not been seized by the British previous to the day the capitulation was signed—but the one million was not forthcoming. The day before the capture of Manila, a Royal messenger had been sent off with \$111,000 with orders to hide them in some place in the Laguna de Bay. The Archbishop now ordered their return to Manila, and issued a requisition to that effect, but the Franciscan friars were insubordinate, and armed the natives, whom they virtually ruled, and the treasure was secreted in Majayjay Convent. Thence, on receipt of the Archbishop's message, it was carried across country to a place in North Pampanga,

bordering on Cagayan and Pangasinan. The British, convinced that they were being duped, insisted on their claim. Thomas Backhouse, commanding the troops stationed at Pasig, went up to the Laguna de Bay with 80 mixed troops, to intercept the bringing of the "Philipino" treasure. He attacked Tunasan, Viñan and Santa Rosa, and embarked for Pagsanjan, which was then the capital of the Lake Province. The inhabitants, after firing the convent and church, fled. Backhouse returned to Calamba, entered the Province of Batangas, overran it, and made several Austin Friars prisoners. In Lipa he seized \$3,000, and there he established his quarters, expecting that the "Philipino" treasure would be carried that way; but on learning that it had been transported by sea to a Pampanga coast town, Backhouse withdrew to Pasig.

In the capitulation, the whole of the Archipelago was surrendered to the British, but a magistrate, Simon de Anda, determined to appeal to arms. Draper used stratagem, and issued a Proclamation commiserating the fate of the natives who paid tribute to Spaniards, and assuring them that the King of England would not exact it. The Archbishop, as Governor, became Draper's tool, sent messages to the Spanish families persuading them to return, and appointed an Englishman, married in the country, to be Alderman of Tondo. Despite the strenuous opposition of the Supreme Court, the Archbishop, at the instance of Draper, convened a council of native headmen and representative families, and proposed to them the cession of all the islands to the King of England. Draper clearly saw that the ruling powers in the Colony, judging from their energy and effective measures, were the Friars, so he treated them with great respect. The Frenchman Faller, who unsuccessfully opposed the British assault, was offered troops to go and take possession of Zamboanga and accept the government there, but he refused, as did also a Spaniard named Sandoval.

Draper returned to Europe; Major Feli was left in command of the troops, whilst Drake assumed the military government of the city, with Smith and Brock as council, and Brereton in charge of Cavite. Draper, on leaving, gave orders for two frigates to go in search of the "Philipino" treasure. The ships got as far as Capul Island and put into harbour. They were detained there by a ruse on the part of a half-caste pilot, and the treasure was got away in the meantime.

Simon de Anda, from his provincial retreat, proclaimed himself Governor-General. He declared that the Archbishop and the magistrates,

as prisoners of war, were dead in the eye of the law ; and that his assumption of authority was based upon old laws. None of his countrymen disputed his authority, and he established himself in Bacolor. The British Council then convened a meeting of the chief inhabitants, at which Anda was declared a seditious person and deserving of capital punishment, together with the Marquis of Monte Castro, who had violated his *parole d'honneur*, and the Provincial of the Austin Friars, who had joined the rebel party. All the Austin friars were declared traitors for having broken their allegiance to the Archbishop's authority. The British still pressed for the payment of the one million, whilst the Spaniards declared they possessed no more. The Austin friars were ordered to keep the natives peaceable if they did not wish to provoke hostilities against themselves. At length, the British, convinced of the futility of decrees, determined to sally out with their forces ; and 500 men under Thomas Backhouse went up the Pasig River to secure a free passage for supplies to the camp. Whilst opposite to Maybonga, Bustos with his Cagayan troops fired on them. The British returned the fire, and Bustos fled to Mariquina. The British passed the river, and sent an officer with a white flag of truce to summon surrender. Bustos was insolent, and threatened to hang the officer if he returned. Backhouse's troops then opened fire and placed two field pieces which completely scared the natives, who fled in such great confusion that many were drowned in the river. Thence the British pursued their enemy "as if they were a flock of goats," and reached the Bamban River, where the Sultan of Sulu¹ resided with his family. The Sultan, after a feigned resistance, fell a prisoner to the British, who fortified his dwelling, and occupied it during the whole of the operations. There were subsequent skirmishes on the Pasig River banks with the armed insurgents, who were driven as far as the Antipolo mountains.

Meanwhile, Anda collected troops ; and Bustos, as his Lieutenant-General, vaunted the power of his chief through the Bulacan and Pampanga Provinces. A Franciscan and an Austin friar, having led troops to Masilo, about seven miles from Manila, the British went out to dislodge them, but on their approach most of the natives feigned they were dead, and the British returned without any loss in arms or men.

The British, believing that the Austin friars were conspiring against

¹ Vicissitudes of Sultan Mahamad Alimudin (*vide* Chap. X.).

them in connivance with those inside the city, placed these friars in confinement, and subsequently shipped away eleven of them to Europe. For the same reason, they at last determined to enter the St. Augustine Convent, and on ransacking it, they found that the priests had been lying to them all the time. Six thousand dollars in coin were found hidden in the garden, and large quantities of wrought silver elsewhere. The whole premises were then searched, and all the valuables were seized. A British expedition went out to Bulacan, sailing across the Bay and up the Hagonoy River, where they disembarked at Malolos on the 19th of January, 1763. The troops, under Captain Esley of the Grenadiers, numbered 600 men, many of whom were Chinese volunteers. As they advanced from Malolos, the natives and Spaniards fled. On the way to Bulacan, Bustos advanced to meet them, but retreated into ambush on seeing they were superior in numbers. Bulacan Convent was fortified with three small cannons. As soon as the troops were in sight of the convent, a desultory fire of case shot made great havoc in the ranks of the resident Chinese volunteers forming the British vanguard. At length the British brought their field pieces into action, and pointing at the enemy's cannon, the first discharge carried off the head of their artilleryman Ybarra. The panic-stricken natives decamped; the convent was taken by assault; there was an indiscriminate fight and general slaughter. The Alcalde and a Franciscan friar fell in action; one Austin friar escaped, and another was seized and killed to avenge the death of the British soldiers. The invading forces occupied the Convent, and some of the troops were shortly sent back to Manila. Bustos reappeared near the Bulacan Convent with 8,000 native troops, of which 600 were cavalry, but they dared not attack the British. Bustos then manœuvred in the neighbourhood and made occasional alarms. Small parties were sent out against him with so little effect, that the British Commander headed a body in person, and put the whole of Bustos' troops to flight like mosquitos before a gust of wind, for Bustos feared they would be pursued into Pampanga. After clearing away the underwood, which served as a covert for the natives, the British reoccupied the convent; but Bustos returned to his position, and was a second time as disgracefully routed by the British, who then withdrew to Manila.

At the same time, it was alleged that a conspiracy was being organized amongst the Chinese in the Province of Pampanga with the

object of assassinating Anda and his Spanish followers. The Chinese cut trenches and raised fortifications, avowing that their bellicose preparations were only to defend themselves against the possible attack of the British; whilst the Spaniards saw in all this a connivance with the invaders. The latter no doubt conjectured rightly. Anda, acting upon the views of his party, precipitated matters by appearing with fourteen Spanish soldiers and a crowd of native bowmen to commence the slaughter in the town of Guagua. The Chinese assembled there in great numbers, and Anda endeavoured in vain to induce them to surrender to him. He then sent a Spaniard, named Miguel Garcés, with a message, offering them pardon in the name of the King of Spain if they would lay down their arms; but they killed the emissary, and Anda therefore commenced the attack. The result was favourable for Anda's party, and great numbers of the Chinese were slain. Many fled to the fields, where they were pursued by the troops, whilst those who were captured were hanged. Such was the inveterate hatred which Anda entertained for the Chinese, that he issued a general decree declaring all the Chinese traitors to the Spanish flag, and ordered them to be hanged wherever they might be found in the provinces. Thus thousands of Chinese were executed who had taken no part whatever in the events of this little war.

Admiral Cornish having decided to return to Europe, again urged for the payment of the two millions of dollars. The Archbishop was in great straits; he was willing to do anything, but his colleagues opposed him, and Cornish was at length obliged to content himself with a bill on the Madrid Treasury. Anda appointed Bustos Alcalde of Bulacan, and ordered him to recruit and train troops, as he still nurtured the hope of confining the British to Manila—perhaps even of driving them out of the Colony.

The British in the city were compelled to adopt the most rigorous precautions against a rising of the population within the walls, and several Spanish residents were arrested for intriguing against them in concert with those outside.

Several French prisoners from Pondicherry deserted from the British; and some Spanish regular troops, who had been taken prisoners, effected their escape. The Fiscal of the Supreme Court and a Señor Villa Corta were found conspiring. The latter was caught in the act of sending a letter to Anda, and was sentenced to be hanged

and quartered—the quarters to be exhibited in public places. The Archbishop, however, obtained Villa Corta's pardon, on the condition that Anda should evacuate the Pampanga Province; and Villa Corta wrote to Anda, begging him to accede to this, but Anda absolutely refused to make any sacrifice to save his friend's life; and at the same time he wrote a disgraceful letter to the Archbishop, couched in such insulting terms, that the British Commander burnt it without letting the Archbishop see it. Villa Corta was finally ransomed by the payment of \$3,000.

The treasure brought by the "Philipino" served Anda to organize a respectable force of recruits. Spaniards who were living there in misery, and a crowd of natives always ready for pay, enlisted. These forces under Lieutenant-General Bustos encamped at Malinta, about five miles from Manila. The officers lodged in a house belonging to the Austin Friars, around which the troops pitched their tents—the whole being defended by redoubts and palisades raised under the direction of a French deserter, who led a company. From this place Bustos constantly caused alarm to the British troops, who once had to retreat before a picket guard sent to get the church bells of Quiapo. The British, in fact, were much molested by Bustos' Malinta troops, who forced the invaders to withdraw to Manila and reduce the extension of their outposts. This measure was followed up by a Proclamation, in which the British Commander alluded to Bustos' troops as "canaille and robbers," and offered a reward of \$5,000 for Anda's head; declaring him and his party rebels and traitors to their Majesties the Kings of Spain and England. Anda, chafing at his impotence to combat the invading party by force of arms, gave vent to his feelings of rage and disappointment by issuing a Decree, dated from Bacolor 19th of May, 1763, of which the translated text reads as follows, viz. :—

"Royal Government Tribunal of these Islands for His Catholic Majesty :—Whereas the Royal Government Tribunal, Supreme Government and Captain-Generalship of His Catholic Majesty in these Islands are gravely offended at the audacity and blindness of those men, who, forgetting all humanity, have condemned as rebellious and disobedient to both their Majesties, him, who as a faithful vassal of His Catholic Majesty, and in conformity with the law, holds the Royal Tribunal, Government and Captain-General-

“ ship ; and having suffered by a reward being offered by order of the
 “ British Governor in council to whomsoever shall deliver me alive or
 “ dead ; and by their having placed the arms captured in Bulacan at
 “ the foot of the gallows—seeing that instead of their punishing and
 “ reproaching such execrable proceedings, the spirit of haughtiness
 “ and pride is increasing, as shown in the Proclamation published in
 “ Manila on the 17th instant, in which the troops of His Majesty
 “ are infamously calumniated—treating them as blackguards and dis-
 “ affected to their service—charging them with plotting to assassinate
 “ the English officers and soldiers, and with having fled when attacked
 “ —the whole of these accusations being false : Now therefore by
 “ these presents, be it known to all Spaniards and true Englishmen,
 “ that Messrs. Drake, Smith and Brock who signed the Proclamation
 “ referred to, must not be considered as vassals of His Britannic
 “ Majesty, but as tyrants and common enemies unworthy of human
 “ society, and therefore, I order that they be apprehended as such,
 “ and I offer ten thousand dollars for each one of them alive or dead.
 “ At the same time, I withdraw the order to treat the vassals of His
 “ Britannic Majesty with all the humanity which the rights of war
 “ will permit, as has been practised hitherto with respect to the
 “ prisoners and deserters.”

Anda had by this time received the consent of his King to occupy the position which he had usurped, and the British Commander was thus enabled to communicate officially with him, if occasion required it ; and Drake replied to this Proclamation, recommending Anda to carry on the war with greater moderation and humanity.

On the 27th of June, 1763, the British made a sortie from the city to dislodge Bustos, who still occupied Malinta. The attacking party consisted of 350 fusileers, 50 horsemen, a mob of Chinese and a number of guns and ammunition. The British took up quarters on one side of the river, whilst Bustos remained on the other. The opposing parties exchanged fire, but neither cared or dared to cross the water-way. The British forces retired in good order to Masilo, and remained there until they heard that Bustos had burnt Malinta House and removed his camp to Meycauayan. Then the British withdrew to Manila in the evening. On the Spanish side there were two killed, five mortally wounded, and two slightly wounded. The British losses were six mortally wounded and seven disabled. This

was the last encounter in open warfare. Chinamen occasionally lost their lives through their love of plunder in the vicinity occupied by the British.

During these operations, the priesthood taught the ignorant natives to believe that the invading troops were infidels—and a holy war was preached.

The Friars, especially those of the Augustine order,¹ abandoned their mission of peace for that of the sword, and the British met with a slight reverse at Masilo, where a religious fanatic of the Austin friars had put himself at the head of a small band lying in ambush.

On the 23rd of July, 1763, a British frigate brought news from Europe of an armistice,—and the preliminaries of peace, by virtue of which Manila was to be evacuated (Peace of Paris, 10th of February, 1763), were received by the British Commander on the 27th of August following, and communicated by him to the Archbishop-Governor for the “Commander-in-Chief” of the Spanish arms. Anda stood on his dignity, and protested that he should be addressed directly, and be styled Captain-General. On this plea he declined to receive the communication. Drake replied by a manifesto, dated 19th September, to the effect that the responsibility of the blood which might be spilt in consequence of Anda’s refusal to accept his notification would rest with him. Anda published a counter manifesto, dated 28th September, in Bacolor (Pampanga), protesting that he had not been treated with proper courtesy.

Greater latitude was allowed to the prisoners, and Villa Corta effected his escape dressed as a woman. He fled to Anda—the co-conspirator who had refused to save his life,—and their superficial friendship was renewed. Villa Corta was left in charge of business in Bacolor during Anda’s temporary absence. Meanwhile the Archbishop fell ill; and it was discussed who should be his successor in the

¹ So tenacious was the opposition brought by the Austin friars both in Manila and the Provinces, that the British appear to have regarded them as their special foes.

From the archives of Bauan Convent, Province of Batangas, I have taken the following notes, viz. :—The Austin Friars lost \$238,000 and fifteen convents. Six of their estates were despoiled. Of the troops killed, 300 were Spaniards, 500 Pampanga natives and 300 Tagalog natives. Besides the Austin friars from the galleon “Trinidad,” who were made prisoners and shipped to Bombay, ten of their order were killed in battle and nineteen were taken and exiled to India and Europe.

government in the event of his death. Villa Corta argued that it fell to him as senior magistrate. The discussion came to the knowledge of Anda, and seriously aroused his jealousy. Fearing conspiracy against his ambitious projects, he left his camp at Polo, and hastened to interrogate Villa Corta, who explained that he had only made casual remarks in the course of conversation. Anda, however, was restless on the subject of the succession, and sought the opinion of all the chief priests and bishops. Various opinions existed. Some urged that the decision be left to the Supreme Court—others were in favour of Anda—whilst many abstained from expressing their views. Anda was so nervously anxious about the matter, that he even begged the opinion of the British Commander, and wrote him on the subject from Bacolor on the 2nd of November, 1763.

Major Fell seriously quarrelled with Drake about the Frenchman Faller, whom Admiral Cornish had left under sentence of death for having written a letter to Java accusing him of being a pirate and a robber. Drake protected Faller, whilst Fell demanded the execution of the prisoner; and the dispute became so heated, that Fell was about to slay Drake with a bayonet, but was prevented by some soldiers. Fell then went to London to complain of Drake, hence Anda's letter was addressed to Backhouse, who took Fell's place. Anda, who months since had refused to negotiate or treat with Drake, still insisted upon being styled Captain-General. Backhouse replied that he was ignorant of the Spaniards' statutes or laws, but that he knew the Governor was the Archbishop. Anda thereupon spread the report that the British Commander had forged the Preliminaries of Peace because he could no longer hold out in warfare. The British necessarily had to send to the provinces to purchase provisions, and Anda caused their forage parties to be attacked, so that the war really continued, in spite of the news of peace, until the 30th of January, 1764. On this day the Archbishop died, sorely grieved at the situation, and weighed down with cares. He had engaged to pay four millions of dollars and surrender the islands, but could he indeed have refused any terms? The British were in possession; and these conditions were dictated at the point of the bayonet.

Immediately after the funeral of the Archbishop, Anda received despatches from the King of Spain, by way of China, confirming the news of peace to his Governor at Manila. Then the British

acknowledged Anda as Governor, and proceeded to evacuate the city, but rival factions were not so easily set aside, and fierce quarrels ensued between the respective parties of Anda, Villa Corta and Ustariz as to who should be Governor and receive the city officially from the British. Anda, being actually in command of the troops, had the game in his hands. The conflict was happily terminated by the arrival at Marinduque of the newly appointed Governor-General from Spain, Don Francisco de La Torre. A galley was sent there by Anda to bring His Excellency to Luzon, and he arrived at Bacolor, where Anda resigned the Government to him on the 17th of March, 1764.

La Torre sent a message to Backhouse and Brereton—the commanding officers at Manila and Cavite,—stating that he was ready to take over the city in due form. La Torre thereupon took up his residence in Santa Cruz, placed a Spanish guard with sentinels from that ward as far as the Great Bridge (Puente de Barcas, now called Puente de España), where the British advance guard was, and friendly communication took place. Governor Drake was indignant at being ignored in all these proceedings, and ordered the Spanish Governor to withdraw his guards, under threat of appealing to force. Backhouse and Brereton resented this rudeness, and ordered the troops under arms to arrest Drake, whose hostile action, due to jealousy, they declared unwarrantable. Drake being apprised of their intentions, escaped from the city with his suite, embarked on board a frigate, and sailed off.

La Torre was said to be indisposed on the day appointed for receiving the city. Some assert that he feigned his indisposition as he did not wish to arouse Anda's animosity, and desired to afford him an opportunity of displaying himself as a delegate at least of the highest local authority by receiving the city from the British, whilst he pampered his pride by allowing him to enter triumphantly into it. As the city exchanged masters, the Spanish flag was hoisted once more on the Fort of Santiago amidst the hurrahs of the populace and artillery salutes.

Before embarking, Brereton offered to do justice to any claims which might be legitimately established against the British authorities. Hence a sloop lent to Drake, valued at \$4,000, was paid for to the Jesuits, and the \$3,000 paid to ransom Villa Corta's life was returned, Brereton remarking, that if the sentence against him were valid, it should have been executed at the time, but it could not be commuted

by money payment. At the instance of the British authorities, a free pardon was granted and published to the Chinese, few of whom, however, confided in it, and many left with the retiring army. Brereton, with his forces, embarked for India, after despatching a packet-boat to restore the Sultan of Sulu to his throne.

During this convulsed period, great atrocities were committed. Unfortunately the common felons were released by the English from their prisons, and used their liberty to perpetrate murders and robbery in alliance with those always naturally bent that way. So great did this evil become—so bold were the marauders, that in time they formed large parties, infested highways, attacked plantations, and the poor peasantry had to flee, leaving their cattle and all their belongings in their power. Several avenged themselves of the Friars for old scores—others settled accounts with those Europeans who had tyrannized them of old. The Chinese, whether so-called Christians or pagans, declared for and aided the British.

The proceedings of the choleric Simon de Anda y Salazar were approved by his Sovereign, but his impetuous disposition drove from him his best counsellors, whilst those who were bold enough to uphold their opinions against his, were accused of connivance with the British. Communications with Europe were scant indeed in those days, but Anda could not have been altogether ignorant of the causes of the war, which terminated with the Treaty of Paris.

On his return to Spain, after the appointment of La Torre as Governor-General, he succeeded in retaining the favour of the king, who conferred several honours on him, making him Councillor of Castile, etc. In the meantime José Raon, who superseded La Torre, had fallen into disgrace, and Anda was appointed to the Governor-Generalship of the Islands.

There is perhaps no imperiousness so intolerant as that of an official who vaunts his authority by the reflected light of his powerful patron. Anda on his arrival avenged himself of his opposers in all directions. He imprisoned his predecessor, several judges, military officials and others; some he sent back to Spain, others he banished from the capital. Thus he brought trouble upon himself. From all sides hostile resistance increased. He quarrelled with the clergy; but when his irascible temper had exhausted itself in the course of six years, he retired to the Austin Friars' Hospital of San Juan de Dios

in Cavite, where he expired in 1776, much to the relief of his numerous adversaries.

Consequent on the troubled state of the Colony, a serious rebellion arose in Ylogan (Cagayan Province), amongst the Timava natives, who flogged the Commandant, and declared they would no longer pay tribute to the Spaniards. The revolt spread to Ylocos and Pangasinan, but the ringleaders were caught, and tranquillity was restored by the gallows.

A rising far more important occurred in Ylocos Sur. The Alcalde was deposed, and escaped after he had been forced to give up his staff of office. The leader of this revolt was a cunning and wily Manila native, named Diego de Silan, who persuaded the people to cease paying tribute, and declare against the Spaniards, who, he pointed out, were unable to resist the English. The City of Vigan was in great commotion. The Vicar-General parleyed with the natives; and then, collecting his troops, the rebels were dispersed, whilst some were taken prisoners; but the bulk of the rioters rallied and attacked, and burnt down part of the city. The loyal natives fled before the flames. The Vicar-General's house was taken, and the arms in it were seized. All the Austin friars within a large surrounding neighbourhood had to ransom themselves by money payments. Silan was then acknowledged as chief over a large territory north and south of Vigan. He appointed his lieutenants, and issued a Manifesto declaring Jesus of Nazareth to be Captain-General of the place, and that he was His Alcalde for the promotion of the Catholic religion and dominion of the King of Spain. His Manifesto was wholly that of a religious fanatic. He obliged the natives to attend Mass, to confess, and to see that their children went to school. In the midst of all this pretended piety, he stole cattle and exacted ransoms for the lives of all those who could pay them; he levied a tax of \$100 on each friar. Under the pretence of keeping out the British, he placed sentinels in all directions to prevent news reaching the terrible Simon de Anda. But Anda, though fully informed by an Austin friar of what transpired, had not sufficient troops to march north. He sent a requisition to Silan to present himself within nine days, under penalty of arrest as a traitor. Whilst this order was published, vague reports were intentionally spread that the Spaniards were coming to Ylocos in great force. Many deserted Silan, but he contrived to deceive even the clergy and others by his feigned piety.

Silan sent presents to Manila for the British, acknowledging the King of England to be his legitimate Sovereign. The British Governor sent, in return, a vessel bearing despatches to Silan, appointing him Alcalde Mayor. Elated with pride, Silan at once made this public. The natives were undeceived, for they had counted on him to deliver them from the British ; now, to their dismay, they saw him the authorized magistrate of the invader. He gave orders to make all the Austin friars prisoners, saying that the British would send other clergy in their stead. The friars surrendered themselves without resistance and joined their Bishop near Vigan, awaiting the pleasure of Silan. The Bishop excommunicated Silan, and then he released some of the priests. The Christian natives having refused to slay the friars, a secret compact was being made, with this object, with the mountain tribes, when a half-caste named Vicos obtained the Bishop's benediction and killed Silan ; and the rebellion, which had lasted from 14th December, 1762, to 28th May, 1763, ended.

Not until a score of little battles had been fought were the numerous riots in the provinces quelled. The loyal troops were divided into sections, and marched north in several directions, until peace was restored by March, 1765. Zúñiga says that the Spaniards lost in these riots about 70 Europeans and 140 natives, whilst they cost the rebels quite 10,000 men.

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The submission made to the Spaniards, in the time of Legaspi, of the Manila and Tondo chiefs, was but of local importance, and by no means implied a total pacific surrender of the whole Archipelago ; for each district had yet to be separately conquered. In many places a bold stand was made for independence, but the superior organization and science of the European forces invariably brought them victory in the end.

Space will not permit me to cite all the numerous revolutionary protests registered in history against the Spanish dominion, to show that the natives from the beginning, and up to the present time, have only yielded to a force which they have repeatedly, in each generation, essayed to overthrow. The Pampanga natives soon submitted, but a few years afterwards they were in open mutiny against their masters, who, they alleged, took their young men from their homes to form army corps, and busily employed the able-bodied men remaining in the district to cut timber for Government requirements and furnish provisions to the camp.

In 1622 the natives of Bojol Island erected an oratory in the mountain in honour of an imaginary deity, and revolted against the tyranny of the Jesuit missionaries. They proclaimed their intention to regain their liberty, and freedom from the payment of tribute to foreigners, and taxes to a church they did not believe in. Several towns and churches were burnt, and Catholic images were desecrated, but the rebels were dispersed by the Governor of Cebú, who, with a considerable number of troops, pursued them into the interior. In the same island a more serious rising was caused in 1744 by the despotism of a Jesuit priest named Morales, who arrogated to himself governmental rights, ordering the apprehension of natives who did not attend Mass, and exercising his sacerdotal functions according to his own caprice. The natives resisted those abuses, and a certain Dagóhoy, whose brother's body had been left uninterred to decompose by the priest's orders, organised a revenge party, and swore to pay the priest in his own coin. The Jesuit was captured and executed, and his corpse was left four days in the sun to corrupt.

Great numbers of disaffected natives flocked to Dagóhoy's standard. Their complaint was, that whilst they risked their lives in foreign service for the sole benefit of their European masters, their homes were wrecked and their wives and families maltreated to recover the tribute.

Dagóhoy, with his people, maintained their independence for the space of 35 years, during which period it was necessary to constantly employ detachments of troops to check the rebels' raid on private property. On the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Colony, Recoleta Friars went to Bohol, and then Dagóhoy and his partisans submitted to the Government on the condition of all receiving a full pardon.

In Leyte an insurrection was set on foot in 1622 against Spanish rule, and the Governor of Cebú went there with 40 vessels, carrying troops and war material to co-operate with the local Governor against the rebels. The native leader was made prisoner, and his head placed on a high pole, to strike terror into the populace. Another prisoner was garrotted, four more were publicly executed by being shot with arrows, and another was burnt.

In 1629, an attempt was made in the Province of Surigao (then called Caraga), in the east of Mindanao Island, to throw off the Spanish yoke. Several churches were burnt, and four priests were

killed by the rebels, and the rising was only quelled after three years' guerilla warfare.

In 1649 the Governor-General decided to supply the want of men in the Arsenal at Cavite, and the increasing necessity for troops, by pressing the natives of Sámar Island into the King's service. Thereupon a native headman named Sumoroy killed the priest of Ybabao, on the east coast of Sámar, and led the mob who sacked and burnt the churches along the coast. The Governor at Catbalogan got together a few men, and sent them into the mountains with orders to send him back the head of Sumoroy, but instead of this they sent him a pig's head. The revolt increased, and General Andrés Lopez Azáldegui was despatched to the island with full powers from the Governor-General, whilst he was supported on the coast by armed vessels from Zamboanga. Sumoroy fled to the hills, but his mother was found in a hut; and the invading party wreaked their vengeance on her by literally pulling her to pieces.

Sumoroy was at length betrayed by his own people, who carried his head to the Spanish Captain, and this officer had it stuck up on a pole in the village. Some years afterwards, another rebel chief surrendered, under a pardon obtained for him by the priests, but the military authorities imprisoned and then hanged him.

The riots of 1649 extended to other provinces for the same cause. In Albay, the parish priest of Sorsogon had to flee for his life; in Masbate Island, a sub-lieutenant was killed; in Zamboanga, a priest was murdered; in Cebú, a Spaniard was assassinated; and in Caraga (Surigao), and Butuan, many Europeans fell victims to the fury of the populace. To quell these disturbances, Captain Gregorio de Castillo, stationed at Butuan, was ordered to march against the rebels with a body of infantry, but bloodshed was avoided by the Captain publishing a general pardon in the name of the King, and crowds of insurgents came to the camp in consequence. The King's name, however, was sullied; for very few of those who surrendered ever regained their liberty. They were sent prisoners to Manila, where a few were pardoned, others were executed, and the majority became galley slaves.

In 1660 there was again a serious rising in Pampanga, the natives objecting to cut timber for the Cavite Arsenal without payment. The revolt spread to Pangasinan Province, where a certain Andrés Malong was declared King, and he in turn gave to another—Pedro Gumapos—

the title of Count. Messages were sent to Zambales and other adjacent provinces, ordering the natives to kill the Spaniards, under pain of incurring King Malong's displeasure.

Three army corps were formed by the rebels : one of 6,000 men, under Melchor de Veras, for the conquest of Pampanga ; another of 3,000 men, led by the titular Count Gumapos, to annex Ilocos, and Cagayan, whilst the so-called King Malong took the field against the Pangasinan people at the head of 2,000 followers. Ilocos Province declared in his favour, and furnished a body of insurgents under a chief named Juan Manzano, whilst everywhere on the march the titular King's troops increased until they numbered about 40,000 men. On the way many Spaniards—priests and laymen—were killed. The Governor-General sent by land to Pampanga 200 Spanish troops, 400 Pampangos and half-breeds, well armed and provisioned, and Mount Arayat was fortified and garrisoned by 500 men. By sea : two galleys, six small vessels, and four cargo launches—carrying 700 Spaniards and half-breeds, and 30 Pampangos—went to Bolinao, in Zambales Province. The rebels were everywhere routed, and their chiefs were hanged,—some in Pampanga and others in Manila.

Almost each generation has called forth the strong arm of the conqueror to repress native aspirations to liberty in one island or another, whilst the flame of rebellion has as often been kindled by sacerdotal despotism as by official rapacity.

In the present century, several vain attempts to subvert Spanish authority have been made ; notably in 1823, when a body of disaffected native troops, headed by their Captain—a creole named Andrés Novales—conspired to seize the capital and assume Government.

The rising was quickly subdued by the Governor-General in person, who, with Spanish troops, dispersed the rebels, their chiefs being captured and executed.

In 1827 the standard of sedition was raised in Cebú and a few towns of that island, but these disturbances were speedily stifled through the influence of the Spanish friars. In 1844, during a rising in Negros Island, the Spanish Governor was killed. The cause is said to have been due to the Governor having compelled the State prisoners to labour for his private account.

In January, 1872, what is known as the Cavite insurrection occurred, the centre of the plot being Cavite Arsenal. A number of

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native soldiers were implicated in this affair, and it was agreed between the conspirators in Cavite and their accomplices in Manila that the signal for the outbreak should be given by those in the capital, who were to fire off a rocket on the night that they would be ready for simultaneous action. It happened, however, that those in Cavite mistook the fireworks of a suburban feast for the signal agreed upon, and they unwittingly commenced the revolt, unsupported by their comrades across the bay.

The disaffected soldiers took possession of the Arsenal and made a firm resistance, whilst others attacked the influential Europeans. The loyal troops were called out, the Arsenal was retaken, and all the rebels who escaped death were taken prisoners. The origin of this tumult was native opposition to the Spanish friars. A certain Dr. Joseph Búrgos (Philippine born) had headed a party which urged the exclusion of friars from parochial incumbencies, and called for the fulfilment of the Council of Trent decisions which prohibited friars from holding benefices. It appears that the friars, nevertheless, secured these ecclesiastical preferments by virtue of Papal Bulls of Pius V. and subsequent Popes, who authorized friars to act as parish priests, not in perpetuity, but so long as secular clergymen were insufficient in number to attend to the cure of souls. The native party consequently declared that the friars retained their incumbencies illegally and by intrusion, in view of the sufficiency of Philippine secular priests. Had the Council of Trent enactments been carried out to the letter, undoubtedly the religious communities in the Philippines were doomed to comparative political impotence. The Spanish monastic faction, therefore, insisted upon the extreme penalty of the law being inflicted upon their opponents, and Dr. Joseph Búrgos, and three other native priests (one of whom was a dotard of 80 years of age), were executed on the Luneta, a fashionable promenade by the sea-shore outside Manila, whilst several of the native clergy and many laymen were deported.

The real instigators of the Cavite tragedy were the Spanish friars, who found in it a means of attainting Dr. Búrgos, of striking terror into the native clergy, and of procuring the banishment of certain families known to hold liberal ideas.

Colonel Sábas went over to Cavite and quelled the riot, and when the friars had secured their victims they caused a bill of indictment to

be put forward by the public prosecutor in which it was alleged that a revolutionary government had been projected.

Some of the accused in this revolt, who protested their innocence, were banished to the Marianas (Ladrone) Islands, whence a few escaped to foreign countries. Of these, personally known to me, one is a successful lawyer now residing near London, and three were still living in Hongkong in 1896. In 1889 I visited a penal settlement—La Colonia Agrícola de San Ramon—in Mindanao Island, and during my stay at the director's house I was every day served at table by the native convict who was said to have been nominated by the Cavite insurgents to the Civil Governorship of Manila.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHINESE.

LONG before the foundation of Manila by Legaspi in 1571 the Chinese traded with these Islands. Their *locus standi*, however, was invariably a critical one, and their commercial transactions with the semi-barbarous Philippine Islanders were always conducted afloat. Often their junks were boarded and pillaged by the natives, but, in spite of the immense risk incurred, the Chinese lacked nothing in their active pursuit.

Legaspi soon perceived the advantages which would accrue to his conquest by fomenting the development of commerce with these Islands; and, as an inducement to the Chinese to continue their traffic, he severely punished all acts of violence committed against them.

In the course of time, the Chinese had gained sufficient confidence under European protection to come ashore with their wares. In 1588, Chinese were already paying rent for the land they occupied. Some writers assert that they propagated their religious doctrine as well as their customs, but I have found nothing to confirm this statement, and my knowledge of Chinese habits inclines me to think it most improbable. In their trading junks they frequently carried their idols as a Romish priest carries his missal when he travels. The natives may have imitated the Chinese religious rites years before the Spaniards came. There is no evidence adduced to prove that they forcibly proselytized the natives as the Spaniards did. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that some idols, lost by the Chinese in shipwreck and piratical attacks, have been, and still are, revered by the natives as authenticated miraculous images of Christian Saints (*vide* "Holy Child of Cebú" and "Our Lady of Casaysay," Chap. XI.).

The Chinese contributed, in a large measure, to bring about a state of order and prosperity in the new Colony, with the introduction

of their small trades and industry ; and their traffic in the interior, and with China, was really beneficial, in those times, to the object which the conquerors had in view. So numerous, however, did they become, that it was found necessary to regulate the growing commerce and the *modus vivendi* of the foreign traders.

In the bad weather they were unable to go to and from their junks, and, fearing lest under such circumstances the trade would fall off, the Government determined to provide them with a large building called the *Alcayceria*. The contract for its construction was offered to any private person or corporation willing to take it up on the following terms, viz. :—The original cost, the annual expense of maintenance, and the annual rents received from the Chinese tenants were to be equally shared by the Government and the contractor. The contract was accepted by a certain Fernando de Mier y Noriega, who was appointed bailiff of the *Alcayceria* for life, and the employment was to be hereditary in his family, at a salary of \$50 per month. However, when the plan was submitted to the Government, it was considered too extensive, and was consequently greatly reduced, the Government defraying the total cost (\$48,000). The bailiff's salary was likewise reduced to \$25 per month, and only the condition of sharing rent and expense of preservation was maintained. The *Alcayceria* was a square of shops, with a back store, and one apartment above each tenement. It was inaugurated in the year 1580, in the Calle de San Fernando, in Binondo, opposite to where is now the Harbour-Master's Office, and under fire of the forts. In the course of years this became a ruin, and on the same site Government Stores were built in 1856. These, too, were wrecked in their turn by the great earthquake of 1863. In the meantime, the Chinese had long ago spread far beyond the limits of the *Alcayceria*, and another centre had been provided for them within the City of Manila. This was called the *Parian*, which is the Mexican word for market-place. It was demolished by Government order in 1860, but the entrance to the city, at that part (constructed in 1782), still retains the name of *Puerta del Parian*.

Hence it will be seen, that from the time of the conquest, and for generations following, the Spanish authorities offered encouragement and protection to the Chinese.

Dr. Antonio Morga, in his work on the Philippines, page 349, writes (at the close of the 16th century) : "It is true the town cannot

“ exist without the Chinese, as they are workers in all trades and business, and very industrious and work for small wages.”

Juan de la Concepcion writes¹ (referring to the beginning of the 17th century): “ Without the trade and commerce of the Chinese, these dominions could not have subsisted.” The same writer estimates the number of Chinese in the Colony in 1638 at 33,000.²

In 1686 the policy of fixing the statutory maximum number of Chinese at 6,000 was discussed, but commercial conveniences outweighed its adoption. Had the measure been carried out, it was proposed to lodge them all in one place within easy cannon range, in view of a possible rising.

In 1755 it was resolved to expel all non-Christian Chinese, but a term was allowed for the liquidation of their affairs and withdrawal. By the 30th of June 1755, the day fixed for their departure from Manila, 515 Chinamen had been sharp enough to obtain baptism as Christians, in order to evade the edict, besides 1,108 who were permitted to remain because they were studying the mysteries and intricacies of Christianity. 2,070 were banished from Manila, the expulsion being rigidly enforced on those newly arriving in junks.

Except a few Europeans and a score of Western Asiatics, the Chinese who remained were the only merchants in the Archipelago. The natives had neither knowledge, tact, energy, nor desire to compete with them. They cannot, to this day, do so successfully, and the Chinese may be considered a boon to the Colony, for, without them, living would be far dearer—commodities and labour of all kinds more scarce, and the export and import trade much embarrassed. The Chinese are really the people who gave to the natives the first notions of trade, industry and fruitful work. They taught them, amongst many other useful things, the extraction of saccharine juice from the sugar cane, the manufacture of sugar, and the working of wrought iron. They introduced into the Colony the first sugar-mills with vertical stone crushers, and iron boiling-pans.

The history of the last hundred-and-fifty years shows that the Chinese, although tolerated, were always regarded by the Spanish colonists as an unwelcome race, and the natives have learnt, from

¹ “Hist. Gen. de Philipinas,” by Juan de la Concepcion, Vol. IV., page 53, pub. in Manila in 1788.

² Ibid., Vol. V., page 429.

example, to despise them. From time to time, especially since the year 1763, the feeling against them has run very high.

The public clamour for restrictions on their arrival, impediments to the traffic of those already established here, intervention of the authorities with respect to their dwellings and mode of living, and not a few have urged their total expulsion. Indeed, such influence was brought to bear on the Indian Council at Madrid during the temporary Governorship of Juan Arechedera, Bishop of Nueva Segovia (1745–1759), that the Archbishop received orders to expel the Chinese from the Islands, but, on the ground that to have done so would have *prejudiced public interests*, he simply archived the decree. Even up to the close of Spanish rule, the authorities in power and the national trading class considered the question from very distinct points of view, for the fact is, that only the mildest action was taken—just enough to appease the wild demands of the people. Still the Chinaman was always subject to the ebb and flow of the tide of official bounteousness, and only since 1843 were Chinese shops allowed to be opened on the same terms as other foreigners.

The Chinaman is always ready to sell at any price which will leave him a trifling nett gain, whereas the native, having earned sufficient for his immediate wants, would stubbornly refuse to sell his wares except at an enormous profit.

Again, but for Chinese coolie competition,¹ constant labour from the natives would be almost unprocurable. The native day-labourer would work two or three days, and then suddenly disappear. The active Chinaman goes day after day to his task (excepting only at the time of the Chinese New Year, in January or February), and can be depended upon—thus the needy native is pushed, by alien competition, to bestir himself. In my time, in the port of Yloilo, four foreign commercial houses had to incur the expense and risk of bringing Chinese coolies for loading and discharging vessels, whilst the natives coolly lounged about and absolutely refused to work. Moreover, the exactions and avarice of the native are quite intolerable, and create a serious impediment to the development of the Colony. Only a very small minority of the labouring class will put their hands to work without an advance

¹ About two per thousand of the present resident Chinese were *not* originally coolies.

on their wages, and men who earn \$8 per month will often demand as much as \$25 to \$40 advance without any guarantee whatsoever. If a native is commissioned to perform any kind of service, he will refuse to stir without a sum of money beforehand, whilst the Chinese very rarely expect payment until they have given value for it. Only the direst necessity will make an unskilled native labourer continue several weeks at work for a wage which is only to be paid when due. There is scarcely a single agriculturist who has not the burthen of having to sink a share of his capital in making advances to his labourers, who, nevertheless, are in no way legally bound thereby to serve the capitalist, or whether they are or not, the fact is, that a large proportion of this capital so employed must be considered lost. There are certain lines of business which, without the aid of Chinese, would have to be abandoned, hence it would be an unfortunate day for the Treasury, and for the export and import merchant class, when the Chinese ceased to co-operate in Philippine trade.

Taxes were first levied on the Mongol traders in 1828. In 1852 a general reform of the fiscal laws was introduced, and the classification of Chinese dealers was modified. They were then divided into four grades or classes, each paying contributions according to the new tariff.

In 1886 the universal depression, which was first manifest in this Colony in 1884, still continued. Remedies of most original character were suggested in the public organs and private circles, and a renewed spasmodic tirade was levied against the Chinese. A petition, made and signed by numbers of the trading class, was addressed to the Sovereign, but it appears to have found its last resting-place in the Colonial Secretary's waste-paper basket. The Americans in the United States and Mexico were in open rebellion against the Celestials—the Governments of Australia had imposed a capitation tax on their entry¹—in British Columbia there was a party disposed to throw off its allegiance to Great Britain rather than forego the agitation against the Chinese. Why should not the Chinese be expelled from the

¹ General Wong Yung Ho, accompanied by a Chinese Justice of the High Court, visited Australia in the middle of the year 1887. In a newspaper of that Colony, it was reported that after these persons had been courteously entertained and shown the local institutions and industries, they had the bold effrontery to protest against the State Laws, and asked for a repeal of the "poll tax"—considered there the only check upon a Chinese coolie inundation!

Philippines, it was asked, or at least be permitted only to pursue agriculture in the Islands? In 1638, around Calamba and along the Laguna shore, they tilled the land, but the selfishness and jealousy of the natives made their permanence intolerable. In 1850 the Chinese were invited to take up agriculture, but the rancorous feeling of the natives forced them to abandon the idea, and seek greater security in the towns.

The chief accusation levelled against the Chinaman is, that he comes as an adventurer and makes money, which he carries away, without leaving any trace of civilization behind him. The Chinese immigrant is of the lowest social class. Is not the dream of the European adventurer, of the same or better class, to make his pile of dollars and be off to the land of his birth? If he spends more money in the Colony than the Chinaman does, it is because he lacks the Chinaman's self-abnegation and thriftiness. Is the kind of civilization taught in the colonies by low-class European settlers worth having?

The Chinaman settled in the Philippines under Spanish rule was quite a different being to his obstinate, self-willed, riotous countryman in Hongkong or Singapore. In Manila he was drilled past docility—in six months he became even fawning, cringing, and servile, until goaded into open rebellion. Whatever position he might attain to, he was never addressed (as in the British Colonies) as "Mr." or "Esq^{re}," but always "Chinaman——" ("Chino——").

The total expulsion of the Chinese would have been highly prejudicial to trade. If it suited the State policy to check the ingress of the Chinese, nothing would have been easier than the imposition of a \$50 poll tax. To compel them to take up agriculture was out of the question in a Colony where there was so little guarantee for their personal safety—so long as the native, jealous of the prosperity which is the reward of their industrial habits, bears them an innate malice.

The frugality, constant activity and commendable ambition of the Celestial clashes with the dissipation, indolence and want of aim in life of the native. There is absolutely no harmony of thought, purpose or habit between the Philippine Malay native and the Mongol race, and the consequence of Chinese coolies working on coffee, sugar or other plantations would be frequent assassinations and open affray. Moreover, a native planter could never manage, to his own satisfaction

or interest, an estate worked with Chinese labour. The Chinaman is essentially of a commercial bent, and, in the Philippines at least, he prefers taking his chance as to the profits, in the bubble and risk of independent speculation, rather than calmly undertake obligations to labour at a fixed wage which affords no stimulus to his efforts.

Plantations worked by Chinese owners with Chinese labour might have succeeded, but those who arrived in the Colony brought no capital, and the Government never offered to overcome this difficulty by gratuitous allotment of property. A law relating to the concession of State lands existed, but it was enveloped in so many entanglements and encompassed by so many intricate conditions, that few Orientals or Europeans took advantage of it, for the tardy process to obtain Government title deeds of the conceded lands compelled the needy colonist to follow some other and distinct occupation in the meantime in order not to starve.

History records that in the year 1603 two Chinese Mandarins came to Manila as Ambassadors from their Emperor to the Governor-General of the Philippines. They represented that a countryman of theirs had informed His Celestial Majesty of the existence of a mountain of gold in the environs of Cavite, and they desired to see it. The Governor-General welcomed them, and they were carried ashore by their own people in ivory and gilded sedan chairs. They wore the insignia of High Mandarins, and the Governor accorded them the reception due to their exalted station. He assured them that they were entirely misinformed respecting the mountain of gold, which could only be imaginary, but, to further convince them, he accompanied them to Cavite. The Mandarins shortly afterwards returned to their country. The greatest anxiety prevailed in Manila. Rumours circulated that a Chinese invasion was in preparation. The authorities held frequent councils, in which the opinions were very divided. A feverish consternation overcame the natives, who were armed, and ordered to carry their weapons constantly. The armoury was overhauled. A war plan was discussed and adopted, and places were signalled out for each division of troops. The natives openly avowed to the Chinese, that whenever they saw the first signs of the hostile fleet arriving, they would murder them all. The Chinese were accused of having arms secreted; they were publicly insulted and maltreated; the cry was falsely raised that the Spaniards had fixed the day for

their extermination; they, daily, saw weapons being cleaned and put in order, and they knew that there could be no immediate enemy but themselves. There was, in short, every circumstantial evidence that the fight for their existence would ere long be forced upon them.

In this terrible position they were constrained to act on the offensive, simply to ensure their own safety. They raised fortifications in several places outside the city, and many an unhappy Chinaman had to reluctantly shoulder a weapon with tears in his eyes. They were traders. War and revolution were quite foreign to their wishes. The Christian despots compelled them to abandon their adopted homes and their chattels, regardless of the future. What a strange conception the Chinese must have formed of His Most Catholic Majesty! In their despair, many of them committed suicide. Finally, on the eve of St. Francis' Day, the Chinese openly declared hostilities—beat their war-gongs—hoisted their flags—assaulted the armed natives, and threatened the city. Houses were burnt, and Binondo was besieged. They fortified Tondo; and the next morning, Luis Perez Dasmariñas, an ex-Governor-General, led the troops against them. He was joined by one hundred picked Spanish soldiers under Thomas de Acuña. The nephew of the Governor and the nephew of the Archbishop rallied to the Spanish standard nearly all the flower of Castilian soldiery—and hardly one was left to tell the tale! The bloodshed was appalling. The Chinese, encouraged by this first victory, besieged the city, but after a prolonged struggle, they were obliged to yield, as they could not provision themselves.

The retreating Chinese were pursued far from Manila along the Laguna de Bay shore, thousands of them being overtaken and slaughtered or disabled. Reinforcements met them on the way, and drove them as far as Batangas Province and into the Morong district. The natives were in high glee at this licence to shed blood unresisted—so in harmony with their natural instincts. It is calculated that 24,000 Chinese were slain or taken prisoners in this revolt.

The priests affirm positively that during the defence of the city Saint Francis appeared in person on the walls to stimulate the Christians—thus the victory was accorded to him.

This ruthless treatment of a harmless and necessary people—for up to this event they had proved themselves to be both—threatened

to bring its own reward. They were the only industrious, thriving, skilful, wealth-producing portion of the population. There were no other artificers or tradespeople in the Colony. Moreover, the Spaniards were fearful lest their supplies from China of food for consumption in Manila,¹ and manufactured articles for export to Mexico, should in future be discontinued. Consequently, they hastened to despatch an envoy to China to explain matters, and to reassure the Chinese traders. Much to their surprise, they found the Viceroy of Canton little concerned about what had happened, and the junks of merchandise again arrived as heretofore.

Notwithstanding the memorable event of 1603, thirty-six years afterwards another struggle was made by the Chinese. In 1639, exasperated at the official robbery and oppression of a certain doctor, Luis Arias de Mora, and the Governor of the Laguna Province, they rose in open rebellion and killed these officials in the town of Calamba. So serious was the revolt, that the Governor-General went out against them in person. The rebels numbered about 30,000, and sustained, for nearly a year, a petty warfare all around. The images of the Saints were promenaded in the streets of Manila; it was a happy thought, for 6,000 Chinese consequently surrendered. During this conflict, an edict was published ordering all the Chinese in the provinces to be slain.

In 1660 there was another rising of these people, which terminated in a great massacre.

The Spaniards now began to reflect that they had made rather a bad bargain with the Mongol traders in the beginning, and that the Government would have done better had they encouraged commerce with the Peninsula. Up to this time the Spaniards had vainly reposed on their laurels as conquerors. They squandered lives and fortunes on innumerable fruitless expeditions to Gamboge, Cochin China, Siam, Pegu, Japan, and the Moluccas, in quest of fresh glories, instead of concentrating their efforts in opening up this Colony and fomenting a Philippine export trade, as yet almost unknown, if we exclude merchandise from China, etc. in transit to Mexico. From this period restrictions were, little by little, placed on the intrussion of Chinese; they were treated with arrogance by the Europeans and Mexicans, and

¹ Just before the naval engagement of Playa Honda between Dutch and Spanish ships (*vide* page 80) the Dutch intercepted Chinese junks on the way to Manila, bringing, amongst their cargoes of food, as many as 12,000 capons.

the jealous hatred which the native at this day feels for the Chinaman now began to be more openly manifested. The Chinaman had, for a long time past, been regarded by the European as a necessity—and henceforth an unfortunate one.

Nevertheless, the lofty Spaniard who by favour of the King had arrived in Manila to occupy an official post without an escudo too much in his pocket, did not disdain to accept the hospitality of the Chinese. It was formerly their custom to secure the goodwill and personal protection of the Spanish officials by voluntarily keeping lodging-houses ready for their reception. It is chronicled that these gratuitous residences were well furnished and provided with all the requisites procurable on the spot. For a whole century the Spaniards were lulled with this easy-going and felicitous state of things, whilst the insidious Mongol, whose clear-sighted sagacity was sufficient to pierce the thin veil of friendship proffered by his guest, was ever prepared for another opportunity of rising against the dominion of Castile, of which he had had so many sorry experiences since 1603. The occasion at last arrived during the British occupation of Manila in 1763. The Chinese voluntarily joined the invaders, but were unable to sustain the struggle, and it is estimated that some 6,000 of them were murdered in the provinces by order of the notorious Simon de Anda (*vide* page 102). They menaced the town of Pasig—near Manila—and Fray Juan de Torres, the parish priest, put himself at the head of 300 natives, by order of his Prior, Fray Andrés Fuentes, to oppose them, and the Chinese were forced to retire.

On the 9th of October, 1820, a general massacre of Chinese and other foreigners, including British, took place in Manila and Cavite. Epidemic cholera had affected the capital and surrounding districts; great numbers of natives succumbed to its malignant effects, and they accused the foreigners of having poisoned the drinking water in the streams. Foreign property was attacked and pillaged—even ships lying in the bay had to sail off and anchor out afar for safety. The outbreak attained such grave proportions, that the clergy intervened to dissuade the populace from their hallucination. The High Host was carried through the streets, but the rioters were only pacified when they could find no more victims.

Amongst other reforms concerning the Chinese which the Spanish colonists and Manila natives called for in 1886, through the public

organs, was, that they should be forced to comply with the law promulgated in 1867, which provided that the Chinese, like all other merchants, should keep their trade-books in the Spanish language. The demand had the appearance of being based on certain justifiable grounds, but in reality it was a mere ebullition of spite intended to augment the difficulties of the Chinese.

The British merchants and bankers are, by far, those who give most credit to the Chinese. The Spanish and native creditors of the Chinese are but a small minority, taking the aggregate of their credits, and instead of seeking malevolently to impose new hardships on the Chinese, they could have abstained from entering into risky transactions with them. All merchants are aware of the Chinese trading system, and none are obliged to deal with them. A foreign house gives a Chinaman credit for say £300 to £400 worth of European manufactured goods, knowing full well, from personal experience, or from that of others, that the whole value will probably never be recovered. It remains a standing debt on the books of the firm. The Chinaman retails these goods, and brings a small sum of cash to the firm, on the understanding that he shall get another parcel of goods, and so he goes on for years.¹ Thus the foreign merchants practically sink an amount of capital to start their Chinese constituents. Sometimes the acknowledged owner and responsible man in one Chinese retail establishment will have a share in, or own, several others. If matters go wrong, he absconds abroad, and only the one shop which he openly represented can be embargoed, whilst his goods are distributed over several shops under any name but his. It is always difficult to bring legal proof of this; the books are in Chinese, and the whole business is in a state of confusion incomprehensible to any European. But these risks are well known beforehand. It is only then that the primitive credit must be written off by the foreigner as a nett loss—often small when set against several years of accumulated profits made in successive operations.

The Chinese have guilds or secret societies for their mutual protection, and it is a well-ascertained fact that they had to pay the Spanish authorities very dearly for the liberty of living at peace with

¹ Since about the year 1885, this system, which has entailed severe losses, is gradually falling into disuse, and business on *cash terms* has become more general.

their fellow men. If the wind blew against them from official quarters the affair brought on the *tapis* was hushed up by a gift. These peace-offerings were at times of considerable value, and were procured by a tax privately levied on each Chinaman by the headmen of their guilds.

In 1880–1883 the Governor-General and other high functionaries used to accept Chinese hospitality,—etc.

In December, 1887, the Medal of Civil Merit was awarded to a Chinaman named Sio-Sion-Tay, resident in Binondo, whilst the Government for several years made contracts with the Chinese for the public service. Another Chinaman was christened in the name of Carlos Palanca, and later on was awarded the Grand Cross of Isabella the Catholic with the title of Excellency.

Many Chinese have adopted Christianity, either to improve their social standing, or to be enabled thereby to contract marriage with native women. Their intercessor and patron is *Saint Nicholas* since the time, it is said, that a Chinaman, having fallen into the Pasig River, was in danger of being eaten by an alligator, and saved himself by praying to that saint, who caused the monster to turn into stone. The legendary stone is still to be seen near the left bank of the river.

There appears to be no perfectly reliable data respecting the number of Chinese residents in the Archipelago. In 1886 the statistics differed largely. One statistician published that there was a total of 66,740 men and 194 women, of which 51,348 men and 191 women lived in Manila and suburbs, 1,154 men and 3 women in Yloilo, and 983 men in Cebú, the remainder being dispersed over the coast villages and the interior. The most competent local authorities in two provinces proved to me that the figures relating to their districts were inexact, and all other information on the subject which I have been able to procure, tends to show that the number of resident Chinese was underrated. I estimate that there were 100,000 Chinese in the whole colony of which upwards of 40,000 dwelt in the capital and its environs.

Crowds of Chinese passed to these islands *vis-à-vis* Sulu, which, as a free port, they could enter without need of papers. Pretending to be resident colonists there, they managed to obtain passports to travel on

business for a limited period in the Philippines, but they were never seen again in Sulu.

In Manila and the wards, and in several provincial towns where the Chinese residents were numerous, they had their own separate "Tribunals" or local courts, wherein minor affairs were managed by petty-governors of their own nationality, elected bi-annually, in the same manner as the natives. In 1888 the question of establishing Chinese Consulates in the Philippines was talked of in official circles, which proves that the Government was far from seeing the "Chinese question" in the same light as the Spanish or native merchant class. In the course of time they acquired a certain consideration in the body politic, and deputations of Chinese were present in all popular ceremonies during the last few years of Spanish rule.

Wherever the Chinese settle they exhibit a disposition to hold their footing, if not to strengthen it, at all hazards, by force if need be. In Sarawak, their secret societies, which threatened to undermine the prosperity of that little State, had to be suppressed by capital punishment. Since the British occupation of Hongkong in 1841, there have been two serious movements against the Europeans. In Singapore, the attempts of the Chinese to defy the Government have met with only feeble measures of repression.

In Australia and the United States it has been found necessary to enact special laws regulating the ingress of Mongols. Under the Spanish-Philippine Government the most that could be said against them, as a class, was that, through their thrift and perseverance, they outran the shopkeeping class in the race of life.

Under a native Government the lot of the Chinese is not likely to be a happy one. One of the aims of the Tagalog Revolutionists is to exclude the Chinese from the islands.



CHAPTER IX.

THE VARIOUS TRIBES AND RACES.

It is estimated that about one-fifth of the population of Luzon Island, and one-fourth of that of the Visayas group, are independent.

Space will not permit me to attempt an exhaustive ethnographical treatise on the various tribes and races dispersed over these regions, and for fuller information on the subject of these notes, I would refer my readers to Wallace's "Malay Archipelago."

The chief of these tribes are the *Actas* or *Negritos*, a mountain tribe to be found here and there over the whole group of islands. The *Gaddanes*, *Itayis*, *Igorrotes*, half-caste *Igorrote-Chinese*, the *Tinguianes*, etc. in the Northern Islands, and the various branches of *Mussulmans* in the South.

I have used only the generic denominations, for whilst these tribes are sub-divided (for instance, the *Buquils* of Zambales, a section of the *Negritos*; the *Guinaanes*, a sanguinary people inhabiting the mountains of the Igorrote district, etc.) the fractions denote no material physical or moral difference, and the local names adopted by the different clans of the same race are of no interest to the general reader.

AETAS or NEGRITOS are to be met with in the mountains of nearly every peopled island of the Colony, and are supposed to be the aboriginal inhabitants. They are dark, some of them being as black as African Negroes. Their general appearance resembles that of the Alfoor Papuan of New Guinea. They have curly matted hair, like Astrakhan fur. The men cover only their loins, and the women dress from the waist to the knees. They are a spiritless and cowardly race. They would not deliberately face white men in anything nearly equal numbers with warlike intentions, although they would perhaps spend a quiverful of arrows from behind a tree at a retreating foe.

The *Aeta* carries a bamboo lance, a palm-wood bow and poisoned arrows when out on an expedition. He is wonderfully light-footed,

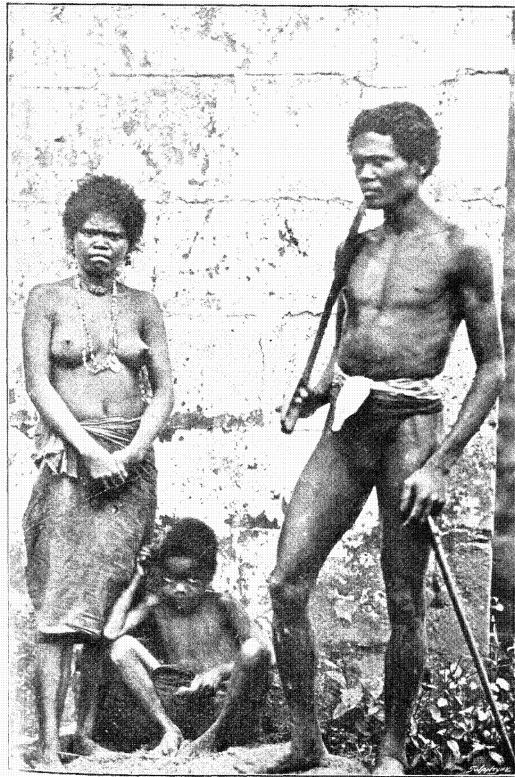
and runs with great speed after the deer, or climbs a tree like a monkey. Groups of fifty to sixty souls live in community. Their religion seems to be a kind of cosmolatry and spirit-worship. Anything which for the time being, in their imagination, has a supernatural appearance is deified. They have a profound respect for old age and for their dead.

They are of extremely low intellect, and, although some of them have been brought up by civilized families living in the vicinity of the *Negrito* mountainous country, they offer little encouragement to those who would desire to train them. Even when more or less domesticated, the *Negrito* cannot be trusted to do anything which requires an effort of judgment. At times, his mind seems to wander from all social order, and he is apparently subject to an occasional overwhelming eagerness to return to his native haunts, which disconcerts all one's plans.

For a long time they were the sole masters of Luzon Island, where they exercised seigniorial rights over the Tagálogs and other immigrants, until these arrived in such numbers, that the *Negritos* were forced to retire to the high lands. The taxes imposed upon the primitive Malay settlers by the *Negritos* were levied in kind, and when payment was refused, they swooped down in a posse, and carried off the head of the defaulter. Since the arrival of the Spaniards, the terror of the white man has made them take definitely to the mountains, where they appear to be very gradually decreasing.

The Government have exhausted all their laborious endeavours to implant civilised habits among this weak-brained race.

In 1881 I visited the Cápas Missions in Upper Pampanga. The authorities had established there what is called a *real*—a kind of model village of bamboo and palm-leaf huts, to each of which a family was assigned. They were supplied with food, clothing and all necessaries of life for one year, which would give them an opportunity of tilling the land and providing for themselves in future. But they followed their old habits when the year had expired and the subsidy ceased. On my second visit, they had returned to their mountain homes, and I could see no possible inducement for them to do otherwise. The only attraction for them during the year, was the fostering of their inbred indolence, and as soon as they had to depend on their own resources, it ought to have been evident that they would adopt their own way of



A NEGrito FAMILY.



living—free of taxes, military service and social restraint—as being more congenial to their tastes.

Being in the Bataan Province some years ago, I accepted the invitation of the son of a Lieutenant-Colonel to ride across the mountain range to the opposite coast. On our way we approached a Negrito *Real*, and hearing strange noises and extraordinary calls, we stopped to consult as to the prudence of riding up to the settlement.

We decided to go there, and were fortunate enough to be present at a wedding. The young bride, who might have been about thirteen years of age, was being pursued by her future spouse as she pretended to run away, and it need hardly be said that he succeeded in bringing her in by feigned force. She struggled, and again got away, and a second time she was caught. Then an old man with grey hair came forward and dragged the young man up a bamboo ladder. An old woman grasped the bride, and both followed the bridegroom. The aged sire then gave them a ducking with a cocoa-nut shell full of water, and they all descended. The happy pair knelt down, and the elder having placed their heads together, they were man and wife. We endeavoured to find out which hut was allotted to the newly-married couple, but we were given to understand, that until the sun had reappeared five times they would spend their honeymoon in the mountains.

After the ceremony was concluded, several present began to make their usual mountain call. In the low-lands, the same peculiar cry serves to bring home straggling domestic animals to their nocturnal resting-place.

There is something picturesque about a well-formed, healthy Negrito damsel, with jet black piercing eyes, and her hair in one perfect ball of close curls. The men are not of a handsome type; some of them have a hale, swarthy appearance, but many of them present a sickly emaciated aspect. A Negrito matron past thirty is perhaps one of the least attractive objects in humanity.

They live principally on fish, roots and mountain rice, but they often make a raid on the vicinal valleys and carry off the herds. To such an extent was the crime of cattle-stealing pursued, that several semi-official expeditions have been made to punish the marauders, particularly on the Cordillera de Zambales, on the west side of Luzon Island.

The husbandry of the Negritos is the most primitive imaginable. It consists of scraping the surface of the earth—without clearance of forest—and throwing the seed.

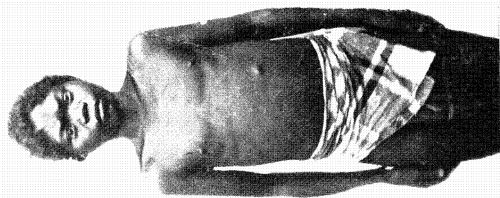
They never “take up” a piece of land, but sow in the manner described wherever they may happen to temporarily settle.

The GADDANES occupy the extreme N.W. part of Luzon Island, and are entirely out of the pale of civilization. I have never heard that any attempt has been made to subdue them. They have a fine physical bearing; wear the hair down to the shoulders; are of a very dark colour, and feed chiefly on roots, mountain rice, game, fruits and fish. They are considered the only really warlike and aggressive nomades of the north, and it is the custom of the young men about to marry, to vie with each other in presenting to the sires of their future brides, all the scalps they are able to take from their enemies, as proof of their manliness and courage. This practice prevails at the season of the year when the tree—popularly called by the Spaniards “the fire-tree”—is in bloom. The flowers of this tree are of a fire-red hue, and their appearance is the signal for this race to collect their trophies of war and celebrate certain religious rites. When I was in the extreme north, in the country of the *Ibanacs*,¹ preparing my expedition to the *Gaddanes* tribe, I was cautioned not to remain in the Gaddanes country until the fire-tree blossomed. The arms used by the *Gaddanes* are frightful weapons—long lances with trident tips, and arrows carrying at the point two rows of teeth, made out of flint or sea-shells. These weapons are used to kill both fish and foe.

The ITAVIS inhabit the district to the south of that territory occupied by the *Gaddanes*, and their mode of living and food are very similar. They are, however, not so fierce as the *Gaddanes*, and if assaults are occasionally made on other tribes, it may be rather attributed to a desire to retaliate than to a love of bloodshed. Their skin is not so dark as that of their northern neighbours—the *Gaddanes* or the partially civilized *Ibanacs*—and their hair is shorter.

The IGORROTES are spread over a considerable portion of Luzon, principally from N. lat. $16\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 18° . They are, in general, a fine race of people, physically considered.

¹ The *Ibanacs* are the ordinary domesticated natives inhabiting the extreme north of Luzon and the banks of the Rio Grande de Cagayan for some miles up. Some of them have almost black skins.



A YOUNG NEGRO.



ANITO IDOL.



They wear their hair long. At the back, it hangs down to the shoulders, whilst it is cut shorter in front, and is allowed to nearly cover the forehead like a long fringe. Some of them, settled in the districts of Lepanto and El Abra, have a little hair on the chin and upper lip. Their skin is of a dark copper tinge. They have flat noses, thick lips, high cheek bones, and their broad shoulders and limbs seem to denote great strength.

Their form is not at all graceful, however. Like all the races of the Philippines, they are indolent to the greatest degree. Their huts are built bee-hive fashion, and they creep into them like quadrupeds. Fields of sweet potatoes and sugar-cane are under cultivation by them. They cannot be forced or persuaded to embrace the Western system of civilization. Adultery is little known, but if it occurs, the dowry is returned and the divorce settled. Polygamy seems to be permitted, but little practised. Murders are common, and if a member of one hut or family group is killed, that family avenges itself on one of the murderer's kinsmen, hence those who might have to "pay the piper" are interested in maintaining order. In the Province of La Isabela, the Negrito and Igorrote tribes keep a regular *Dr.* and *Cr.* account of heads.

Their aggressions on the coast settlers have been frequent for centuries past. From time to time they came down from their mountain retreat to steal cattle and effects belonging to the domesticated population. The first regular attempt to chastise them for these inroads, and afterwards gain their submission, was in the time of Governor Arandia (1754-1759), when a plan was concerted to attack them simultaneously from all sides with 1,080 men. Their ranches and crops were laid waste, and many *Igorrotes* were taken prisoners, but the ultimate idea of securing their allegiance was abandoned as an impossibility.

In 1881 General Primo de Rivera, at the head of a large armed force, invaded their district with the view of reducing them to obedience, but it was all to no purpose, and the result of the expedition was apparently more disadvantageous than otherwise to the project of bringing this tribe under Spanish dominion and of opening up their country to trade and enlightened intercourse. Whilst the expeditionary forces were not sufficiently large, or in a condition to successfully carry on a war *à outrance*, to be immediately followed up by a military

system of government ; on the other hand, the feeble efforts displayed to conquer them served only to demonstrate the impotence of the Europeans. This gave the tribes courage to defend their liberty, whilst the licence indulged in by the white men at the expense of the mountaineers—and boasted of to me personally by many Spanish officers—had merely the effect of raising the veil from their protestations of wishing to benefit the race they sought to subdue. The enterprise ignominiously failed ; the costly undertaking was an inglorious and fruitless one, except to the General, who—being under Royal favour since at Sagunta in 1875 he “pronounced” for King Alphonso—secured himself the title of Count of La Union.

Since this event, the *Igorrotes* have been less approachable by Europeans, whom they naturally regard with every feeling of distrust. Rightly or wrongly (if it can be a matter of opinion), they fail to see any manifestation of ultimate advantage to themselves in the arrival of a troop of armed strangers who demand from them food (even though it be on payment) and perturbate their most intimate family ties. They do not appreciate being civilized to exchange their usages, independence and comfort for even the highest post obtainable by a native in the provinces, which then was practically that of local head servant to the district authority, under the name of Municipal Captain.

To roam at large in their mountain home is far more enjoyable to them than having to wear clothes ; presenting themselves often, if not to habitually reside, in villages ; having to pay taxes, for which they would get little return—not even the boon of good high-roads—and acting as unsalaried tax-collectors with the chance of fine, punishment and ruin if they did not succeed in bringing funds to the Public Treasury.

As to Christianity, it would be as hard a task to convince them of what Roman Catholicism deems indispensable for the salvation of the soul as it would be to convert all England to the teachings of Buddha—although Buddhism is as logical a religion as Christianity.

Being in Tuguegarao, the capital of Cagayan Province, about 60 miles up the Rio Grande, I went to visit the prisons, where I saw many of the worst types of *Igorrotes*. I was told that a priest who had endeavoured to teach them the precepts of Christianity, and had explained to them the marvellous life of Saint Augustine, was dismayed to hear an *Igorrote* exclaim that no coloured man ever became a white man's saint. Nothing could convince him that an exception to the

rule might be possible. Could experience have revealed to him the established fact—the remarkable anomaly, that the grossest forms of immorality were only to be found in the trail of the highest order of white man's civilization?

Specimens of the different tribes and races of these Islands were on view at the Philippine Exhibition held in Madrid in 1887. Some of them consented to receive Christian baptism before returning home, but it was publicly stated that the *Igorrotes* were among those who positively refused to abandon their own belief.

The IGORROTE CHINESE are supposed to be the descendants of the Chinese who fled to the hills on the departure of the Corsair Li-ma-hong from Pangasinan Province in 1574 (*vide* page 49). Their inter-marriage with the *Igorrote* tribe has generated a species of people quite unique in their character. Their habits are much the same as those of the pure *Igorrotes*, but with this fierce nature is blended the cunning and astuteness of the Mongol, and although their intelligence may be often misapplied, yet it is superior to that of the pure *Igorrote*. In the Province of Pangasinan there are numbers of natives of Chinese descent included in the domesticated population, and their origin is evidently due to the circumstances described.

The TINGUIANES inhabit principally the district of El Abra, about 17° N. lat. by 120° 43' E. long. (Greenwich meridian). They were nominally under the control of the Spanish Government, who appointed their headmen petty governors of villages or ranches on the system adopted in the subdued districts. According to Father Ferrando (58 years ago), the form of oath taken in his presence by the newly elected headmen on receiving the staff of office was the following, viz.:—"May a pernicious wind touch me; may a flash of lightning kill me, and may the alligator catch me asleep if I fail to fulfil my duty." The headman presented himself almost when he chose to the nearest Spanish Governor, who gave him his orders, which were only fulfilled according to the traditional custom of the tribe. Thus, the headman on his return to the ranche, delegated his powers to the council of elders, and according to their decision he acted as the executive only.

Whenever it was possible, they applied their own laws in preference to acting upon the Spanish Code.

By their laws, the crime of adultery is punished by a fine of

30 dollars value and divorce, but if the adultery has been mutual, the divorce is pronounced absolute, without the payment of a fine.

When a man is brought to justice on an accusation which he denies, a handful of straw is burnt in his presence. He is made to hold up an earthenware pot and say as follows :—"May my belly be converted " into a pot like this, if I have committed the deed attributed to me." If the transformation does not take place at once, he is declared to be innocent.

They are Pagans, but have no temples. Their gods are hidden in the mountain cavities. Like many other religionists, they believe in the efficacy of prayer for the supply of their material wants. Hence, if there be too great an abundance of rain, or too little of it, or an epidemic disease raging, or any calamity affecting the community in general, the *Anitos* are carried round and exhorted (like the Saints of the Roman Catholic Church), whilst Nature continues her uninterrupted course. The Minister of *Anito* is also appealed to when a child is to be named. The infant is carried into the woods, and the Pagan priest pronounces the name, whilst he raises a bohie knife over the newborn creature's head. On lowering the knife, he strikes at a tree. If the tree emits sap, the first name uttered stands good ; if not, the ceremony is repeated, and each time the name is changed until the oozing sap denotes the will of the deity.

The *Tinguianes* are monogamists, and generally are forced by the parents to marry before the age of puberty, but the bridegroom or his father or elder has to purchase the bride at a price mutually agreed upon by the relations. These people live in cabins on posts or trees sixty to seventy feet from the ground, and defend themselves from the attacks of their traditional enemies, the *Guinanes*, by heaving stones upon them. Nevertheless, in the more secure neighbourhoods of the Christian villages, these people build their huts similar to those of the domesticated natives. From the doors and window openings, skulls of buffaloes and horses are hung as amulets.

Physically, they are of fine form, and the nose is aquiline. They wear the hair in a tuft on the crown, like the Japanese, but their features are similar to the ordinary low-land native. They are fond of music and personal ornaments. They tattoo themselves and black their teeth ; and for these, and many other reasons, it is conjectured that they descend from the Japanese shipwrecked crews who, being without

means at hand with which to return to their country, took to the mountains inland from the west coast of Luzon.

I have never seen a *Tinguian* with a bow and arrow ; they carry the lance as the common weapon, and for hunting and spearing fish.

Their conversion to Christianity has proved to be an impossible task. A Royal Decree of Ferdinand VI., dated in Aranjuez, 18th of June, 1758, set forth that the infidels called *Tinguianes*, *Igorrotes* and by other names who should accept Christian baptism, should be exempt all their lives from the payment of tribute and forced labour. Their offspring, however, born to them after receiving baptism, would lose these privileges as well as the independence enjoyed by their forefathers. This penalty to future generations for becoming Christians was afterwards extended to all the undomesticated races.

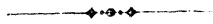
Many of these tribes did a little barter traffic with the Chinese, but—with the hope that necessity would bring them down to the Christian villages to procure commodities, and thus become socialized—the Government prohibited this trade in 1886.

The *Tinguianes* appear to be as intelligent as the ordinary subdued natives. They are by no means savages—they are not entirely strangers to domestic life, and they have laws of their own. A great many Christian families of El Abra and Ilocos Sur are of *Tinguian* origin, and I may here mention that the Ilocos dominated natives have the just reputation of being the only Philippine industrious people. For this reason, Ilocos servants and workmen are sought for in preference to most others.

There is another race of people whose source is not distinctly known, but, according to tradition, they descend from Indian Sepoys, who, it is said, formed part of the troops under British command during the military occupation of Manila in 1763. The legend is, that these HINDOOS, having deserted from the British army, migrated up the Pasig River. However that may be, the sharp-featured, black skin settlers in the Barrio de Dayap, of Cainta Town (Morong district), are decidedly of a different stock to the ordinary native. The notable physical differences are the fine aquiline nose, bright expression and regular features. They are Christians—are far more laborious than the Philippine natives, and are a law-abiding people. I have known many of them personally for years. They are the only class who voluntarily present themselves to pay the taxes, and yet, on the ground

that generations ago they were intruders on the soil, they were more heavily laden with imposts than their fellow neighbours until the abolition of tribute in 1884.

There are also to be seen in these Islands a few types of that class of tropical inhabitant, preternaturally possessed of a white skin and extremely fair hair—sometimes red—known as ALBINOS. I leave it to physiologists to elucidate the peculiarity of vital phenomena in these unfortunate abnormities of Nature. Amongst others, I once saw in Negros Island, a hapless young Albino girl, with marble-white skin and very light pink-white hair, who was totally blind in the sunny hours of the day.



CHAPTER X.

MOSLEMS AND SOUTHERN TRIBES.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, two Borneo chiefs, who were brothers, quarrelled about their respective possessions, and one of them had to flee. His partisans joined him, and they emigrated to the Island of Basilan,¹ situated to the south of Zamboanga (Mindanao Island). The *Moros*, as they are called in the islands, are therefore supposed to be descended from the Mussulman Dyaks of Borneo.

They were a valiant, warlike, piratical people, who admired bravery in others,—had a deep-rooted contempt for poltroons, and lavished no mercy on the weak.

In the suite of this chief, called Paguian Tindig, came his cousin Adasaolan, who was captivated by the fertility of Basilan Island and wished to remain there, so Tindig left him in possession and withdrew to Sulu Island, where he easily reduced the natives to vassalage, for they had never yet had to encounter so powerful a foe.

So famous did Paguian Tindig become, that, for generations afterwards, the Sultans of Sulu were proud of their descent from such a celebrated hero.

After the Spaniards had pacified the great Butuan Chief on the north coast of Mindanao, Tindig consented to acknowledge the suzerainty of their King, in exchange for undisturbed possession of the realm which he had just founded.

Adasaolan espoused the Princess Paguian Goan, daughter of Dimasangeay, King of Mindanao, by his wife Imbog, a Sulu woman, and with this relationship he embraced the Mahometan faith.

¹ According to Father Pedro Murillo, the ancient name of Basilan was Taguima, so called from a river there of that name.

Adasaolan's ambition increased as good fortune came to him, and, stimulated by the promised support of his father-in-law, he invaded Sulu, attacked his cousin Tindig, and attempted to murder him to annex his kingdom. A short but fierce contest ensued. Tindig's fortified dwelling was besieged in vain. The posts which supported the upper story were greased with oil, and an entrance could not be effected.

Adasaolan, wearied of his failures, retired from the enterprise, and Tindig, in turn, declared war on the Basilan king after he had been to Manila to solicit assistance from his Spanish suzerain's representative, who sent two armed boats to support him.

When Tindig, on his return from Manila, arrived within sight of Sulu, his anxious subjects rallied round him, and prepared for battle. The two armed boats, furnished by the Spaniards, were on the way, but, as yet, too far off to render help, so Adasaolan immediately fell upon Tindig's party and completely routed them.

Tindig himself died bravely, fighting to the last moment.

Adasaolan, however, did not annex the territory of his defeated cousin. Rajah Bongso succeeded Tindig in the Government of Sulu, and when old age enfeebled him, he was wont to show with pride the scars inflicted on him during the war of independence.

The Spaniards, having no one to fight for when they arrived, returned to Manila with their armed boats. Adasaolan then made alliances with Mindanao and Borneo people, and introduced the Mahometan religion into Sulu. Since then, Sulu (called "Joló," by the Spaniards) has become the Mecca of the Southern Archipelago.¹

* * * * *

The earliest records relating to Mindanao Island, since the Spanish annexation of the Philippines, show that about the year 1595, a rich Portuguese cavalier of noble birth, named Estevan Rodriguez, who had acquired a large fortune in the Philippines, and who had a wealthy brother in Mexico, proposed to the Governor Perez Dasmariñas the conquest of this Island.

For this purpose, he offered his person and all his means, but having waited in vain for four years to obtain the Royal sanction to his

¹ Mahomedanism appears to have been introduced into the Islands of Borneo and Mindanao by Arabian missionary prophets.

project, he prepared to leave for Mexico, disgusted and disappointed. He was on the point of starting for New Spain ; he had his ship laden and his family on board, when the Royal confirmation arrived with the new Governor, Dr. Antonio Morga. Therefore he changed his plans, but despatched the laden ship to Mexico with the cargo, intending to employ the profits of the venture in the prosecution of his Mindanao enterprise.

With the title of General, he and his family, together with three chaplain priests, started in another vessel for the south. They put in at Otong (Panay Island) on the way, and left there in April, 1596. Having reached the great Mindanao River (Rio Grande), the ship went up it as far as Buhayen, in the territory of the chief Silongan. A party under the *Maestre de Campo* was sent ashore to reconnoitre the environs. Their delay in returning caused alarm, so the General buckled on his shield, and, with sword in hand, disembarked, accompanied by a Cebuano servant and two Spaniards, carrying lances. On the way they met a native, who raised his *campilan* to deal a blow, which the General received on his shield, and cut down the foe at the waist. Then they encountered another, who cleaved the General's head almost in two, causing his death in six hours. The Cebuano at once ran the native through with a lance. This brave was discovered to be the youngest brother of the chief Silongan, who had sworn to Mahomet to sacrifice his life to take that of the Castillian invader.

The General's corpse was sent to Manila for interment. The expedition led by the *Maestre de Campo* fared badly, one of the party being killed, another seriously wounded, and the rest fled on board. The next day it was decided to construct trenches at the mouth of the river, where the camp was established. The command was taken by Juan de la Jara, the *Maestre de Campo*, whose chief exploit seems to have been, that he made love to the deceased General's widow and proposed marriage to her, which she indignantly rejected. Nothing was gained by the expedition, and after the last priest died, the project was abandoned, and the vessel returned to Cebú.

The alliances effected between the Sulu and Mindanao potentates gave a great stimulus to Piracy, which hitherto had been confined to the waters in the locality of those islands. It now spread over the whole of the Philippine Archipelago, and was prosecuted with great vigour by regular organised fleets, carrying weapons almost equal to

those of the Spaniards. In meddling with the Mussulman territories the Spaniards may be said to have unconsciously lighted on a hornet's nest. Their eagerness for conquest stirred up the implacable hatred of the Moslem for the Christian, and they unwittingly brought woe upon their own heads for many generations. Indeed, if half the consequences could have been foreseen, they surely never would have attempted to gain what, up to the present day, they have failed to secure, namely, the complete conquest of Mindanao and the Sulu Sultanate.

For over two centuries and a half Mussulman war junks ravaged every coast of the Colony. Not a single peopled island was spared. Thousands of the inhabitants were murdered, whilst others were carried into slavery for years. Villages were sacked; the churches were looted; local trade was intercepted; the natives subject to Spain were driven into the high lands, and many even dared not risk their lives and goods near the coasts. The utmost desolation and havoc was perpetrated, and militated vastly against the welfare and development of the Colony.

For four years the Government had to remit the payment of tribute in Negros Island and the others lying between it and Luzon, on account of the abject poverty of the natives, due to these raids.

From the time the Spaniards first interfered with the Mussulmans there was continual warfare. Expeditions against the pirates were constantly being fitted out by each succeeding Governor. Piracy was indeed an incessant scourge and plague on the Colony, and it cost the Spaniards rivers of blood and millions of dollars only to keep it in check.

In the present century, the Mussulmans appeared even in the Bay of Manila. There are persons yet living who have been in Mussulman captivity. There are hundreds who still remember, with anguish, the insecurity to which their lives and properties were exposed. The Spaniards were quite unable to cope with such a prodigious calamity. The coast villagers built forts for their own defence, and many an old stone watch-tower is still to be seen on the islands south of Luzon. On several occasions the Christian natives were urged, by the inducement of spoil, to equip corsairs, with which to retaliate on the indomitable marauders. The Sulu people made captive the Christian natives and Spaniards alike, whilst a Spanish priest was a choice prize.

And whilst Spaniards in Philippine waters were straining every nerve to extirpate slavery, their countrymen were diligently pursuing a profitable trade in it between the West Coast of Africa and Cuba !

“It is an ill wind which blows no one any good” ; and the Moslem attacks certainly had the good political effect of forcing hundreds of Christians up from the coast to people and cultivate the interior of these islands.

Due to the enterprise of a few Spanish and foreign merchants, steamers at length began to navigate in the waters of the Archipelago, and piracy by Mussulmans beyond their own locality was doomed. In the time of Governor-General Norzagaray, 18 steam gun-boats were ordered out, and arrived in 1860, putting a close for ever to this epoch of misery, bloodshed, and material loss. The end of piracy brought repose to the Colony, and in no small degree aided the progress of its social advancement.

During the protracted struggle with the Moslems, Zamboanga (Mindanao Is.) was fortified, and became the headquarters of the Spaniards in the south. After Cavite, it was the chief naval station, and a penitentiary was also established there. Its maintenance was a great burden to the Treasury—its existence a great eyesore to the enemy, whose hostility was much inflamed thereby. About the year 1635 its abandonment was proposed by the military party, who described it as only a sepulchre for Spaniards. The Jesuits, however, urged its continuance, as it suited their interests to have material support close at hand, and their influence prevailed in Manila bureaucratic centres.

In the year 1738 the fixed annual expenses of Zamboanga fort and equipment were \$17,500, and the incidental disbursements were estimated at \$7,500. These sums did not include the cost of scores of armed fleets which, at enormous expense, were sent out against the Mussulmans to little purpose. Each new (Zamboanga) Governor of a martial spirit, and desiring to do something to establish or confirm his fame for prowess, seemed to regard it as a kind of duty to pretext the quelling of imaginary troubles in Sulu and Mindanao. Some, with less patriotism than selfishness, found a ready excuse for filling their own pockets by the proceeds of warfare, in making feigned efforts to rescue captives. It may be observed in extenuation, that, in those days, the Spaniards believed from their birth that none but a Christian

had rights, whilst some were deluded by a conscientious impression that they were executing a high mission ; myth as it was, it at least served to give them courage in their perilous undertakings. Peace was made and broken over and over again. Spanish forts were at times established in Sulu, and afterwards demolished. Every decade brought new devices to control the desperate foe. Several Governors-General headed the troops in person against the Mussulmans with temporary success, but without any lasting effect, and almost every new Governor made a solemn treaty with one powerful chief or another, which was respected only as long as it suited both parties.

This continued campaign, the details of which are too prolix for insertion here, may be qualified as a religious war, for Roman Catholic priests took an active part in the operations with the same fiendish passion as the Moslems themselves. Among these tonsured warriors may be mentioned Father Ducos, the son of a Colonel, José Villanueva and Pedro de San Agustin. They all acquired great fame *out of* their profession ; the last being known, with dread, by the Moslems in the beginning of the 17th century, under the title of the Captain-priest. One of the most renowned Kings in Mindanao was Cachil Corralat, an astute, far-seeing chieftain, who ably defended the independence of his territory, and kept the Spaniards at bay during the whole of his manhood.

An interesting event in the Spanish-Sulu history is the visit of the Sultan Mahamad Alimudin to the Governor-General in 1750, and his subsequent vicissitudes of fortune. The first Royal despatch addressed by the King of Spain to the Sultan of Sulu, was dated in Buen Retiro, 12th of July, 1744, and everything, for the time being, seemed to augur a period of peace. In 1749, however, the Sultan was violently deposed by an ambitious brother, Prince Bantilan, and the Sultan forthwith went to Manila to seek the aid of his Suzerain's delegate, the Governor-General of the Philippines who chanced to be the Bishop of Nueva Segovia. In Manila, the Priest-Governor cajoled his guest with presents, and accompanied him on horseback and on foot, with the design of persuading him to renounce his religion in favour of Christianity.

At length the Sultan yielded, and avowed his intention to receive baptism. Among the Friars an animated discussion ensued as to the propriety of this act, especial opposition being raised by the Jesuits,

but in the end the Sultan, with a number of his suite, outwardly embraced the Christian faith. The Sultan at his baptism received the name of Ferdinand I. of Sulu ; at the same time he was invested with the insignia and grade of a Spanish Lieutenant-General.

Great ceremonies and magnificent feasts followed this unprecedented incident. He was visited and congratulated by all the *élite* of the capital. By proclamation, the festivities included four days' illumination, three days' procession of the giants, three days of bull-fighting, four nights of fireworks, and three nights of comedy, to terminate with High Mass, a *Te Deum* and special sermon for the occasion.

In the meantime, the Sultan had requested the Governor to have the Crown Prince, Princesses and retainers escorted to Manila, to learn Spanish manners and customs. Thus the Sultan with his male and female accompaniment numbered 60 persons. The Governor-Bishop defrayed the cost of their maintenance out of his private purse. After the baptism, the Government supported them in Manila for two years.

At length it was resolved, according to appearances, to restore the Sultan Ferdinand I. to his throne. With that idea, he and his retinue quitted Manila in the Spanish frigate "San Fernando," which was convoyed by another frigate and a galley, until the "San Fernando" fell in with bad weather off Mindoro Island, and had to make the Port of Calapan. Thence he proceeded to Yloilo, where he changed vessel and set sail for Zamboanga, but contrary winds carried him to Dapitan (N.W. coast of Mindanao Island), where he landed and put off again in a small Visayan craft for Zamboanga, arriving there on the 12th of July, 1751.

Thirteen days afterwards, the "San Fernando," which had been repaired, reached Zamboanga also.

Before Ferdinand I. left Manila, he had addressed a letter to Sultan Muhamad Amirubdin, of Mindanao, at the instance of the Spanish Governor-General. The original was written by Ferdinand I. in Arabic ; a version in Spanish was dictated by him, and both were signed by him. These documents reached the Governor of Zamboanga by the "San Fernando," but he had the original in Arabic retranslated, and found that it did not at all agree with the Sultan's Spanish rendering. The translation of the Arabic runs thus :—

"I shall be glad to know that the Sultan Muhamad Amirubdin
and all his chiefs, male and female, are well. I do not write a

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“ lengthy letter, as I intended, because I simply wish to give you to understand, in case the Sultan or his chiefs and others should feel aggrieved at my writing this letter in this manner, that I do so under pressure, being under foreign dominion, and I am compelled to obey whatever they tell me to do, and I have to say what they tell me to say. Thus the Governor has ordered me to write to you in our style and language ; therefore, do not understand that I am writing you on my own behalf, but because I am ordered to do so, and I have nothing more to add. Written in the year 1164 on the ninth day of the Rabilajer Moon, Ferdinand I., King of Sulu, who seals with his own seal.”

This letter was pronounced treasonable. Impressed with, or feigning, this idea, the Spaniards saw real or imaginary indications of a design on the part of the Sultan to throw off the foreign yoke at the first opportunity. All his acts were thus interpreted, although no positive proof was manifest, and the Governor communicated his suspicions to Manila.

There is no explanation why the Spaniards detained the Sultan at all in Zamboanga, unless with the intention of trumping up accusations against him. The Sultan arrived there on the 12th of July, and nothing was known of the disagreement in the letter until after the 25th of July. Why he was detained in Zamboanga during these 13 days can only be conjectured. To suppose that the Sultan could ever return to reign peacefully as a Christian over Mussulman subjects was utterly absurd to any sane mind.

On the 3rd of August, the Sultan, his sons, vassals and chiefs were all cast into prison, without opposition, and a letter was despatched, dated 6th of August, 1751, to the Governor in Manila, stating the cause.

The Sultan was the first individual arrested, and he made no difficulty about going to the fort. Even the Prince Asin, the Sultan's brother, who had voluntarily come from Sulu in apparent good faith with friendly overtures to the Spaniards, was included among the prisoners. The reason assigned was, that he had failed to surrender Christian captives as provided.

The prisoners, besides the Sultan, were the following, viz. :—

Four sons of the Sultan.	Princess Panguian Banquiling
Prince Asin (brother).	(sister).
Prince Mustafá (son-in-law).	Four Princesses (daughters).

160 ordinary male and female retainers.	Dato Yamudin (a noble).
Five brothers-in-law.	Seven Mussulman priests.
One Mussulman Cherif.	Concubines with 32 female servants.

The political or other crime (if any) attributed to these last is not stated, nor why they were imprisoned.

The few arms brought, according to custom, by the followers of the Sultan who had come from Sulu to receive their liege-lord and escort him back to his country, were also seized.

A Decree of the Governor-General set forth the following accusations against the prisoners, viz. :—

1°. That Prince Asin had not surrendered captives. 2°. That whilst the Sultan was in Manila, new captives were made by the party who expelled him from the throne. 3°. That the number of arms brought to Zamboanga by Sulu chiefs was excessive. 4°. That the letter to Sultan Muhamad Amirubdin insinuated help wanted against the Spaniards. 5°. That several Mahomedan, but no Christian books, were found in the Sultan's baggage. 6°. That during the journey to Zamboanga he had refused to pray in Christian form. 7°. That he had only attended Mass twice. 8°. That he had celebrated Mahomedan rites, sacrificing a goat; and had given evidence in a hundred ways of being a Mahomedan. 9°. That his conversation generally denoted a want of attachment to the Spaniards, and a contempt for their treatment of him in Manila,¹ and 10°. That he still cohabited with his concubines.

The greatest stress was laid on the recovery of the captive Christians, and the Governor added, that although the mission of the fleet was to restore the Sultan to the throne (which, by the way, he does not appear to have attempted), the principal object was the rescue of Christian slaves. He, therefore, proposed that the liberty of the imprisoned nobles and chiefs should be bartered at the rate of 500 Christian slaves for each one of the chiefs and nobles, and the balance of the captives for Prince Asin and the clergy.

A subsequent Decree, dated in Manila 21st December, 1751, ordered the extermination of the Mussulmans with fire and sword; the fitting

¹ The Sultan complained that he had not been treated in Manila with dignity equal to his rank and quality, and that he had constantly been under guard of soldiers in his residence (this was explained to be a guard-of-honour).

out of Visayan corsairs, with authority to extinguish the foe, burn all that was combustible, destroy the crops, desolate their cultivated land, make captives, and recover Christian slaves. One-fifth of the spoil (the *Real quinto*) was to belong to the King, and the natives were to be exempt from the payment of tribute whilst so engaged.

Before giving effect to such a terrible, but impracticable resolution, it was thought expedient to publish a *brochure*, styled a "Historical Manifest," in which the Governor-General professed to justify his acts for public satisfaction.

However, public opinion in Manila was averse to the intended warfare, so to make it more popular, the Governor abolished the payment of one-fifth of the booty to the King. An appeal was made to the citizens of Manila for arms and provisions to carry on the campaign; they therefore lent or gave the following, viz. :—

26 guns, 13 bayonets, 3 sporting guns, 15 carbines, 5 blunderbusses, 7 brace of pistols, 23 swords, 15 lances, 900 cannon balls, and \$150 from Spaniards, and a few lances and \$188 from natives.

Meanwhile Prince Asiu died of grief at his position.

Under the leadership of the *Maestre de Campo*¹ of Zamboanga, hostilities commenced. With several ships he proceeded to Sulu, carrying a large armament and 1,900 men. When the squadron anchored off Sulu, a white and a red flag were hoisted from the principal fort, for the Spaniards to elect either peace or war. Several Sulus approached the Fleet with white flags, to enquire for the Sultan. Evasive answers were given, followed by a sudden cannonade.

No good resulted to the Spaniards from the attack, for the Sulus defended themselves admirably. Tawi Tawi Island was next assaulted. The Captain and his men went ashore, but their retreat was cut off and they were all slain. The Commander of the expedition was so discouraged, that he returned to Zamboanga and resigned. Pedro Gastambide then took command, but after having attacked Basilan Island fruitlessly, he retired to Zamboanga. The whole campaign was an entire fiasco. It was a great mistake to have declared a war of extermination without having the means to carry it out. The result was, that the irate Sulus organized a guerilla warfare, by sea and by

¹ *Maestre de Campo* (obsolete grade), about equivalent to the modern General of Brigade.

land, against all Christians, to which the Spaniards but feebly responded. The "tables were turned." In fact, they were in great straits, and, wearied at the little success of their arms, endless councils and discussions were held in the capital.

Meanwhile, almost every coast of the Archipelago was energetically ravaged. Hitherto the Spaniards had only had the Sulus to contend with, but the licence given by the Governor-General to reprisal and pillage excited the cupidity of unscrupulous officials. Without apparent right or reason, the *Maestre de Campo* of Zamboanga caused a Chinese junk from Amoy, carrying goods to a friendly Sultan of Mindanao, to be seized. After tedious delay, vexation, and privation, the master and his crew were released, and a part of the cargo restored, but the *Maestre de Campo* insisted upon retaining what was convenient for his own use. This treachery to an amicable Power exasperated and undeceived the Mindanao Sultan to such a degree, that he at once took his just revenge by making war on the Spaniards. Fresh fleets of armed canoes replenished the Sulu armadillas, ravaged the coasts, hunted down Spanish priests, and made captives.

On the north coast of Mindanao several battles took place. There is a legend that over 600 Mussulmans advanced to the village of Lubungan, but were repulsed by the villagers, who affirmed that their patron, Saint James, appeared on horseback to help them.

Fray Roque de Santa Mónica was chased from place to place, hiding in caves and rocks. Being again met by four Mussulmans, he threatened them with a blunderbuss and was left unmolested. Eventually, he was found by friendly natives, and taken by them to a wood, where he lived on roots. Thence he journeyed to Linao,—became raving mad, and was sent to Manila, where he died quite frantic, in the convent of his order.

The Sultan and his fellow prisoners had been conveyed to Manila, and lodged in the Fortress of Santiago. In 1753, he petitioned the Governor to allow his daughter, the Princess Faatima, and two slaves to go to Sulu about his private affairs. A permit was granted on condition of her returning, or, in exchange for her liberty and that of her two slaves, to remit 50 captives, and, failing to do either, the Sultan and his suite were to be deprived of their dignities and treated as common slaves, to work in the galleys, and to be undistinguished among the ordinary prisoners. On these conditions, the Princess

left, and forwarded 50 slaves and one more—a Spaniard, José de Montesinos—as a present.

The Princess Faatima, nevertheless, did return to Manila, bringing with her an ambassador from Prince Bantilan, her uncle and Governor of Sulu, who, in the meantime, had assumed the title of Sultan Mahamad Miududin.

The ambassador was Prince Mahamad Ismael Dato Marayalayla. After an audience with the Governor, he went to the fort to consult with the captive Sultan, and they proposed a treaty with the Governor, of which the main points were as follows, viz. :—

An offensive and defensive alliance.

All captives within the Kingdom of Sulu to be surrendered within one year.

All objects looted from the churches to be restored within one year.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, the Sultan and his people were to be set at liberty.

The treaty was dated in Manila, 3rd of March, 1754. The terms were quite impossible of accomplishment, for the Sultan, being still in prison, had no power to enforce commands on his subjects.

The war was continued at great sacrifice to the State and with little benefit to the Spaniards, whilst their operations were greatly retarded by discordance between the officials of the expedition, the authorities on shore, and the priests. At the same time, dilatory proceedings were being taken against the *Maestre de Campo* of Zamboanga, who was charged with having appropriated to himself others' share of the war booty. Siargao Island had been completely overrun by the Mussulmans ; the villages and cultivated land were laid waste, and the Spanish priest was killed.

When the Governor Pedro de Arandia arrived in 1754, the Sultan took advantage of the occasion to put his case before him. He had, indeed, experienced some of the strangest mutations of fortune, and Arandia had compassion on him. By Arandia's persuasion, the Archbishop visited and spiritually examined him, and then the Sultan confessed and took the Communion. In the College of Santa Potenciana there was a Moslem woman who had been a concubine of the Sultan, but who now professed Christianity, and had taken the name of Rita Calderon. The Sultan's wife having died, he asked for this

ex-concubine in marriage, and the favour was conceded to him. The nuptials were celebrated in the Governor's Palace on the 27th of April, 1755, and the espoused couple returned to their prison with an allowance of \$50 per month for their maintenance.

In 1755 all the Sultan's relations and suite who had been incarcerated in Manila, except his son Ismael and a few chiefs, were sent back to Sulu. The Sultan and his chiefs were then allowed to live freely within the city of Manila, after having sworn before the Governor, on bended knee, to pay homage to him, and to remain peaceful during the king's pleasure. Indeed, Arandia was so favourably disposed towards the Sultan Mahamad Alimudin (Fernando I.), that personally he was willing to restore him to his throne, but his wish only brought him in collision with the clergy, and he desisted.

The British, after the military occupation of Manila in 1763, took up the cause of the Sultan, and reinstated him in Sulu. Then he avenged himself of the Spaniards, by fomenting incursions against them in Mindanao, which the Governor-General, José Raon, was unable to oppose for want of resources.

The Mussulmans, however, soon proved their untrustworthiness to friend and foe alike. Their friendship lasted on the one side so long as danger could thereby be averted from the other, and a certain Datto Teng-teng attacked the British garrison at Batambangan one night, and slaughtered all but six of the troops.

The town of Sulu was formerly the residence of the Sultan's Court. This Sovereign had arrogantly refused to check the piratical cruisions made by his people against the Spanish subjects in the locality and about the Islands of Calamianes; therefore, on the 11th of February, 1851, General Urbiztondo (an ex-Carlist chief), who had been appointed Governor-General of the Philippines in the previous year, undertook to redress his nation's grievances by force. The Spanish flag was hoisted in several places. Sulu Town, which was shelled by the gunboats, was captured and held by the invaders, and the Sultan Muhamed Pulalon fled to Maybun on the south coast, to which place the Court was removed. Still the Moslems paid the Spaniards an occasional visit and massacred the garrison, which was as often renewed by fresh levies.

In 1876 the incursions of the Mussulmans and the temerity of the chiefs had again attained such proportions, that European dominion over

the Sulu Sultanate and Mindanao, even in the nominal form in which it existed, was sorely menaced. Consequent on this, an expedition, headed by Vice-Admiral Malcampo, arrived in the waters of the Sultanate, carrying troops, with the design of enforcing submission.

The chief of the land forces appears to have had no topographical plan formed. The expedition turned out to be one of discovery. The troops were marched into the interior, without their officers knowing where they were going, and they even had to depend on Sulu guides. Naturally, they were often deceived, and led to precisely where the Mussulmans were awaiting them in ambush, the result being that great havoc was made in the advance column by frequent surprises. Now and again would appear a few *juramentados*, or sworn Moslems, who sought their way to Allah by the sacrifice of their own blood, but causing considerable destruction to the invading party. With a kris at the waist, a javelin in one hand, and a shield supported by the other, they would advance before the enemy, dart forward and backwards, make zigzag movements, and then, with a war-whoop, rush in three or four at a time upon a body of Christians twenty times their number, giving no quarter, expecting none—to die, or to conquer! The expedition was not a failure, but it gained little. The Spanish flag was hoisted in several places, in some of which it remained until the Spanish evacuation of the islands.

* * * * *

The Mussulmans (called by the Spaniards *Moros*) now extend over the whole of Mindanao Island, and the Sultanate of Sulu, which comprises Sulu Island (34 miles long from E. to W., and 12 miles in the broadest part from N. to S.) and about 140 others, 80 to 90 of which are uninhabited.

The population of the Sulu Sultanate alone would be about 110,000, including free people, slaves and some 20,000 men-at-arms under orders of the Dattos. The domains of His Highness reach westward as far as Borneo, where, until recently, the Sultanate of Brunei was more or less nominally subservient to that of Sulu. The Sultan of Sulu is also feudal lord of two vassal Sultanates in Mindanao Island.

There is, moreover, a half-caste branch of these people in the southern half of Palaúan Island (Paragua) of a very subdued and peaceful nature, nominally under the Sulu Sultan's rule.

In Mindanao, only a small coast district here and there was really under Spanish empire, although Spain claimed suzerainty over all the territory subject to the Sultan of Sulu, by virtue of an old treaty, which never was respected to the letter. After the Sulu war of 1876, the Sultan admitted the claim more formally, and on the 11th of March, 1877, a protocol was signed by England and Germany recognizing Spain's rights to the Tawi Tawi group and the chain of islands stretching from Sulu to Borneo. At the same time, it was understood that Spain would give visible proof of annexation by establishing military posts, or occupying these islands in some way, but nothing was done until 1880, when they were scared by a report that the Germans projected a settlement there. A convict corps at once took possession, military posts were established, and in 1882 the 6th regiment of regular troops was quartered in the group at Bongao and Siassi.

Meanwhile in 1880, a foreign colonizing company was formed in the Sultanate of Brunei, under the title of "British North Borneo Co." (Royal Charter 7th November, 1881). The company recognized the suzerain rights of the Sultan of Sulu, and agreed to pay him £5,000 a year as feudal lord. Spain protested that the territory was hers, but could show nothing to confirm the possession. There was neither a flag, nor a detachment of troops, nor anything whatsoever to indicate that the coast was under European protection or dominion. Notes were exchanged between the Cabinets of Madrid and London, and the former relinquished for ever their claim to the Borneo fief of Brunei.

The experiences of the unfortunate Sultan Alimudin (Ferdinand I.) taught the Sulu people such a sad lesson that subsequent Sultans have not cared to risk their persons in the hands of the Spaniards. There was, moreover, a National Party which repudiated dependence on Spain, and hoped to be able eventually to drive out the Spaniards. Therefore, in 1885, when the heir to the throne was cited to Manila to receive his investiture at the hands of the Governor-General, he refused to comply, and the Government at once offered the Sultanate to another chief. The dignity having been accepted by him, he presented himself to the Governor-General in the capital.

The ceremony of investiture took place in the Government House at Malacañan near Manila on the 24th of September, 1886, when Datto Harun took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain as his sovereign

lord, and received from the Governor-General Emilio Terrero the title of his Excellency *Paduca Majasari Maulana Amiril Mauminin Sultan Muhammad Harun Narrasid*, with the rank and grade of a Spanish Lieutenant-General.

The Governor-General was attended by his Secretary, the Official Interpreter, and several officers of high local rank. In the suite of the Sultan-elect were his Secretary *Tuan Haji Omar*, a priest *Pandita Tuan Sik Mustafá*, and several dattos.

For the occasion, the Sultan-elect was dressed in European costume, and wore a Turkish fez with a heavy tassel of black silk. His Secretary and Chaplain appeared in long black tunics, white trousers, light shoes and turbans. Two of the remainder of his suite adopted the European fashion, but the others wore rich typical Moorish vestments.

The Sultan returned to his country, and in the course of three months the chiefs of the National Party openly took up arms against the nominee of the King of Spain, the movement spreading to the adjacent islands of Siasi and Bongao, which form part of the Sultanate.

The Mussulmans on the Great Mindanao River, from Cottobatto upwards, openly defied Spanish authority; and in the spring of 1886, the Government were under the necessity of organizing an expedition against them.

The Spaniards had ordered that native craft should carry the Spanish flag, otherwise they would be treated as pirates or rebels. In March, 1887, the cacique of the Simonor ranche (Bongao Island), named Pandan, refused any longer to hoist the Christian ensign, and he was pursued and taken prisoner. He was conveyed on the gunboat "Panay" to Sulu, and on being asked by the Governor why he had ceased to use the Spanish flag, he haughtily replied that "he would only answer such a question to the Captain-General," and refused to give any further explanation. Within a month after his arrest, the garrison of Sulu was strengthened by an increase of 377 men, in expectation of an immediate general rising.

The forces were led by Majors Mattos and Villa-Abrille, under the command of Brigadier Seriná. They were stoutly opposed by a cruel and despotic chief, named Utto, who advanced at the head of his subjects and slaves. With the co-operation of the gunboats up the river, the Mussulmans were repulsed with great loss.

Probably this would have sufficed for a long time to convince the Mussulmans that when they show front, the modern means of warfare are more effective than theirs. Scores of expeditions have been led against the Mindanao natives, and temporary submission has been usually obtained by the Spaniards, but on their retirement, the natives have always reverted to their old customs, and have taken their revenge on the settlers. The history of the Colony would have proved this to the Governor-General, but there were petty jealousies existing between his highest officers in the south, which his presence, without warfare, would have sufficed to tranquillize. What reason was there for further hostilities ?

The cry was raised that Datto Utto had avowed that no Spaniard had, or ever should, enter his territory !

It was a small plea for an armed expedition, but from the example of his predecessor in 1880, the General perchance foresaw in a little war the vision of titles and more material reward, besides counterbalancing his increasing unpopularity in Manila, due to the influence of the Government Secretary Don Felipe Canga-Argüelles. Following in the wake of those who had successfully checked the Mussulmans in the previous spring, he took the chief command in person in the beginning of January, 1887, to force a recantation of the Chief Utto's independence.

The petty Sultans of Bacat, Buhayen and Kudarangan in vain united their fortunes with that of Utto. The stockades of coconut trunks, palma-bravas and earth (called *cottas*) were easily destroyed by the Spanish artillery, and their defenders fled under a desultory fire. There was very little slaughter on either side. A few of the Christian native infantry soldiers suffered from the bamboo spikes set in the ground around the stockades (called by the Spaniards *puas*), but the enemy had not had time to cover with brushwood the pits dug for the attacking party to fall into.

In about two months, the operations ended by the submission of some petty chiefs of minor importance and influence ; and after spending so much powder and shot and Christian blood, the General had not even the satisfaction of seeing either the man he was fighting against or his enemy's ally, the Sultan of Kudarangan.

This latter sent a priest, Pandita Kalibaudang, and Datto Andig to sue for peace, and cajole the General with the fairest promises.

Afterwards the son and heir of this chief, Rajah Muda Tambilanang, presented himself, and he and his suite of 30 followers were conducted to the camp in the steam launch "Carriedo."

Utto, whose residence had been demolished, had not deigned to submit in person. He sent, as emissaries, Datto Siruṅgang and the chiefs Buat and Dalandung, who excused only the absence of Utto's prime minister. Capitulations of peace were drawn up and handed to Utto's servants, who were told to bring them back signed without delay, for despatches from the Home Government, received four or five weeks previously, were urging the General to conclude this affair as speedily as possible. They were returned signed by Utto—or by somebody else—and the same signature and another, supposed to be that of his wife, the Rancee Pudtli (a woman of great sway amongst her people) were also attached to a letter, offering complete submission.

The Spaniards destroyed a large quantity of rice paddy, and they stipulated for the payment of a war indemnity in the form of canuons, buffaloes and horses, to be delivered at a period later on.

The General gave them some trifling presents, and they went their way and he his,—to Manila, where he entered in state on the 21st of March, with flags flying, music playing, and the streets decorated with bunting of the national colours, to give welcome to the conqueror of the Mussulman chief—whom he had never seen—the bearer of peace capitulations signed—by whom? ¹

As usual, a *Te Deum* was celebrated in the Cathedral for the victories gained over the infidels; the officers and troops who had returned were invited by the Municipality to a theatrical performance, and the Governor-General held a reception. Some of the troops were left in Mindanao, it having been resolved to establish armed outposts still farther up the river for the better protection of the port and settlement of Cottobatto.

Whilst the Governor-General headed the military parade in the Cottobatto district, the ill-feeling of the Sulu natives towards the Spaniards was gradually maturing. An impending struggle was evident, and Colonel Juan Arolas, the Governor of Sulu, concentrated his forces in expectation.

The Sulus, always armed, prepared for events in their *cottas*; Arolas demanded their surrender, which was refused, and they were

¹ Datto Utto *afterwards* visited the Brigadier of Mindanao in October, 1887.

attacked. Two *cottas*, well defended, were ultimately taken, not without serious loss to the Spaniards. It was reported that amongst the slain was a captain. Arolas then twice asked for authority to attack the Mussulmans at Maybun and was each time refused. At length, acting on his own responsibility, on the 15th of April, 1887, he ordered a gunboat to steam round to Maybun and open fire at day-break on the Sultan's capital, which was in possession of the party opposed to the Spanish nominee (Harun Narrasid). At 11 o'clock the same night he started with his troops towards Maybun, and the next morning, whilst the enemy was engaged with the gunboat, he led the attack on the land side. The Mussulmans, quite surprised, fought like lions, but were completely routed, and the seat of the Sultanate was razed to the ground. It was the most crushing defeat ever inflicted on the Sulu National Party. The news reached Manila on the 29th of April, and great praise was justly accorded to Colonel Arolas, whose energetic operations contrasted so favourably with the Cottobatto expedition. It was thought that Arolas would have come to the capital to receive the congratulations of his companions-in-arms, and all manner of festivities in his honour were projected; but he elected to continue the work of maintaining his country's prestige in all the islands of the group. Notwithstanding his well-known republican tendencies, on the 20th of September, 1887, the Queen-Regent cabled through her Ministry her acknowledgment of Colonel Arolas' valuable services, and the pleasure it gave her to reward him with a Brigadier's commission.¹

In 1895 an expedition against the Mussulmans was organised under the supreme command of Governor-General Ramon Blanco. It was known as the Maraut Campaign. The tribes around Lake Malanao and the Maraut district had, for some time past, made serious raids on the Spanish settlement at Yligan, which is connected with Lake Malanao by a river navigable only by canoes. Indeed, the lives and property of Christians in all the territory adjoining Yligan were in great jeopardy, and the Spanish authorities were set at defiance. It was, therefore, resolved, for the first time, to attack the tribes and destroy their *cottas* around the lake for the permanent tranquillity of

¹ By Royal Order of June, 1890, Brigadier Arolas was appointed Governor of Mindanao.

Yligan. The Spanish and native troops alike suffered great hardships and privations. Steam launches in sections (constructed in Hongkong), small guns and war material were carried up from Yligan to the lake by natives over very rugged ground. On the lake shore the launches were fitted up and operated on the lake, to the immense surprise of the tribes. From the land side their *cottas* were attacked and destroyed, under the command of my old friend Brigadier General González Parrado. The operations, which lasted about three months, were a complete success, and General González Parrado was rewarded with promotion to General of Division. Lake Malanao, with the surrounding district and the route down to Yligan, were in possession of the Spaniards, and in order to retain that possession without the expense of maintaining a large military establishment, it was determined to people the conquered territory with Christian families from Luzon and the other islands situated north of Mindanao. It was the attempt to carry out this colonizing scheme which gave significance to the Maraut Expedition and contributed to that movement which, in 1896, led to the downfall of Spanish rule in the Archipelago.

The last Spanish punitive expedition against the Mindanao Mussulmans was sent in February, 1898, under the command of General Buille. The operations lasted only a few days. The enemy was driven into the interior with great loss and one chief was slain. The small gunboats built in Hongkong for the Maraut Campaign—the *General Blanco*, *Corcuero*, and *Lanao*—again did good service.

A few years ago, we were all alarmed on Corpus Christi Day, during the solemn procession of that feast in Cottobatto, by the sudden attack of a few Mussulmans on the crowd of Christians assembled. Of course the former were overwhelmed and killed, as they quite expected to be. They were of that class known as *juramentados*, or sworn Mussulmans, who believe that if they make a solemn vow, in a form binding on their consciences, to die taking the blood of a Christian, their souls will immediately migrate to the happy hunting-ground, where they will ever live in bliss, in the presence of the Great Prophet. This is the most dangerous sect of Mussulmans, for no exhibition of force can suffice to stay their ravages, and they can only be treated like mad dogs, or like a Malay who has run *amok*.

The Spaniards (in 1898) left nearly half the Philippine Archipelago to be conquered, but only its Mussulman inhabitants ever took the aggressive against them in regular warfare. The attempts of the Jesuit missionaries to convert them to Christianity were entirely futile, for the Panditas and the Romish priests were equally fanatical in their respective religious beliefs. The last treaty made between Spain and Sulu especially stipulated that the Mussulmans should not be persecuted for their religion.

To overturn a dynasty, to suppress an organised system of feudal laws, and to eradicate an ancient belief, the principles of which had solidly insinuated themselves among the populace in the course of centuries, was a harder task than that of bringing under the Spanish yoke detached groups of Malay emigrants. The pliant, credulous nature of the Luzon settlers—the fact that they professed no deeply-rooted religion, and—although advanced from the nomad to the municipal condition—were mere nominal lieges of their puppet kinglings, were facilities for the achievement of conquest.

True it is, that the dynasties of the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru yielded to Spanish valour, but there was the incentive of untold wealth ; here, only of military glory, and the former outweighed the latter.

The Sulu Islanders, male and female, dress with far greater taste and ascetic originality than the Christian natives. The women are fond of gay colours, the predominant ones being scarlet and green. Their nether bifurcated garment is very baggy—the bodice is extremely tight—and, with equally close-fitting sleeves, exhibits every contour of the bust and arms. They use also a strip of stuff sewn together at the ends called the *jabul*, which serves to protect the head from the sun-rays. The end of the *jabul* would reach nearly down to the feet, but is usually held *retroussé* under the arm. They have a passion for jewellery, and wear many finger-rings of metal and sometimes of sea-shells, whilst their earrings are gaudy and of large dimensions. The hair is gracefully tied with a coil on the top of the head, and their features are more attractive than those of the generality of Philippine Christian women.

The men wear breeches of bright colours, as tight as gymnasts' pantaloons, with a large number of buttons up the sides—a kind of

waistcoat buttoning up to the throat—a jacket reaching to the hips with close sleeves, and a turban. A chief's dress has many adornments of trinkets, and is quite elegant.

They are robust, of medium height, often of superb physical development, of a dusky bronze colour, piercing eyes, low forehead, lank hair which is dressed as a chignon and hangs down the back of the neck. The body is agile, the whole movement is rapid, and they have a wonderful power of holding the breath under water. They are of quick perception, audacious, extremely sober, ready to promise everything and do nothing, vindictive and highly suspicious of a stranger's intentions. They are very long-suffering in adversity, hesitating in attack, and the bravest of the brave in defence. They disdain work as degrading and only a fit occupation for slaves, whilst warfare is, to their minds, an honourable calling. Every male over 16 years of age has to carry at least one fighting weapon at all times and consider himself enrolled in military service.

They have a certain knowledge of the Arts. They manufacture on the anvil very fine kris-daggers, knives, lance heads, etc. Many of their fighting weapons are inlaid with silver and set in polished hard wood or ivory handles artistically carved.

In warfare they carry shields, and their usual arms on land are the *campilan*, a kind of short two-handled sword, wide at the tip and narrowing down to the hilt—the *barong* for close combat—the straight *kris* for thrusting and cutting, and the waved serpent-like *kris* for thrusting only. They are dexterous in the use of arms, and can most skillfully decapitate a foe at a single stroke. At sea they use a sort of assegai, called *bagsacay* or *simbilin*, about half an inch in diameter, with a sharp point. Some can throw as many as four at a time, and make them spread in the flight; they use these for boarding vessels. They make many of their own domestic utensils of metal, also coats of mail of metal wire and buffalo horn which resist hand weapons, but not bullets. The wire probably comes from Singapore.

The local trade is chiefly in pearls, mother-of-pearl, shells, shark fins, etc.¹ The Sultan has a sovereign right to all pearls found which

¹ According to Sonnerat, Sulu Island produced elephants *vide* "Voyages aux Indes et à la Chine," Vol. III., Chap. 10. I have not seen the above statement confirmed in any writing. Certainly there is no such animal in these islands at the present day.

exceed a certain size fixed by law, hence it is very difficult to secure an extraordinary specimen. The Mussulmans trade at great distances in their small craft, for they are wonderfully expert navigators. Their largest vessels do not exceed seven tons, and they go as far as Borneo, and even down to Singapore on rare occasions. However, without going that distance, they are well supplied with arms, for a foreign ship occasionally puts in at Sulu with rifles, &c., which are exchanged for mother-of-pearl, gum, pearls, and edible birds' nests.

I found that almost any coinage was useful for purchasing in the market-places. I need hardly add that the Chinese small traders have found their way to these regions, and it would be an unfavourable sign if a Chinaman were not to be seen there, for where the frugal Celestial cannot earn a living it is a bad look-out. Small Chinese coins (known as *cash* in the China Treaty Ports) are current money here, and I think the most convenient of all copper coins, for, having a hole in the centre, they can be strung together. Chinese began to trade with this island in 1751

The root of their language is Sanserit, mixed with Arabic. Each Friday is dedicated to public worship, and the faithful are called to the temple by the beating of a box or hollow piece of wood. All recite the Iman with a plaintive voice in honour of the Great Prophet; a slight gesticulation is then made whilst the Pandita reads a passage from the Mustah. It seemed to me strange that no young women put in an appearance at the temple on the occasion of my visit.

At the beginning of each year, there is a very solemn ceremonial, and, in the event of the birth or death of a child, or the safe return from some expedition, it is repeated. It is a sort of *Te Deum* in conformity with their rites. During a number of days in a certain month of the year they abstain from eating, drinking and pleasure of all kinds, and suffer many forms of self imposed misery. Strangers are never allowed, I was told, inside the Mosque of the Sultan, but it is a rare thing for strangers to find themselves anywhere in the Sultan's capital. The higher clergy are represented by the *Cherif*, who has temporal power also, and this post is hereditary. The title of *Pandita* means simply priest, and is the common word used in Mindanao as well as in Palaúan Island. He seems to be almost the chief in his district—not in a warlike sense like the *Datto*—but his

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word has great influence. He performs all the functions of a priest, receives the vow of the *juramentados*, and expounds the mysteries and the glories of that better world whither they will go without delay if they die taking the blood of a Christian.

The *Panditas* are doctors also. If a *Datto* or chief dies, they intone a dolorous chant—the family bursts into lamentations, which are finally drowned in the din of the clashing of cymbals and beating of gongs, whilst sometimes a gun is fired. In rush the neighbours, and join in the shouting, until all settle down quietly to a feast. The body is then sprinkled with salt and camphor, and dressed in white with the kris attached to the waist. There is little ceremony about placing the body in the coffin and burying it. The mortuary is marked by a wooden tablet—sometimes by a stone, on which is an inscription in Arabic. A slip of board, or bamboo, is placed around the spot, and a piece of wood, carved like the bows of a canoe, is stuck in the earth; in front of this is placed a cocoa-nut shell full of water.

The old native town or *cotta* of Sulu was a collection of bamboo houses built upon piles and extended a few hundred yards into the sea. This is now all demolished, only the Military Hospital being so re-constructed.

The site is a small bay formed by the points Dangapie and Candea, and the modern town is situated on the plain a couple of yards above sea-level. The sea-beach is cleared, and the native village put back inland.

There is a short stone and brick pier—a very simple edifice for a Church—splendid barracks, equal to those in Manila, and said to be more commodious. Some of the houses are of stone or brick, others of wood, and all have corrugated iron roofs. The streets are marked out at rectangles, well drained—boulevards, squares and tasteful gardens formed, and the market-place is clean and orderly.

The neighbourhood is well provided with water from natural streams. The town is supplied with drinking water conducted in pipes, laid for the purpose from a spring about a mile and a quarter distant, whilst other piping carries water to the end of the pier for the requirements of shipping. This improvement, the present salubrity of the town (once a fever focus), and its recent embellishment, are mainly due to the intelligent activity of its late Governors, Colonel

(now General) González Parrado and Colonel (now General) Juan Arolas.

The town is encircled on the land side by a brick loop-holed wall. The outside defences consist of two forts, viz.:—The “*Princesa de Asturias*” and “*Torre de la Reina*,” and within the town those of the “*Puerta Blockaus*,” “*Puerta España*,” and the redoubt “*Alfonso XII.*”—this last has a Nordenfeldt gun.

The general aspect of Sulu is lively and attractive; the quaint attire and energetic features of the native population adding to the general picturesqueness.

The Spanish Government of Sulu was entirely under martial law, and the Europeans (mostly military men) were constantly on the alert for the ever-recurring attacks of the natives.

By a Decree dated 24th of September, 1877, all the natives, and other races or nationalities settled there, were exempted from all kinds of contributions or taxes for 10 years. In 1887 the term was extended for another 10 years, hence, no imposts being levied, all the Spaniards had to do was to maintain their prestige with peace.

In his relations with the Spaniards, the Sultan held the title of Excellency, and he, as well as several chiefs, received pensions from the Government at the following rates:—

	\$ per annum.
Sultan of Sulu - - - - -	2,400
Do. of Mindanao - - - - -	1,000
Datto Beraduren, heir to the Sulu Sultanate -	700
Paduca Datto Alimbdi, of Sulu - - - - -	600
Datto Amiral, of Mindanao - - - - -	800
Other minor pensions - - - - -	600
	<hr/>
	\$6,100

and an allowance of \$2 for each captive rescued, and \$3 for each pirate caught, whether in Sulu or Mindanao waters.

The Sultan is the *Majasari* (the stainless, the spotless)—the Pontiff-king—the chief of the State and the Church; but it is said that he acknowledges the Sultan of Turkey as the *Padishah*. He is the irresponsible lord and master of all life and property among his subjects, although in his decrees he is advised by a Council of Elders.

Nevertheless, in spite of his absolute authority, he does not seem to have perfect control over the acts of his nobles or chiefs, who are a privileged class, and are constantly waging some petty war among themselves, or organising a marauding expedition along the coast. The Sultan is compelled, to a certain extent, to tolerate their excesses, as his own dignity, or at least his own tranquillity, is in a great measure dependent on their common goodwill towards him. The chiefs collect tribute in the name of the Sultan, but they probably furnish their own wants first and pay differences into the Royal Treasury, seeing that it all comes from their own feudal dependents.

The Sultanate is hereditary under the Salic Law. The Sultan is supported by three ministers, one of whom acts as Regent in his absence (for he might have to go to Mecca, if he had not previously done so), the other is Minister of War, and the third is Minister of Justice and Master of the Ceremonies.

Slavery exists in a most ample sense. There are slaves by birth and others by conquest, such as prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, and those seized by piratical expeditions to other islands. A creole friend of mine, Don A. M., was one of these last. He had commenced clearing an estate for cane-growing on the Negros coast some years ago, when he was seized and carried off to Sulu Island. In a few years he was ransomed and returned to Negros, where he formed one of the finest sugar haciendas and factories in the Colony.

In 1884 a Mussulman was found on a desolate isle lying off the Antique coast (Panay Island), and of course had no document of identity, so he was arrested and confined in the jail of San José de Buenavista. From prison he was eventually taken to the residence of the Spanish Governor, Don Manuel Castellon, a very humane gentleman and a personal friend of mine. There he worked for some little time with the other domestics. In Don Manuel's study there was a collection of native arms which took the fancy of the Mussulman; one morning he seized a kris and lance, and, bounding into the breakfast-room, capered about, gesticulated, and brandished the lance in the air, much to the amusement of the Governor and his guests. But in an instant the fellow (hitherto a mystery, but undoubtedly a *juramentado*) hurled the lance with great force towards the Public Prosecutor, and the missile, after severing his watch-chain, lodged in the side of the table. The Governor and the Public Prosecutor at once closed with

the would-be assassin, whilst the Governor's wife, with great presence of mind, thrust a table-knife into the culprit's body between the shoulder-blade and the collar-bone. The man fell as if dead, and, when all supposed that he was so, he suddenly jumped up. No one had thought of taking the kris out of his grasp, and he rushed around the apartment, severely cut two of the servants, but was ultimately despatched by the bayonets of the guards who arrived on hearing the scuffle. The Governor showed me his wounds, which were slight, but his life was saved by the valour of his wife—Doña Justa.

It has often been remarked by old residents, that if free licence were granted to the domesticated natives, their barbarous instincts would recur to them in all vigour. Here was an instance. The body was carried off by an excited populace, who tied a rope to it, beat it, and dragged it through the town to a few miles up the coast, where it was thrown on the sea-shore. The priests did not interfere; like the Egyptian mummies cast on the Stygian shores, the culprit was unworthy of sepulture—besides, who would pay the fees?

During my first visit to Sulu in 1881, I was dining with the Governor, when the conversation ran on the details of an expedition which was to be sent out in a day or so to Maybun, to carry despatches received from the Governor-General for the Sultan, and to transact business ament the Protectorate. The Governor seemed rather surprised when I expressed my wish to join the party, for the journey is not unattended with risk for one's life. [I may here mention, that only a few days before I arrived, a young officer was sent on some mission a short distance outside the town of Sulu, accompanied by a patrol of two guards. He was met by armed Moslems, and sent back with one of his hands cut off. I remember also the news reaching us, that several military officers were sitting outside a café in Sulu Town, when a number of *juramentados* came behind them and cut their throats.] However, the Governor did not oppose my wish—on the contrary, he jocosely replied that he could not extend my passport so far, because he could say nothing about my safety, yet the more Europeans the better.

Officials usually went by sea to Maybun, and a gunboat was now and again sent round the coast with messages to the Sultan, but there was none here at the time.

Our party, all told, including the native attendants, numbered about thirty Christians, and we started early in the morning on horseback. I carried my ordinary weapon—a revolver—hoping there would be no need to use it on the journey. And so it resulted; we arrived, without being molested in any way, in about three hours, across a beautiful country.

We passed two low ranges of hills, which appeared to run from S.W. to N.E., and several small streams, whilst here and there was a ranche of the Sultan's subjects. Each ranche was formed of a group of ten to twenty huts, controlled by the Cacique.

Agriculture seemed to be pursued in a very pristine fashion, but doubtless owing to the exuberant fertility of the soil, we saw some very nice crops of Rice, Indian corn, Sugar cane, and Indigo and Coffee plantations on a small scale. In the forest which we traversed there were some of the largest Bamboos I have ever seen, and fine building timber, such as Teak, Narra, Molave, Mangachapuy and Camagon (*vide* Woods, page 367). I was assured that Cedars also flourished on the island. We saw a great number of Monkeys, wild Pigeons, Cranes, and Parrots, whilst Deer, Buffaloes and Wild Goats are said to abound in these parts.

On our arrival at Maybun, we went first to the bungalow of a Chinaman—the Sultan's brother-in-law—where we refreshed ourselves with our own provisions, and learnt the gossip of the place. On inquiry, we were told that the Sultan was sleeping, so we waited at the Chinaman's. I understood this man was a trader, but there were no visible signs of his doing any business. Most of our party slept the *siesta*, and at about four o'clock we called at the Palace. It was a very large building, well constructed, and appeared to be built almost entirely of materials of the country. A deal of bamboo and wood were used in it, and even the roof was made of split bamboo, although I am told that this was replaced by sheet iron when the young Sultan came to the throne. The vestibule was very spacious, and all around was pleasantly decorated with lovely shrubs and plants peculiar to most mid-tropical regions. The entrance to the Palace was always open, and we were received by three *Dattos*, who saluted us in a formal way, and without waiting to ask us any question, invited us, with a waive of the hand, to follow into the throne room.

The Sultan was seated on our entering, but when the bearer of the despatches approached with the official interpreter by his side, and we following, he rose in his place to greet us.

His Excellency was dressed in very tight silk trousers, fastened partly up the sides with showy chased gold or gilt buttons—a short Eton-cut olive-green jacket with an infinity of buttons, white socks, ornamented slippers, a red sash around his waist, a kind of turban, and a kris at his side. One could almost have imagined him to be a Spanish bull-fighter with an Oriental finish off.

We all bowed low, and the Sultan, surrounded by his Sultanas, put his hands to his temples, and on lowering them, he bowed at the same time. We remained standing whilst some papers were handed to him. He looked at them—a few words were said in Spanish, to the effect that the bearer saluted His Excellency in the name of the Governor of Sulu. The Sultan passed the documents to the official interpreter, who read or explained them in Sulu language; then a brief conversation ensued, through the interpreter, and the business was really over. After a short pause, the Sultan motioned to us to be seated on floor cushions, and we complied. The cushions, covered with rich silk, were very comfortable. Servants, in fantastic costumes, were constantly in attendance, serving betel-nut to those who cared to chew it.

One Sultana was fairly pretty, or had been so, but the remainder were heavy, languid and lazy in their movements; and their teeth, dyed black, did not embellish their personal appearance. The Sultan made various inquiries, and passed many compliments on us, the Governor, Governor-General and others, which were conveyed to us through the interpreter. Meanwhile, the Sultanas chatted among themselves, and were apparently as much interested in our external appearance as we were in their style, features and attire. They all wore light-coloured “dual garments” of great width and tight bodices. Their *coiffure* was carefully finished, but a part of the forehead was hidden by an ungraceful fringe of hair.

We had so little in common to converse on, and that little had to be said through the interpreter, that we were rather glad when we were asked to take refreshments. It at least served to relieve the awkward feeling of looking at each other in silence. Chocolate and ornamental sweetmeats were brought to us, but what frightful mixture the supposed chocolate was I could not tell. I believe it was made

with cocoanut oil, and to avoid a scene consequent on an indisposition, I decided to leave it.

We were about to take our departure, when the Sultan invited us to remain all night in the Palace. The leader of our party caused to be explained to him that we were thankful for his gracious offer, but that, being so numerous, we feared to disturb His Excellency by intruding so far on his hospitality. Still the Sultan politely insisted, and whilst the interpretation was being transmitted, I found an opportunity to let our chief know that I had a burning anxiety to stay at the Palace for curiosity. In any case, we were a large number to go anywhere, so our leader, in reply to the Sultan, said, that he and four Europeans of his suite would take advantage of His Excellency's kindness.

We withdrew from the Sultan's presence, and walked through the town in company with some functionaries of the Royal household. There was nothing very striking in the town; it was like most others. There were some good bungalows of bamboo and thatching. I noticed that men, women, and children were smoking tobacco or chewing, and had no visible occupation. Many of the smaller dwellings were built on piles out to the sea. We saw a number of divers preparing to go off to get pearls, mother-of-pearl, etc. They are very expert in this occupation, and dive as deep as 100 feet. Prior to the plunge, they go through a grotesque performance of waiving their arms in the air and twisting their bodies, in order—as they say—to frighten away the sharks; then with a whoop, they leap over the edge of the prahu, and continue to throw their arms and legs about for the purpose mentioned. They often dive for the shark and rip it up with a kris.

Five of us retired to the Palace that night, and were at once conducted to our rooms. There was no door to my room; it was, strictly speaking, an alcove. During the night, at intervals of about every hour, as it seemed to me, a Palace servant or guard came to inquire how the *Señor* was sleeping, and if I were comfortable. "Duerme el Señor?" (does the gentleman sleep?) was apparently the limit of his knowledge of Spanish. I did not clearly understand more than the fact that the man was a nuisance, and I regretted there was no door with which to shut him out. The next morning we paid our respects to His Highness, who furnished us with an escort—more as

a compliment than a necessity—and we reached Sulu town again, after a very enjoyable ride through a superb country.

* * * * *

The Sultan's subjects are so far spread from the centre of Government—Maybun—that in some places their allegiance is but nominal. Many of them residing near the Spanish settlements are quick at learning Castillian sufficiently well to be understood, but the Spanish authorities have tried in vain to subject them to an European order of things.

About 20 miles up the coast, going north from Zamboanga, the Jesuits sent a missionary in 1885 to convert the *Subuanos*, said to be of the same caste as the *Manobos* of Caraga, the *Guimbanos* of Sulu and the *Samceas* of Basilan. He endeavoured to persuade the people to form a village. They cleared a way through the forest from the beach, and at the end of this opening, about three quarters of a mile long, I found a church half built of wood, bamboo and palm-leaves. I had ridden to the place on horseback along the beach, and my food and baggage followed in a canoe. The opening was so roughly cleared that I thought it better to dismount when I got half way. As the church was only in course of construction, and not consecrated, I took up my quarters there. I was followed by a *Subuano*, who was curious to know the object of my visit. I told him I wished to see the headman, so this personage arrived with one of his wives and a young girl. They sat on the floor with me and tasted some of my food, and as the Cacique could make himself understood in Spanish, we chatted about the affairs of the town *in posse*. The visiting priest had gone to the useless trouble of baptizing a few of these people. They appeared to be as much Christian as I was Mussulman. The Cacique had more than one wife—the word of the *Pandita* of the settlement was the local law, and the *Pandita* himself of course had his seraglio. I got the first man, who had followed me, to direct me to the *Pandita's* house. My guide was gaily attired in bright red tight acrobat breeches, with buttons up the side, and a jacket like a waistcoat, with sleeves so close-fitting that I suppose he seldom took the trouble to undress himself. I left the Cacique, promising to visit his bungalow that day, and then my guide led me through winding paths, in a wood, to the hut of the *Pandita*. On the way, I met a man of the tribe, carrying spring-water in a bamboo, which

he tilted, to give me a drink. To my inquiries if he were a Christian, and if he knew the *Castillian Pandita* (Spanish priest), he replied in the affirmative; continuing the interrogation, I asked him how many Gods there were, and when he answered "four," I closed my investigation of his Christianity. My guide was too cunning to take me by the direct path to the *Pandita's* bungalow. He led me into a half-cleared plot of land facing the bungalow, whence the inmates could see us for at least ten minutes making our approach. When we arrived, and after scrambling up the staircase, which was simply a notched trunk of a tree about nine inches diameter, I found that the *Pandita*, forewarned, had fled to the mountain close by, leaving his wives to entertain the visitor. It was perhaps censurable to have brought Dutch gin with me, when visiting a people of rightly famed sobriety in their natural habits, yet it was highly efficacious in arousing their loquacity when I found them all lounging and chewing betelnut: squatted on the floor amongst them, with the big black square bottle passing round, they became remarkably chatty. Then I picked up my bottle and went to the Cacique's bungalow. In the rear of this dwelling there was a small forge, and the most effective bellows of primitive make which I have ever seen in any country. It was a double-action apparatus, made entirely of bamboo, except the pistons, which were of feathers. These pistons, working up and down alternately by a bamboo rod in each hand, sustained perfectly a constant draught of air. One man was squatting on a bamboo bench the height of the bellows' rods, whilst the smith crouched on the ground to forge his kris on the anvil.

The headman's bungalow was built the same as the others, but with greater care. It was rather high up, and had the usual notched log-of-wood staircase, which is perhaps easy to ascend with naked feet. The Cacique and one of his wives were seated on mats on the floor. After mutual salutations, the wife threw me three cushions, on which I reclined—doing the *dolce far niente* whilst we talked about the affairs of the Settlement. The conversation was growing rather wearisome anent the Spanish priest having ordered huts to be built without giving materials—about the scarcity of palm leaves in the neighbourhood, and so forth, so I bade them farewell and went on to another hut. Here the inmates were numerous—four women, three or four men, and two rather pretty male children, with their heads

shaven so as to leave only a tuft of hair towards the forehead about the size of a crown piece. They were all drowsy, but here the gin bottle had a grand effect. Six copper tom-toms were brought out, and placed in a row on pillows, whilst another large one, for the bass accompaniment, was suspended from a wooden frame. A man beat the bass with a stick, whilst the women took it in turns to kneel on the floor, with a stick in each hand, to play a tune on the series of six. A few words were passed between the three men, when suddenly one of them arose and performed a war dance, quaintly twisting his arms and legs in attitudes of advance, recoil and exultation. There I left the bottle which had done so much service, and mounted my horse to leave the Settlement in embryo, called by the missionaries Reus, which is the name of a town in Catalonia.

* * * * *

The Island of Palaúan (Parágua) formerly belonged to the Sultan of Borneo (Brunei?), but at the beginning of the 18th century Spaniards had already settled in the north of it.

A movement was set on foot to reduce the natives to submission, and in order to protect the Spanish settlers from Mussulman attacks a fort was established at Labo. However, the supplies were not kept up, and many of the garrison died of misery, hunger and nakedness, until 1720, when it was abandoned.

Some years afterwards, the island was gratuitously ceded to the Spaniards by the Sultan, at their request. Captain Antonio Fabeau was sent there with troops to take formal possession, being awarded the handsome salary of \$50 per month for this service. On the arrival of the ships, an officer was sent ashore; the people fled inland, and the formalities of annexation were proceeded with unwitnessed. But the only signs of possession left there were the corpses of the troops and sailors who died from eating rotten food, or were murdered by Mussulmans who attacked the expedition.

Subsequently, a fortress was established at Taytay, where a number of priests and laymen, in a few years, succeeded in forming a small colony, which at length shared the fate of Labo. The only Spanish settlement in the island, at the date of the evacuation, was the colony of Puerta Princesa, on the east coast.¹

¹A few outposts had recently been established by Royal decree. They were all under the command of a Captain, *vide* Chap. XIII.

Before I started on my peregrination in Palaúan Island, I sought in vain for information respecting the habits and nature of the *Tagbanúas*, a half-caste Malay-Aeta tribe, disseminated over a little more than the southern half of the island. It was only on my arrival at Puerta Princesa that I was able to procure a vague insight into the peculiarities of the people whom I intended to visit. The Governor, Don Felipe Canga-Argüelles, was highly pleased to find a traveller who could sympathize with his efforts, and help to make known, if only to the rest of the Archipelago, this island almost unexplored in the interior. He constantly wrote articles to one of the leading journals of Manila, under the title of "Echos from Parágua" (Palaúan), partly with the view of attracting the attention of the Government Departments to the requirements of the Colony, but also to stimulate a spirit of enterprise in favour of this fertile island among those trading capitalists who might feel inclined to cultivate its vast resources.

Puerta Princesa is a good harbour, situated on a gulf. The soil has been levelled, trees have been planted, and a slip for repairing vessels has been constructed. There was a fixed white light visible eleven miles off. It was a naval station for two gunboats—the Commander of the station was *ex-officio* Governor of the Colony. It was also a Penal Settlement for convicts, and those suspected by the civil or religious authorities. To give employment to the convicts and suspects, a model sugar estate was established by the Government. The locality supplied nearly all the raw material for working and preserving the establishment, such as lime, stone, bricks, timber, sand, firewood, straw for bags, rattans, etc.

The aspect of the town is agreeable, and the environs are pretty, but there is a great drawback in the want of drinking-water, which, in the dry season, has to be procured from a great distance.

The Governor showed me great attention, and personally took command of a gunboat, which conducted me to the mouth of the Iguajit River. This is the great river of the district, and is navigable for about three miles. I put off in a boat manned by marines, and was rowed about two miles up, as far as the mission station. The missionary received me well, and I stayed there that night, with five men, whom I had engaged to carry my luggage, for we had a journey before us of some days on foot to the opposite coast.

My luggage, besides the ordinary travelling requisites and provisions, included about ninety yards of printed stuffs of bright

colours, six dozen common handkerchiefs, and some twelve pounds weight of beads on strings, with a few odds and ends of trinkets; whilst my native bearers were provided with rice, dried fish, betel-nut, tobacco, etc. for a week or more. We set out on foot the next day, and in three days and a half we reached the western shore.

The greatest height above the sea-level on our route was about 900 metres, according to my aneroid reading, and the maximum heat at mid-day in the shade (month of January) was 82° Fahr. The nights were cold, comparatively speaking, and at midnight the thermometer once descended to 59° Fahr.

The natives proved to be a very pacific people. We found some engaged in collecting gum from the trees in the forest, and others cutting and making up bundles of rattans. They took these products down to the Iguajit River mission station, where Chinese traders bartered for them stuffs and other commodities. The value of coin was not altogether unknown in the mission village, although the relative value between copper and silver coinage was not understood. In the interior they lived in great misery, their cabins being wretched hovels. They planted their rice without ploughing at all, and all their agricultural implements were made of wood or bamboo.

The island produces many marketable articles, such as beeswax, edible birds' nests, fine shells, dried shell-fish, a few pearls, bush-rope or *palásan* of enormous length, wild nutmegs, logwood, etc., which the Chinese obtain in barter for knives and other small manufactures.

The native dress is made of bark of trees, smashed with stones, to take out the ligneous parts. In the cool weather they make tunics of bark, and the women wear drawers of the same material. They adorn their waists with sea-shell and cocoa-nut shell ornaments, whilst the fibre of the palm serves for a waistband. They pierce very large holes in their ears, in which they place shells, wood, etc. They never bathe intentionally. Their arms are bows and arrows, and darts blown through a kind of pea-shooter. They are a very dirty people, and they eat their fish or flesh raw.

I had no difficulty whatever in getting guides from place to place on payment in goods, and my instructions were always to lead me straight to the coast, the nearest point of which I knew was due west or a few points to the north.

We passed through a most fertile country the whole way. There

were no rivers of any importance, but we were well supplied with drinking-water from the numerous springs and rivulets. The forests are very rich in good timber, chiefly *Ipil* (*Eperma decandria*), a very useful hardwood (*vide* "Woods," page 367). I estimated that many of these trees, if felled, would have given clean logs of seventy to eighty feet long. Also ebony and logwood are found here. I presume the felling of timber is abandoned by these natives on account of the difficulties, or rather, total want of transport means. From a plateau, within half a day's journey of the opposite coast, the scenery was remarkably beautiful, with the sea to the west and an interminable grandeur of forest to the east. There were a few fishermen on the west coast, but further than that, there was not a sign of anything beyond the gifts of nature.

With an abundance of fish, we were able to economize our provisions. One of my men fell ill with fever, so that we had to wait two days on the west coast, whilst I dosed him with Eno's fruit salt and Howard's quinine. Such a thing as a horse I suppose had never been seen here, although I would gladly have bought or hired one, for I was very weary of our delay. We all went on the march again, on foot nearly all the way, by the same passes to the Iguajit River, where we found a canoe, which carried us back to Puerto Princesa.

The first survey of the Palaúan Island coast is said to have been made by the British. A British map of Puerto Princesa, with a few miles of adjoining coast, was shown to me in the Government House of this place. It appears that the west coast is not navigable for ships within at least two miles of the shore, although there are a few channels leading to creeks. Vessels coming from the west usually pass through the Straits of Balábac, between the island of that name and the islets off the Borneo Island coast. The north of Palaúan Island is very sparsely peopled.

In recent years, the Home Government have made efforts to colonize Palaúan Island, by offering certain advantages to emigrants. By Royal Order, dated 25th of February, 1885, the islands of Palaúan and Mindanao were to be occupied in an effectual manner, and outposts established, wherever necessary, to guarantee the secure possession of these islands. The points mentioned for such occupation in Palaúan Island, were Tagbusao and Malihut on the east coast, and Colasian and Malanut on the west coast. It also confirmed the Royal Decree of the 30th of July, 1860, granting to all families emigrating to these newly

established military posts, and all peaceful tribes of the Islands who might choose to settle there, exemption from the payment of tribute for six years. The families would be furnished with a free passage to these places, and each group would be supplied with seed and implements.

A subsequent Royal Order, dated 19th of January, 1886, was issued, to the effect :—THAT the Provincial Governors of the Provinces of North and South Ilocos were to stimulate voluntary emigration of the natives to Palaúan Island, to the extent of 25 families from each of the two provinces per annum. THAT any payments due by them to the Public Treasury were to be condoned. THAT such families and any persons of good character who might establish themselves in Palaúan should be exempt from the payment of taxes for ten years, and receive free passage there for themselves and their cattle, and three hectares of land gratis, to be under cultivation within a stated period. THAT two chupas of rice (for rice measure, *vide* page 318) and ten cents of a dollar should be given to each adult, and one chupa of rice to each minor each day during the first six months from the date of their embarking. THAT the Governor of Palaúan should be instructed respecting the highways to be constructed, and the convenience of opening free ports in that island. THAT the land and sea forces should be increased ; and of the latter, a third-rate man-o'-war should be stationed on the west coast. THAT convicts should continue to be sent to Palaúan, and the Governor should be authorized to employ all those of bad conduct in public works. THAT schools of primary instruction should be established in the island wherever such might be considered convenient, etc., etc.¹

¹ By Royal Order of August 20th, 1888, a concession of 12,000 to 14,000 hectares of land in Palaúan was granted to Felipe Canga-Argüelles y Villalba, ex-Governor of Puerta Princesa, for the term of 20 years.

He could work mines, cut timber, and till the land so conceded under the law called "Ley de Colonias Agrícolas," of the 4th September, 1884, which was little more than an extension to the Philippines of the Peninsula forest and agricultural law of June 3rd, 1868, *vide* "Gaceta de Madrid" of September 25th, 1888. It appears, however, from the Colonial Minister's despatch No. 515, to the Governor-General of the Colony, dated May 24th, 1890, that the concessionnaire had endeavoured to associate himself with foreigners for the working of the concession. The wording of the despatch shows that suspicion was entertained of an intention to eventually declare territorial independence in Palaúan. The Government, wishing to avoid the possibility of embroilment with a foreign nation, unfortunately thought it necessary to impose such restrictions upon the concessionnaire as to render his enterprise valueless.

In the Island of Balábac there is absolutely nothing remarkable to be seen, unless it be a little animal about the size of a big cat, but in shape a perfect model of a doe.¹ I took one to Manila, but it died the day we arrived. No part of the island (which is very mountainous and fertile) appears to be cultivated, and even the officials at the station had to get supplies from Manila, whilst cattle were brought from the Island of Cuyo, one of the Calamianes group. A few weeks before I arrived in Balábac, an American three-masted ship had stranded in the dangerous Balábac Straits, but the Captain with his wife and daughter managed to reach the naval station of Balábac, where they were treated with every kindness by the Governor and officials.

¹ Alfred Marche calls this the *Traquilus Ranchil*, and says it is also to be found in Malacca, Cochin China, and Pulo Condor, *vide* "Luçon et Palaouan," par A. Marche, Paris, 1887.



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friend, aged about 70, gave his domestic—aged about 50, and still called “boy”—as sound a thrashing as his years would permit for the want of smartness, he said, in not taking the whole sum.

When the hitherto faithful servant is remonstrated with for having committed a crime, he not unfrequently accounts for the fact by saying, “*Señor*, my head was hot.” When caught in the act on his first start on highway robbery or murder, his invariable excuse is, that he is not a scoundrel himself, but that he was “invited” by a relation or *compadre* to join the company.

He is fond of gambling, profligate, lavish in his promises, but *tâche* in the extreme as to their fulfilment. He will never come frankly and openly forward to make a clean breast of a fault committed or even a pardonable accident, but will hide it, until it is found out. In common with many other non-European races, an act of generosity or a voluntary concession of justice is regarded as a sign of weakness. Hence it is, that the experienced European is often compelled to be more harsh than his own nature dictates. In 1887, the Director-General of Civil Administration visited the provinces, and lent his ear to the native complaints, with the intention of remedying certain inconvenient practices prejudicial to the people. The result was, that on the 1st of March in the following year, a body of headmen had the boldness to present themselves in Manila with a manifesto demanding reforms which implied nothing less than a complete revolution in the governmental system, consequently a large number of the parties to the manifesto were imprisoned.

If one pays a native 20 cents for a service performed, and that be exactly the customary remuneration, he will say nothing, but if a feeling of compassion impels one to pay 30 cents, the recipient will loudly protest that he ought to be paid more. In Luzon, the native is able to say “Thank you” (*salâmat-po*) in his mother tongue, but in the South (Visayas) there is no way of expressing thanks in native dialect to a donor, and although this may, at first sight, appear to be an insignificant fact, I think, nevertheless, a great deal may be deduced from it, for the deficiency of the word in the Visaya vernacular denotes a deficiency of the idea which that word should express.

If the native be in want of a trivial thing, which by plain asking he could readily obtain, he will come with a long tale, often begin by telling a lie, and whilst he invariably scratches his head, he will beat

about the bush until he comes to the point, with a supplicating tone and a saintly countenance hiding a mass of falsity. But if he has nothing to gain for himself, his reticence is astonishingly inconvenient, for he may let your horse die and tell you afterwards it was for want of rice paddy, or, just at the very moment you want to use something, he will tell you "*Uala-po*"—there is not any.

I have known natives whose mothers, according to their account, have died several times, and each time they have tried to beg the loan of the burial expenses.

Even the best class of natives neither appreciate, nor feel grateful for, nor even seem to understand a spontaneous gift. Apparently, they only comprehend the favour when one yields to their asking. The lowest classes never give to each other, unsolicited, a cent's worth. If an European makes voluntary gratuities to the natives, he is considered a fool—they entertain a contempt for him, which develops into intolerable impertinence. Therefore, to avoid this, if a native wants anything, never offer it voluntarily; if he comes to borrow lend him a little less than he asks for, after a verbose preamble. If one at once lent, or gave, the full value asked for, the native would continue to invent a host of pressing necessities, until one's patience was exhausted. The saying, "Give him an inch and he will take an ell," can truly be applied to the Filipinos. They are void of all feeling of magnanimity, and do not understand chivalry towards the weak or the fallen foe.

A native seldom restores the loan of anything voluntarily. On being remonstrated with for his remissness, after the date of repayment or return of the article has expired, he will coolly reply "You did not ask me for it." A native considers it no degradation to borrow money; it gives him no recurrent feeling of humiliation or poignant distress of mind. Thus, he will often give a costly feast to impress his neighbours with his wealth and maintain his local prestige, whilst on all sides he has debts innumerable. At most, he regards debt as an inconvenience, not as a calamity, and perchance this looseness of morality is the cause of his inability to resist evil in many forms. Were it not for the fear of a fine, no well-to-do native would willingly contribute his legal quota to the expenses of the State.

Before entering another native's house, he is very complimentary, and sometimes three minutes' dialogue is exchanged between the visitor

and the native visited before the former passes the threshold. When a native enters an European's house, he generally satisfies his curiosity by looking all around, and often puts his head into a private room, asking permission to do so afterwards.

The lower class of native never comes at first call; among themselves, it is usual to call five or six times, raising the voice each time. If a native is told to tell another to come, he seldom goes to him to deliver the message, but calls him from a distance. The rule of the road for horsemen and canoemen is (among themselves), that he who comes along behind must steer clear—the one in front, on either side, does not make way. When a native steals (and I must say they are fairly honest), he steals only what he wants. One of the rudest acts, according to their social code, is to step over a person asleep on the floor. Sleeping is, with them, a very solemn matter; they are very averse to awaking any one, the idea being, that during sleep the soul is absent from the body, and that if slumber be suddenly arrested, the soul might not have time to return. A person knowing the habits of the native, when he calls upon him and is told "He is asleep," does not inquire further—the rest is understood: that he may have to wait an indefinite time until the sleeper wakes up—so he may as well depart. To get a servant to rouse you, you have to give him very imperative orders to that effect: then he stands by your side, and calls "Señor, Señor" repeatedly, and each time louder, until you are half awake, then he returns to the low note, and gradually raises his voice again until you are quite conscious.

The reasoning of a native and an European differs so largely, that the mental impulse of the two races is ever clashing. Sometimes a newly arrived generously disposed Provincial Governor will start a reform solely for their benefit, and find his subjects quite indifferent about it.

With the majority, no number of years of genial intercourse, without material profit, will arouse in the native breast a perceptible sympathy for the white race. Exceptions to this rule are always appreciated. The Visaya native, in particular, exhibits a frigid stoicism. He bears his own misfortunes unmoved, and would look on at another in imminent danger with solemn indifference.

Wherever I have been in the whole Archipelago—near the Capital, or five hundred miles from it—I have found mothers teaching their

offspring to regard the European as a demoniacal being ! an evil spirit ! or, at least, as an enemy to be feared. If a child cries, it is hushed by the exclamation "Castila !" (European). If a white man approaches a poor hut or a fine native residence, the cry of caution, the watchword for defence is always heard—Castila ! and the children hasten their retreat from the dreaded object.

The Filipino, like most Orientals, is a good imitator, but having no initiative genius, he is not efficient in anything. If you give him a model, he will copy it any number of times, but you cannot get him to make two copies so much alike that the one is undistinguishable from the other. He has no attachment for any occupation in particular. To-day he will be at the plough ; to-morrow a coachman, a collector of accounts, a valet, a sailor, and so on ; or he will suddenly renounce social trammels in pursuit of lawless vagabondage. I once travelled with a Colonel Marqués, acting Governor of Cebú, whose valet was an ex-law student.

The native is indolent in the extreme, and never tired of sitting still, gazing at nothing in particular. He will do no regular work without an advance—his word cannot be depended upon—he is fertile in exculpatory devices—he is momentarily obedient, but is averse to subjection. He feigns friendship, but has no loyalty—he is calm and silent, but can keep no secret—he is daring on the spur of the moment, but fails in resolution, if he reflects—he is wantonly unfeeling towards animals, cruel to a fallen foe, but fond of his children. If familiarity be permitted with a native, there is no limit to his audacity. The Tagalog is docile, but keenly resents an injustice.

Native superstition and facile credulity are easily imposed upon. A report emitted in jest, or in earnest, travels with alarming rapidity, and the consequences have not unfrequently been serious. He rarely sees a joke, and still more rarely makes one. He never reveals anger, but he will, with the most profound calmness, avenge himself, awaiting patiently the opportunity to use his *bohie* knife with effect. Mutilation of a vanquished enemy is common among these Islanders. If he recognizes a fault by his own conscience, he will receive a flogging without resentment or complaint ; if he is not so convinced of the misdeed, he will await his chance to give vent to his rancour.

He has a profound respect only for the elders of his household, and the lash justly administered. He rarely refers to past generations in

his lineage, and the lowest class do not know their own ages. Families are very united, and claims for help and protection are admitted however distant the relationship may be. Sometimes the connection of a "hanger on" with his host's family will be so remote and doubtful, that he can only be recognized as "*un poco pariente nada mas*" (a sort of kinsman). But the house is open to all.

The native is a good father and a good husband, unreasonably jealous of his wife, careless of the honour of his daughter, and will take no heed of the indiscretions of his spouse committed before marriage.

Cases have been known of natives having fled from their burning huts, taking care to save their fighting cocks, but leaving their wives and children to look after themselves.

In February, 1885, I was present in the Town Hall of Mariquina, a village six miles from Manila, when the petty Governor was hearing a remarkable case of callousness. A native had handed over the corpse of his late wife to his brother-in-law for interment, and refused to pay any of the expenses. During the investigation, the husband put forward the fantastic plea that his consort had been useful to him in life, but now she was no longer of any service, and he did not think he ought to be compelled to incur any expense over a dead body. He was condemned to pay the costs of the burial, but alleging that he had no money, he had to go to work in the village, husking rice, until the sum was raised. I made him an offer on the spot to buy off his debt, he to pay me by receiving lashes in the Town Hall at the rate of three cents a stroke, but he would not accept the bargain.

If a question be suddenly put to a native, he apparently loses his presence of mind, and gives a reply most convenient to himself, to save himself from trouble, punishment or reproach. It is a matter of perfect indifference to him whether the reply be true or not. Then, as the investigation proceeds, he will amend one statement after another, until, finally, he has practically admitted his first explanation to be quite false. One who knows the native character, so far as its mysteries are penetrable, would never attempt to get at the truth of a question by a direct inquiry—he would "beat about the bush," and extract the truth bit by bit. Nor do the natives, rich or poor, of any class in life, and with very few exceptions in the whole population, appear to regard lying as a sin, but rather as a legitimate, though cunning, convenience, which should be resorted to whenever it will

serve a purpose. It is my frank opinion that they do not, in their consciences, hold lying to be a fault in any degree. If the liar be discovered and faced, he rarely appears disconcerted—his countenance rather denotes surprise at the discovery or disappointment at his being foiled in the object for which he lied. As this is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the natives of both sexes in all spheres of life, I have repeatedly discussed it with the priests, several of whom have assured me that the habit prevails even in the Confessional.¹

The native is so contumacious to all bidding—so averse to social order, that he can only be ruled by coercion or by the demonstration of force. Men and women alike find exaggerated enjoyment in litigation, which many keep up for years. Among themselves they are tyrannical. They have no real sentiment, honour or magnanimity, and, apart from their hospitality, in which they (especially the Tagálogs) far excel the European, all their actions appear to be only guided by fear, or interest, or both.

The domesticated Tagálog natives of the North have made greater progress in civilization and good manners than the Visayos of the South. It is, perhaps, in a measure, due to the proximity of the Capital, whence Western influence and comely breeding are more easily spread, but not altogether so. The Tagálog differs vastly from his southern brother in his true nature, and that nature is more pliant; he is by instinct cheerfully and less interestedly hospitable. Invariably an European wayfarer who takes asylum in the Town Hall of a Tagálog village—which at the same time serves as a casual ward—is invited by one or the other of the principal residents or headmen to lodge at his house. If he stayed there several days no charge would be made for this accommodation, and to offer payment would give offence. A present of some European article might be made, but it is not at all looked for. Your Tagálog host lends you horses or vehicles to go about the neighbourhood, takes you round to the houses of his friends, accompanies you to any feast which may be celebrated at the time of your visit, and lends you his sporting gun, if he has one.

¹ With regard to this characteristic among the Chinese, Sir John Bowring affirms that the Chinese respect their writings and traditions, whilst they do not believe a lie to be a fault, and in some of their classical works it is especially recommended, in order to cheat and confuse foreign intruders. *Vide* "A Visit to the Philippine Islands," by Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S. Manila, 1876. Spanish edition, page 175.

The whole time he treats you with the deference due to the superiority which he recognizes. He is remarkably inquisitive, and will ask all sorts of questions about your private affairs, but that is of no consequence—he is not intrusive, he never hints at corresponding favours, and if he be invited to visit you in the capital, or wherever you may reside, he accepts the invitation reluctantly, but seldom pays the visit. If, however, an intimacy should subsequently result from this casual acquaintanceship, then the native is quite likely to be constantly begging your assistance.

The Visaya native's cold hospitality is much tempered with avarice or the prospect of personal gain—quite a contrast to the Tagalog.

On the first visit, he might admit you into his house out of mere curiosity to know all about you—whence you come—why you travel—how much you possess—and where you are going. The basis of his estimation of a visitor is his worldly means, or, if the visitor be engaged in trade, his power to facilitate his host's schemes would bring him a certain measure of civility and complaisance. He is fond of, and seeks, the patronage of Europeans of position. In manners, the Visayo is uncouth and *brusque*, and more conceited, arrogant, self-reliant, ostentatious and unpolished than his northern neighbour. If remonstrated with for any fault, he is quite disposed to assume an air of impertinent retort or sullen defiance.

The women too are less compliant in the South than in the North, and evince an almost incredible avarice. They are excessively fond of ornament, and at feasts they appear adorned with an amount of gaudy French jewellery, which, compared with their means, has cost them a lot of money to purchase from the swarm of Jew pedlars who invade the villages.

If an European calls on a well-to-do Visayo, the women of the family saunter off in one direction and another, to hide themselves in other rooms, unless the visitor be well known to the family.

If met by chance, perhaps they will return a salutation, perhaps not. They seldom indulge in a smile before a stranger; have no conversation; no tuition beyond music and the lives of the Saints, and altogether impress the traveller with their insipidity of character, which chimes badly with the air of disdain which they exhibit.

I stayed for some months in an important Visaya town, in the house of an European who was married to a native woman, and was

much edified by observing the visitors from the locality. The "Señora," who was somewhat pretentious in her social aspirations amongst her own class, occasionally came to the table to join us at meals, but more often preferred to eat on the floor in her bedroom, where she could follow her native custom, at ease, of eating with her fingers.

The women of the North are less reserved, a trifle better educated, and decidedly more courteous and sociable. Their manners are more lively, void of arrogance, cheerful and buoyant in tone. However, all over the Islands the women are more niggardly than the men.

But the Filipino has many excellent qualities which go far to make amends for his shortcomings. He is patient and forbearing in the extreme, remarkably sober, plodding, anxious only about providing for his immediate wants, and seldom feels "the canker of ambitious thoughts." In his person and his dwelling he may serve as a pattern of cleanliness to all other races in the tropical East. He has little thought beyond the morrow, and therefore he never racks his brains about events of the far future in the political world or any other sphere. He indifferently leaves everything to happen as it may, with surprising resignation.

The Tagalog in particular has a genial, sociable nature. The native, in general, will go without food for many hours at a time without grumbling; and fish, rice, betel-nut and tobacco are his chief wants.

When an European is travelling, he never needs to trouble about where or when his servant gets his food or where he sleeps—he looks after that. When a native travels, he drops in amongst any group of his fellow countrymen whom he finds having their meal on the road-side, and wherever he happens to be at nightfall, there he lies down to sleep. He is never long in a great dilemma. If his hut is about to fall, he makes it fast with bamboo and rattan cane. If a vehicle breaks down, a harness snaps, or his canoe leaks or upsets, he has always his remedy at hand. He bears misfortune of all kind with the greatest indifference, and without the least apparent emotion. Under the eye of his master he is the most tractable of all beings. He never (like the Chinese) insists upon doing things his own way, but tries to do just as he is told, whether it be right or wrong. A native enters your service as a coachman, and if you wish him to paddle a boat, cook a meal, fix a lock, or do any other kind of labour

possible to him, he is quite agreeable. He knows the duties of no occupation with efficiency, and he is perfectly willing to be a "jack-of-all trades." Another good feature is, that he rarely, if ever, repudiates a debt, although he may never pay it. So long as he gets his food and fair treatment, and his stipulated wages paid in advance, he is content to act as a general-utility-man. If not pressed too hard, he will follow his superior like a faithful dog. If treated with kindness, according to *European* notions, he is lost. Lodging he will find for himself. The native never looks ahead; he is never anxious about the future; but if left to himself, he will do all sorts of imprudent things, from sheer want of reflection on the consequences, when, as he puts it, "his head is hot" from excitement due to any cause.

On the 15th of March, 1886, I was coming round the coast of Zambales in a small steamer, in which I was the only saloon passenger. The captain, whom I had known for years, found that one of the cabin servants had been systematically robbing him for some time past. He ordered the steward to cane him, and then told him to go to the upper deck and remain there. He at once walked up the ladder and threw himself into the sea, but a boat was lowered, the vessel stopped, and he was soon picked up. Had he been allowed to reach the shore, he would have become what is known as a *remontado* and perhaps eventually a brigand, for such is the beginning of many of them.

The native has no idea of organization on a large scale, hence a successful revolution is not possible if confined to the pure indigenous population unaided by others, such as creoles and foreigners. He is brave, and fears no consequences when with or against his equals, or if led by his superiors, but a conviction of superiority—moral or physical—in the adversary depresses him. An excess of audacity calms and overawes him rather than irritates him.

His admiration for bravery and perilous boldness is only equalled by his contempt for cowardice and puerility, and this is really the secret of the native's disdain for the Chinese race. Under good European officers they make excellent soldiers; however, if the leader fell, they would become at once demoralized. There is nothing they delight in more than pillage, destruction and bloodshed, and when once they become masters of the situation in an affray, there is no limit to their greed and savage cruelty.

Yet, detesting order of any kind, military discipline is repugnant to them, and, as in other countries, all kinds of tricks are resorted to, to avoid it. On looking over the deeds of an estate which I had purchased, I saw that two brothers, each named Catalino Raymundo, were the owners at one time of a portion of the land. I thought there must have been some mistake, but, on close inquiry, I found that they were so named to dodge the recruiting officers, who would not readily suppose there were two Catalino Raymundos born of the same parents. As one Catalino Raymundo had served in the army and the other was dead, no further secret was made of the matter, and I was assured that this practice was common among the poorest natives.

In November, 1887, a deserter from the new recruits was pursued to Langea, a ward of Meycauayan, Bulacan Province, where nearly all the inhabitants rose up in his defence, the result being, that the Lieutenant of Cuadrilleros was killed and two of his men were wounded. When the Civil Guard appeared on the spot, the whole ward was abandoned.

According to the Spanish army regulations, a soldier cannot be on sentinel duty for more than two hours at a time under any circumstances. Cases have been known of a native sentinel having been left at his post for a little over that regulation time, and to have become frenetic, under the impression that the two hours had long since expired, and that he had been forgotten. In one case the man had to be disarmed by force, but in another instance the sentinel simply refused to give up his rifle and bayonet, and defied all who approached him. Finally, a brigadier went with the colours of the regiment in hand to exhort him to surrender his arms, adding that justice would attend his complaint. The sentinel, however, threatened to kill any one who should draw near, and the brigadier had no other resource open to him but to order an European soldier to climb up behind the sentry-box with a revolver and blow out the insubordinate native's brains.

Some years ago, a contingent of Philippine troops was sent to assist the French in Tonquin, where they rendered very valuable service. Indeed, some officers are of opinion that they did more to quell the rising of the Tonquinese than the French troops themselves. When in the mêlée, they throw off their boots, and, barefooted, they rarely falter. Even over mud and swamp, a native is almost as sure-footed as a goat.

on the brink of a quarry. I have frequently been carried for miles in a hammock by four natives and relays through morassy districts too dangerous to travel on horseback. They are great adepts at climbing wherever it is possible for a human being to scale a height; like monkeys, they hold as much with their feet as with their hands; they ride any horse barebacked without fear; they are utterly careless about jumping into the sea among the sharks, which sometimes they will intentionally attack with knives, and I never knew a native who could not swim. There are natives who dare dive for the caiman and rip it up. If they meet with an accident, they bear it with supreme resignation, simply exclaiming "*desgracia pa*"—it was a misfortune.

The native is very slowly tempted to abandon the habits and traditional customs of his forefathers, and his ambitionless felicity may be envied by any true philosopher.

No one who has lived in the Colony for years could sketch the real moral portrait of such a remarkable combination of virtues and vices. The domesticated native's character is a succession of surprises. The experience of each year brings one to form fresh conclusions, and the most exact definition of such a kaleidoscopic creature is, after all, hypothetical. However, to a certain degree, the characteristic indolence of the Philippine Islanders is less dependent on themselves than on natural law. By the physical conditions with which they are surrounded, their vigour of motion, energy of life, and intellectual power are influenced.

The organic elements of the European differ widely from those of the Philippine native, and each, for its own durability, requires its own special environment. The half-breed partakes of both organisms, but has the natural environment of the one. Sometimes artificial means—the mode of life into which he is forced by his European parent—will counteract in a measure natural law, but, left to himself, the tendency will ever be towards an assimilation to the native. Original national characteristics disappear in an exotic climate, and, in the course of generations, conform to the new laws of nature to which they are exposed.

It is an ascertained fact, that the increase of energy introduced into the Philippine native by blood mixture from Europe lasts only to the second generation, whilst the effect remains for several generations when there is a similarity of natural environment in the two races

crossed. Hence the peculiar qualities of a Chinese half-breed are preserved in succeeding generations, whilst the Spanish half-caste has merged into the conditions of his environment.

The Spanish Government has striven in vain against natural law to counteract physical conditions by favouring mixed marriages,¹ but Nature overcomes man's law, and climatic influence forces its conditions on the half-breed. Indeed, were it not for new supplies of extraneous blood infusion, mongrel individuality of character would become indiscernible among the masses.

Treating even of Europeans, the new physical conditions and the influence of climate on their mental and physical organisms are perceptible after two or three decades of years' residence in the mid-tropics, in defiance of their own volition.

* * * * *

For the Education of youth in the Colony, of all classes and conditions, the State contributed in 1888, according to the Budget for that year, the following sums, viz. :—

	\$	cts.
Schools and Colleges for high-class education in Manila, including Navigation, Drawing, Painting, Book-keeping, Languages, History, Arts and Trades, Natural History Museum and Library and general instruction -	86,450	00
School of Agriculture (including 10 schools and model farms in 10 Provinces) -	113,686	64
General Expenses of Public Instruction, including National Schools in the Provinces -	38,513	70
	<u>\$238,650</u>	<u>34</u>

On the banks of the River Pasig, there was a Training College for Schoolmasters, who were drafted off to the villages, with a miserable stipend, to teach the juvenile rustics. But what fell somewhat hard on the village schoolmaster was, that to recover his salary, the system of centralization adopted by the Government obliged him to spend a comparatively considerable amount of it. For instance, I knew a

¹ See the Army Regulations for the advantages granted to military men who marry Philippine born women. *Vide* also page 53.

schoolmaster who received \$16 per month for his services, but every month he had to spend one dollar to travel to Manila to receive it, and another dollar to return to his village,—this expenditure equalled twelve and a half per cent. of his total income. For such a wretched pittance, great things were not to be expected of either the teacher or his teaching. Other circumstances also contributed to keep the standard of education among the masses very low, in some places to abolish it totally. The parish priests were *ex-officio* Inspectors of Schools for primary instruction, wherein it was their duty to see that the Spanish language was taught. The old “Laws of the Indies” provide that Christian doctrine shall be taught to the heathen native in Spanish.¹ Several decrees confirming that law were issued from time to time, but their fulfilment did not seem to suit the policy of the Friars. On the 30th of June, 1887, the Governor-General published another decree with the same object, and sent a communication to the Archbishop to remind him of this obligation of his subordinates, and the urgency of its strict observance. Nevertheless, they persisted in striving to keep the rising generation (as they had always done with past generations) from the knowledge of anything further than Christian doctrine. This they learnt only by rote, for it suited the Friar to stimulate that peculiar mental condition in which belief precedes understanding. The schoolmaster, being subordinate to the inspector, had no voice in the matter, and was compelled to follow the views of the priest. Few Spaniards took the trouble to learn native dialects (of which there are about 30), and only a small percentage of the natives can speak intelligible Spanish. There is no literature in dialect. There were many villages with untrained masters who could not speak Spanish—there were other villages with no schools at all.

As the poorest families generally depend on agriculture, living in rural districts remote from the villages, compulsory education—even such as it was—was not possible, consequently the majority grew up as untutored as when they were born.

Home discipline and training of manners were quite ignored, even in well-to-do families. Children were left without control, and allowed to do just as they pleased, hence they became ill-behaved and boorish.

¹ Vide “Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias,” ley V., tit. XIII., lib. I.

Planters of means, and others who could afford it, sent their sons and daughters to private schools, or to the colleges under the direction of the priests in Manila, Jaro (Yloilo Province) or Cebú. A few—very few—sent their sons to study in Europe, or in Hongkong.

The teaching offered to students in Manila was very advanced, as will be seen from the following Syllabus of Education in the Municipal Athenæum of the Jesuits :—

ALGEBRA.	LATIN COMPOSITION.
ARITHMETIC.	MECHANICS.
AGRICULTURE.	MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC.
COMMERCE.	NATURAL HISTORY.
COMMERCIAL LAW.	PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.
COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.	PHILOSOPHY.
ENGLISH.	PAINTING.
FRENCH.	RHETORIC AND POETRY.
GEOMETRY.	SPANISH CLASSICS.
GREEK.	SPANISH COMPOSITION.
HISTORY.	TOPOGRAPHY.
LATIN GRAMMAR.	TRIGONOMETRY.

In the highest Girls' School—the Santa Isabel College—the following was the curriculum, viz. :—

ARITHMETIC.	HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES.
DRAWING.	MUSIC.
DRESS-CUTTING.	NEEDLEWORK.
FRENCH.	PHYSICS.
GEOGRAPHY.	READING—PROSE AND VERSE.
GEOMETRY.	SPANISH GRAMMAR.
GEOLOGY.	SACRED HISTORY.
HISTORY OF SPAIN.	

There were also (for girls), the Colleges of Santa Catalina, Santa Rosa, La Concordia, the Municipal School, etc. A few were sent to the Italian Convent in Hongkong.

A college known as Saint Thomas' was founded in Manila by Fray Miguel de Venavides, third Archbishop of Manila, between the years 1603 and 1610. He contributed to it his library and \$1,000, to which was added a donation by the Bishop of Nueva Segovia of \$3,000 and his library.

In 1620, it already had professors and masters under Government protection. It received three Papal Briefs for 10 years each, permitting students to graduate in Philosophy and Theology. It was then raised to the status of an University in the time of Philip IV., by Papal Bull

of 20th November, 1645. The first rector of Saint Thomas' University was Fray Martin Real de la Cruz. In the meantime, the Jesuits' University had been established. Until 1645, it was the only place of learning superior to primary education, and conferred degrees. The Saint Thomas' University (under the direction of Dominican Friars) now disputed the Jesuits' privilege to do so, claiming for themselves exclusive right by Papal Bull. A law suit followed, and the Supreme Court of Manila decided in favour of Saint Thomas'. The Jesuits appealed to the King against this decision. The Supreme Council of the Indies was consulted, and revoked the decision of the Manila Supreme Court, so that the two Universities continued to give degrees until the Jesuits were expelled from the Colony in 1768. From 1785, Saint Thomas' University was styled the "Royal University," and was declared to rank equally with the Peninsula Universities.

There was also the Dominican College of San Juan de Letran, founded in the middle of the 17th century, the Jesuit Normal School, the Convent of Mercy for Orphan Students, and the College of Saint Joseph. This last was founded in 1601, under the direction of the Jesuits. King Philip V. gave it the title of Royal College, and allowed an escutcheon to be erected over the entrance. The same king endowed three professorial chairs with \$10,000 each. Latterly it was governed by the Rector of the University, whilst the administration was confided to a licentiate in pharmacy.

At the time of the Spanish evacuation, therefore, the only university in the City of Manila was that of Saint Thomas, which was empowered to issue diplomas of licentiate in law, theology, medicine, and pharmacy to all successful candidates, and to confer degrees of LL.D. The investiture (which the public were allowed to witness) was presided over by the rector of the university, a Dominican Friar; and the speeches preceding and following the ceremony, which was semi-religious, were made in the Spanish language.

In connection with this university, there was the modern Saint Thomas' College for preparing students for the university.

One of the most interesting and amusing types of the native, was the average college student from the provinces. After a course of two, three, up to eight years, he learnt to imitate European dress and ape Western manners; to fantastically dress his hair; to wear patent leather shoes, jewellery, and a felt hat *à la dernière mode* adjusted

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carefully towards one side of his head. He went to the theatre, drove a "tilbury," and attended native *réunions*, to deploy his abilities before the *beau sexe* of his class. He reminded one, in fact, of the Calcutta Baboo Bachelor of Arts. During his residence in the capital, he was supposed to learn, amongst other subjects, Latin, Divinity, Philosophy, and sometimes Theology, preparatory, in many cases, to following his father's occupation of planting fields of sugar-cane and rice. The average student had barely an outline idea of either physical or political geography, whilst his notions of Spanish or universal history were very chaotic. I really think that the Manila newspapers—poor as they were—contributed very largely to the education of the people in this Colony.

Still there are cases of an ardent genius shining as an exception to his race. Amongst the few, there were two brothers named Luna—the one was a notably skilful performer on the guitar and violin, who, however, died at an early age. The other, Juan Luna, developed a natural ability for painting. A work of his own conception—the "Spoliarium," executed by him in Rome in 1884, gained the second prize at the Madrid Academy Exhibition of Oil Paintings. The Municipality of Barcelona purchased this *chef d'œuvre* for the City Hall. Other famous productions of his are, "The Battle of Lepanto," "The Death of Cleopatra," and "The Blood Compact." This last masterpiece was acquired by the Municipality of Manila for the City Hall, but was removed when the Tagalog Rebellion broke out, for reasons which will be understood after reading Chapter XXVI. This artist, the son of poor parents, was a second mate on board a sailing ship, when his gifts were recognized, and means were furnished him with which to study in Rome. His talent was quite exceptional, for these Islanders are not an artistic people. They (in general) have no admiration for the most lovely scenery and beautiful forms in Nature, nor their reproduction. They form a decided contrast to the Japanese in this respect. Pacle, in the Laguna Province, is the only place in the provinces I know of where there are sculptors by profession. The Academy (in Manila) is open to all comers of all nationalities, and, as an ex-student, under its professors Don Lorenzo Rocha and Don Agustin Saez, I can attest to their enthusiasm for the progress of their pupils.

I was personally acquainted with a native—José Rizal—who went to Germany and Spain to study, and returned with his titles of doctor in

medicine, philosophy, and arts. In 1886 he wrote a very readable novel, entitled "Noli me Tangere," and other works. Also in 1887, as an oculist, he performed a difficult operation very successfully in Calamba (Laguna Province). His biography, however, is more minutely referred to in Chapter XXVI.

In the General Post and Telegraph Office in Manila, I was shown an excellent specimen of wood-carving—a bust portrait of Mr. Morse (the celebrated inventor of the Morse system of telegraphy)—the work of a native sculptor.

Another promising native, Vicente Francisco, exhibited some good sculpture work in the Philippine Exhibition, held in Madrid in 1887; the jury recommended that he should be allowed a pension by the State, to study in Madrid and Rome.

But the native of cultivated intellect, on returning from Europe, found a very limited circle of friends of his own class and training. If he returned a lawyer or a doctor, he was one too many, for the capital swarmed with them; if he had learnt a trade, his knowledge was useless outside Manila, and in his native village his previous technical acquirements were usually profitless.

The native has an inherent passion for music. Musicians are to be found in every village, and even among the very poorest classes. There was scarcely a parish without its orchestra, and this natural taste was laudably encouraged by the priests. Some of these bands acquired great local fame, and were sought for wherever there was a feast miles away. The players seemed to enjoy it as much as the listeners, and they would keep at it for hours at a time, as long as their bodily strength lasted. Girls from six years of age learn to play the harp almost by instinct, and college girls quickly learn the piano. There are no native composers—they are but imitators. There is an absence of sentimental feeling in the execution of set music (which is all European), and this is the only drawback to their becoming fine instrumentalists. For the same reason, classical music is very little in vogue among the Philippine people, who prefer dance pieces and ballad accompaniments. In fact, a native musical performance is so void of soul and true conception of harmony, that at a feast it is not an uncommon thing to hear three bands playing close to each other at the same time; and the mob assembled seem to enjoy the confusion of the melody. There are no Philippine vocalists of repute.

Travelling through the Province of Laguna in 1882, I was, for the first time, impressed with the ingenuity of the natives in their imitation of European musical instruments. I had, just an hour before, emerged from a dense forest, abundantly adorned with exquisite foliage, and where majestic trees, flourishing in gorgeous profusion, afforded a gratifying shelter from the scorching sun. Not a sound was heard but the gentle ripple of a limpid stream, breaking over the boulders on its course towards the ravine below me. Neither the axe nor the plough had thus far outraged Nature in this lovely spot. But it was hardly the moment to ponder on the poetic scene around me, for fatigue and hunger had overcome nearly all sentimentality, and I got as quickly as I could to the first resting-place. This I found to be the plantation bungalow of a well-to-do native cane-grower.

There was quite a number of persons assembled, and the occasion of the meeting was, that the sugar cane mill on the plantation had that day been blessed and baptized with holy water.

Before I was near enough, however, to be distinguished as an European—for it was nearly sunset—I heard the sound of distant music floating through the air. So strange an occurrence in such a place excited my curiosity immensely; the surrounding scene—the mystic strains of dying melody—might well have entranced a more romantic nature, and I determined to find out what it all meant. I succeeded, and discovered that it was a bamboo orchestra returning from the feast of the “baptism of the mill.” Each instrument was made of bamboo, and the players were farm labourers.

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Being naturally prone to superstitious beliefs, the islanders accepted, without doubting, all the fantastic tales which the early missionaries taught them. Miraculous crosses healed the sick, cured the plague, and scared away the locusts. Images, such as the *Holy Child of Ban̄gi*, relieved them of all worldly sufferings. To this day they revere many of these objects, which are still preserved.

The most ancient miraculous image in these Islands appears to be the *Santo Niño de Cebú*—the Holy Child of Cebú. It is recorded that on the 28th of July, 1565, an image of the Child Jesus was found on Cebú Island shore by a Basque soldier named Juan de Camus. It was venerated and kept by the Austin Friars. In 1627, a fire occurred in

that City, when the Churches of Saint Nicholas and of the Holy Child were burnt down. The image was saved, and temporarily placed in charge of the Recoleta priests. A fire also took place on the site of the first cross erected on the island by Fray Martin de Rada, the day Legaspi landed, and it is said that this cross, although made of bamboo, was not consumed. There now stands an Oratory, wherein is exposed the original cross on special occasions. Close by is the modern Church of the Holy Child.

In June 1887, the Prior of the convent conducted me to the strong room where the wonderful image is kept. The Saint is of wood, about fifteen inches high, and laden with silver trinkets, which have been presented on different occasions. When exposed to public view, it has the honours of field-marshal accorded to it.

It is a mystic deity with ebony features—so different from the lovely Child presented to us on canvas by the great masters. During the feast held in its honour (20th of January), pilgrims from the remotest districts of the island and from across the seas come to purify their souls at the shrine of “The Holy Child.”

In the same room is a beautiful image of the Madonna, besides two large tin boxes containing sundry arms, legs, and heads of Saints, with their robes in readiness for adjustment on procession days. The patron of Cebú City is Saint Vidal.

The legend of the celestial protector of Manila is not less interesting. It is related that in Dilao, near Manila, a wooden image of Saint Francis de Assisi, which was in the house of a native named Alonso Cuyapit, was seen to weep so copiously, that many cloths were moistened by its tears.

The image, with its hands open during three hours, asked God’s blessing on Manila. Then, on closing its hands, it grasped a cross and skull so firmly, that these appeared to be one and the same thing. Vows were made to the Saint, who was declared protector of the Capital, and the said image is now to be seen in the Franciscan Church, under the appellation of Saint Francis of Tears—*San Francisco de las lágrimas*.

Our Lady of Casaysay, near Taal, in Batangas Province, has been revered for many years both by Europeans and natives. So enthusiastic was the belief in the miraculous power of this image, that

the galleons when passing the Batangas coast on their way to and from Mexico were accustomed to fire a salute from their guns.

This image was picked up by a native in his fishing net, and he placed it in a cave, where it was discovered by other natives, who imagined they saw many extraordinary lights around it. According to the local legend, they heard sweet sonorous music proceeding from the same spot, and the image came forward and spoke to a native woman, who had brought her companions to adore the Saint.

The history of the many shrines all over the Colony would well fill a volume ; however, by far the most popular one is that of the Virgin of Antipolo—*Nuestra Señora de Buen Viaje y de la Paz*, “ Our Lady of Good Voyage and Peace.”

This image is said to have wrought many miracles. It was first brought from Acapulco (Mexico) in 1626 in the State galleon, by Juan Niño de Tabora, who was appointed Governor-General of these Islands by King Philip IV. The Saint, it is alleged, had encountered numberless reverses between that time and the year 1672, since which date it is safely lodged in the Parish Church of Antipolo—a village in the Military District of Morong—in the custody of the Austin Friars until the year 1898.

In the month of May, thousands of people repair to this shrine ; indeed, this village of 3,800 inhabitants chiefly depends upon the pilgrims for its existence, for the land within the jurisdiction of Antipolo is all mountainous and very limited in extent. The priests also did a very good trade in prints of Saints, rosaries, etc., for the sale of which they opened a shop during the feast inside the convent just in front of the entrance. The total amount of money spent in the village by visitors during the pilgrimage has been roughly computed to be \$30,000. They came from all parts of the islands

The legends of the Saint are best described in a pamphlet published in Manila,¹ from which I take the following information.

The writer says that the people of Acapulco (Mexico) were loth to part with their Holy Image, but the saintly Virgin being disposed to succour the inhabitants of the Spanish Indies, she herself smoothed all difficulties.

¹ “ Historia de Nuestra Señora La Virgen de Antipolo,” by M. Romero, Manila, 1886.

During her first voyage in the month of March, 1626, a tempest arose, which was calmed by the Virgin, and all arrived safely at the shores of Manila. The Virgin was then taken in procession to the Cathedral, whilst the church bells tolled and the artillery thundered forth salutes of welcome.

A solemn Mass was celebrated, at which all the religious communities, civil authorities, and a multitude of people assisted.

Six years afterwards, the Governor-General Tabora died.

By his will he intrusted the Virgin to the care of the Jesuits, whilst a church was being built under the direction of Father Juan Salazar for her special reception. During the erection of this church, the Virgin often descended from the altar and displayed herself amongst the flowery branches of a tree, called by the natives Antipolo (*Artocarpus incisa*).

The tree itself was henceforth regarded as a precious relic by the natives, who, leaf by leaf and branch by branch, were gradually carrying it off. Then Father Salazar decreed that the tree should serve for a pedestal to the Divine Miraculous Image—hence the title “Virgin of Antipolo.”

In 1639 the Chinese rebelled against the Spanish authority.

In their furious march through the ruins and the blood of their victims, and amidst the wailing of the crowd, they attacked the Sanctuary wherein reposed the Virgin. Seizing the Holy Image, they cast it into the flames, and when all around was reduced to ashes, there stood the Virgin of Antipolo, resplendent with her hair, her lace, her ribbons and adornments intact, and her beautiful body of brass without wound or blemish !

Passionate at seeing frustrated their designs to destroy the deified protectress of the Christians, a rebel stabbed her in the face, and all the resources of art have ever failed to heal the lasting wound.

Again the Virgin was enveloped in flames, which hid the appalling sight of her burning entrails. Now the Spanish troops arrived, and fell upon the heretical marauders with great slaughter ; then, glancing with trembling anxiety upon the scene of the outrage, behold ! with astonishment they desecrated the Holy Image upon a pile of ashes—unhurt !

With renewed enthusiasm, the Spanish infantry bore away the Virgin on their shoulders in triumph, and Sebastian Hurtado, the

Governor-General at the time, had her conveyed to Cavite to be the patroness of the faithful upon the high seas.

A galleon arrived at Cavite, and being unable to go into port, the commander anchored off at a distance.

Then the Governor-General, Diego Fajardo, sent the Virgin on board, and, by her help, a passage was found for the vessel to enter.

Later on, twelve Dutch war ships appeared off Mariveles, a point to the north of the entrance to Manila Bay. They had come to attack Cavite, and in their hour of danger the Spaniards appealed to the Virgin, who gave them a complete victory over the Dutchmen, causing them to flee, with their commander mortally wounded. During the affray, the Virgin had been taken away for safety on board the "San Diego," commanded by Cépeda. In 1650 this vessel returned, and the pious prelate, José Millan Poblete, thought he perceived clear indications of an eager desire on the part of the Virgin to retire to her Sanctuary.

The people too clamoured for the Saint, attributing the many calamities with which they were afflicted at that period to her absence from their shores. Assailed by enemies, frequently threatened by the Dutch, lamenting the loss of several galleons, and distressed by a serious earthquake, their only hope reposed in the beneficent aid of the Virgin of Antipolo.

But the galleon "San Francisco Xavier" feared to make the journey to Mexico without the saintly support, and for the sixth time the Virgin crossed the Pacific Ocean.

In Acapulco the galleon lay at anchor until March, 1653, when the newly appointed Governor-General, Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, Archbishop Miguel Poblete, Fray Rodrigo Cárdenas, Bishop-elect of Cagayan, and many other passengers embarked and set sail for Manila. Their sufferings during the voyage were horrible. Almost overcome by a violent storm, the ship became unmanageable. Rain poured in torrents, whilst her decks were washed by the surging waves, and all was on the point of utter destruction. In this plight the Virgin was exhorted, and not in vain, for at her command the sea lessened its fury, the wind calmed, and all the horrors of the voyage ceased. Black threatening clouds dispersed, and under a beautiful blue sky a fair wind wafted the galleon safely to the port of Cavite.

These circumstances gained for the Saint the title of “Virgin of Good Voyage and Peace”; and the sailors who acknowledged that their lives were saved by her sublime intercession—followed by the ecclesiastical dignitaries and military chiefs—carried the image to her retreat in Antipolo (8th September, 1653), where it was intended she should permanently remain. However, deprived of the succour of the Saint, misfortunes again overtook the galleons. Three of them were lost, and the writer of the brochure to which I refer supposes (Chap. IV.) that perchance the sea, suffering from the number of furrows cut by the keels of the ships, had determined to take a fierce revenge by swallowing them up!

Once more, therefore, the Virgin condescended to accompany a galleon to Mexico, bringing her back safely to these shores in 1672.

This was the Virgin's last sea voyage. Again, and for ever, she was conveyed by the joyous multitude to her resting place in Antipolo Church, and, on her journey thither, there was not a flower, adds the chronicler, which did not greet her by opening a bud—not a mountain pigeon which remained in silence, whilst the breezes and the rivulets poured forth their silent murmurings of ecstasy. Saintly guardian of the soul, dispersing mundane evils—no colours, the historian tells us, can paint the animation of the faithful; no discourse can describe the consolation of the pilgrims in their refuge at the Shrine of the Holy Virgin of Antipolo.

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Yet the village of Antipolo and its neighbourhood is the centre of brigandage, the resort of murderous highwaymen, the focus of crime. What a strange contrast to the sublime virtues of the immortal Divinity enclosed within its Sanctuary!

The most lucrative undertaking in the Colony is that of a shrine. It yields all gain and no possible loss. Among the most popular of these “Miraculous Saint Shows” was that of Gusi, belonging to a native Father M—— G——, late parish priest of Hug, in Negros Island. At Gusi, half-an-hour's walk from the Father's parish church, was enthroned San Joaquin, who, for a small consideration, consoled the faithful or relieved them of their sufferings. His spouse, Santa Ana, having taken up her residence in the town of Molo (Yloilo Province), was said to have been visited by San Joaquin once a year.

He was absent on the journey at least a fortnight, but the waters in the neighbourhood of the Shrine being sanctified the *clientèle* was not dispersed. Some sceptics have dared to doubt whether San Joaquin really paid this visit to his saintly wife, and alleged that his absence was feigned, firstly to make his presence longed for, and secondly to remove the cobwebs from his hallowed brow, and give him a wash and brush up for the year. It paid well for years—every devotee leaving his mite. At the time of my pilgrimage there, the holy Father's son was the petty Governor of the same town of Ilug.

Shrine-owners are apparently no friends of free trade. In 1888 there was a great commotion amongst them when it was discovered that a would-be competitor and a gownsman had conspired, in Pampanga Province, to establish a Miraculous Saint, by concealing an image in a field in order that it should "make itself manifest to the faithful," and thenceforth become a source of income.

It is notorious that in a church near Manila a few years ago, an image was made to move the parts of its body as the reverend preacher exhorted it in the course of his sermon. When he appealed to the saint, it wagged its head or extended its arms, whilst the female audience wept and wailed. Such a scandalous disturbance did it provoke, that the exhibition was even too monstrous for the clergy themselves, and the Archbishop prohibited it. But religion has many wealth-producing branches. In January, 1889, a friend of mine (J— M—, of Negros) showed me an account rendered by the Superior of the Jesuits' School for the education of his sons, each of whom was charged with one dollar as a gratuity to the Pope, to induce him to canonize a deceased member of their order. Nevertheless, I have been most positively assured by friends, whose good faith I ought not to doubt, that San Pascual Bailon really has, on many occasions, had compassion on barren women (their friends) and given them offspring.

On the other hand, the holy waters transported to Negros Island from the Concepcion district (Panay Island), for which the steamer "Rápido" was specially chartered from Yloilo, failed to prolong the days of my late friend A— M—, of Bago.

Trading upon the credulity of devout enthusiasts by fetichism and shrine quackery is not altogether confined to the ecclesiastics. A layman named P—, in Yloilo, some few years ago, when he was an

official of the prison, known as the "Cotta," conceived the idea of declaring that the Blessed Virgin and Child Jesus had appeared in the well of the prison, where they took a bath and disappeared. When, at length, the belief became popular, hundreds of natives went there to get water from the well, and P—— imposed a tax on the pilgrims. P——, who at one time possessed a modest fortune, and owned two of the best houses in the Square of Yloilo, subsequently became miserably poor.

The Feast of Tigbauang (a few miles from Yloilo), which takes place in January, is also much frequented, on account of the miracles performed by the patron Saint of the town. The faith in the power of this minor divinity to dispel bodily suffering is so deeply rooted, that members of the most enlightened families of Yloilo and the neighbouring towns go to Tigbauang simply to attend High Mass, and go back home at once. I have seen steamers return to Yloilo from this feast so crowded with passengers, that there was only standing room for them.

An opprobrious form of religious imposture—and I judged the most contemptible—which frequently offended the public eye, was the practice of prowling about with doll-saints in the streets and public highways. A vagrant, too lazy to earn an honest subsistence, procured a licence from the monks to hawk about a wooden box with a doll or print inside and a pane of glass in front. This he offered to hold before the nose of any ignorant passer-by who was willing to pay for the boon of kissing the glass!

During Holy Week, a few years ago, the captain of the Civil Guard in Tayabas Province went to the town of Atimonan, and saw natives in the streets almost in a state of nudity doing penance "for the wounds of Our Lord." They were actually beating themselves with flails, some of which were made of iron chain, and others of rope with thongs of rattan cane. He confiscated the flails—one of which he gave to me—and effectually assisted the fanatics in their penitent castigation. Alas! to what excesses will faith, unrestrained by reason, bring one!

The result of tuition in mystic influences is sometimes developed in the appearance of native Santones,—indolent scamps who never cut their hair, and roam about in remote villages and districts, feigning the possession of supernatural gifts, and the faculty of saving

souls and curing diseases, with the object of living at the expense of the ignorant. I have never happened to meet more than one of these creatures—an escaped convict named Apolonio, said to be a native of Cabuyao (Laguna Province), who, assuming the character of a prophet and worker of miracles, had fled to the neighbourhood of San Pablo village. I have often heard of them in other places, notably in Cápis Province, where the pursuit of the Santones by the Civil Guard was for a while the local theme of conversation.

The sale of Masses is a very old-established custom of the Roman Catholic Church, but it never appeared to me in so practical and business-like a light as, when in Pasacao (Province of Camarines Sur), on the 23rd of December, 1886, I heard a certain Father Carlos, who was going to Spain on a special mission, strike a serious bargain with a Spaniard residing in Nueva Cáceres. The priest proposed to send to his friend a ham from Galicia for every ten Mass orders he received from him. The bargain being accepted, he at once proceeded to calculate the cost of the ham and the value of the fees of ten Masses, chuckling over the nett profits in perspective.

The Spanish clergy were justifiably zealous in guarding the native classes from the knowledge of other doctrines which would only lead them to immeasurable bewilderment. Hence all the natives who were entirely under Spanish dominion, *i.e.*, all the indigenous population, excepting the independent and semi-independent tribes, are Roman Catholics.

This blind obedience to one system of Christianity, even in its grossly exaggerated form, had the effect desired by the State, of bringing about social unity to an advanced degree. Yet, so far as I have observed, it appears evident that the native understands extremely little of the “inward and spiritual grace” of religion. He is so material and realistic, so devoid of all conception of things abstract, that his ideas rarely, if ever, soar beyond the contemplation of the “outward and visible signs” of Christian belief. The symbols of faith and the observance of religious rites are to him religion itself. He also confounds morality with religion. Natives go to church because it is the custom. Often if a native cannot put on a clean shirt, he abstains from going to Mass. The petty Governor of a town was compelled to go to High Mass, accompanied by his “ministry.” In some towns, the *Barangay Chiefs* were fined or

beaten if they were absent from church on Sundays and certain Feast Days.¹

As to the women, little or no pressure was necessary to oblige them to attend Mass ; many of them pass half their existence between adoration of the images, Mariolatry and the confessional.

Undoubtedly, Roman Catholicism appears to be the form of Christianity most successful in proselytizing uncivilized races, which are impressed more with their eyes than their understanding.

The pagan idols, which reappeared in the form of martyrs in primitive times, still gratify the instinctive want of visible deities to uncultivated minds. The heathen rites, originally adopted by the Catholic Church to appease the pagans in the earliest ages, such as pompous ritual, lustrous gold and silver vases, magnificent robes, and glittering processional shows, serve, where intellectual reasoning would fail, to convince the neophyte of the sanctity of the religious system and the infallibility of its professors' precepts.

The parish priest of Lipa, a town in Batangas Province, related to a friend of mine, that having on one occasion distributed all his stock of pictures of the Saints to those who had come to see him on parochial business, he had to content the last suppliant with an empty raisin box, without noticing that on the lid there was a coloured print of Garibaldi. Later on, Garibaldi's portrait was seen in a hut in one of the suburbs with candles around it, being adored as a Saint.

A curious case of native religious philosophy was reported in a Manila newspaper.² A milkman was accused by one of his customers of having adulterated the milk which he supplied. Of course he denied it at first, and then yielding to more potent argument than words, he confessed that he had diluted the milk with *holy water from the Church fountains*, for at the same time that he committed the sin he was penitent.

¹ A Decree issued by Don Juan de Ozaeta, a magistrate of the Supreme Court, in his general visit of inspection to the provinces, dated 26th May, 1696, enacts the following, viz. :—"That Chinese half-castes and headmen shall be compelled to go to the church and attend Divine Service, and act according to the customs established in the villages," and the penalty for an infraction of this mandate by a male was "20 lashes in the public highway and two months' labour in the Royal Rope Walk (established in Taal), or in the Gallies of Cavite." If the delinquent were a female, the chastisement was "one month of public penance in the church," whilst the Alcalde or Governor of the Province who did not promptly inflict the punishment was to be mulcted in the sum of "\$200, to be paid to the Royal Treasury."

² "Diario de Manila," Saturday, July 28th, 1888.

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Although slavery was prohibited by law as far back as the reign of Philip II.,¹ it nevertheless still exists in an occult form among the natives. Rarely, if ever, do its victims appeal to the law for redress, firstly, because of their ignorance, and secondly, because the untutored class have an innate horror of resisting anciently established custom, and it would never occur to them to do so. On the other hand, in the time of the Spaniards, the numberless *procuradores* and *pica-pleitos*—touting solicitors—had no interest in taking up cases so profitless to themselves. Under the pretext of guaranteeing a loan, parents readily sell their children (male or female) into bondage; the child is handed over to work until the loan is repaid, but as the day of restitution of the advance never arrives, neither does the liberty of the youthful victim. Among themselves it was a law, and is still a practised custom, for the debts of the parents to pass on to the children, and, as I have said before, debts are never repudiated by them.

However, one cannot closely criticise the existence of slavery in the Philippines, when it is remembered that it was in vogue in educated England not much over half a century ago. Before the 1st of August, 1834, negroes were caught in public highways and shipped off to the colonies, whilst press gangs seized quondam free citizens to serve in the army and navy forces. When the case of the negro James Somerset was first brought before Lord Mansfield by Mr. Granville Sharp, that high legal authority, in agreement with all the contemporary lawyers of note, virtually decided that the slave trade could be legally carried on in the streets of London and Liverpool, and it needed the persistent devotion of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham and Fowell Buxton, to ensure equality of freedom to all British subjects.

Labour seems to be about equally distributed amongst men and women in the Philippines; each sex, as a rule, working strictly in its sphere; and this may compare favourably with the state of rural society as it was in Scotland some years ago, for Mr. Samuel Smiles remarks²: “The hard work was chiefly done, and the burdens borne by, the women; and if a cottier lost a horse, it was not unusual for him to

¹ According to Concepcion, there were headmen at the time of the Conquest who had as many as 300 slaves, and as a property they ranked next in value to gold. *Vide* “Hist. Gen. de Philipinas,” by Juan de la Concepcion, pub. in Manila in 1788, in 14 volumes.

² Smiles’ “Self Help.” Edition of 1867, page 376.

“marry a wife as the cheapest substitute.” And again, in the north of Spain, I have, hundreds of times, seen ships being laden with mineral, brought down in baskets on the heads of Basque women.

All the natives of the domesticated type have distinct Malay features—prominent cheek bones, large and lively eyes, and flat noses with dilated nostrils. They are, on the average, of rather low stature, very rarely bearded, and of a copper colour more or less dark. Most of the women have no distinct line of hair on the forehead. Some there are with hairy-down on the forehead within an inch of the eyes, possibly a reversion to a progenitor (the *Macacus radiata*), in whom the forehead had not become quite naked, leaving the limit between the scalp and the forehead undefined. The hair of both males and females stands out from the skin like bristles, and is very coarse. Children, from their birth, have a spot at the base of the vertebrae, thereby supporting the theory of Professor Huxley’s *Anthropidae* sub-order—or man (*vide* “An Introduction to the Classification of Animals,” by Professor Huxley, 1869, page 99).

Consanguine marriages are very common, and perhaps this accounts for the low intellect and mental debility perceptible in many families. Great numbers die annually of fever—especially in the spring—and although, in general, they may be considered a robust, enduring race, they are less capable than the European of withstanding acute disease. I should say that quite 50% of the native population are affected by cutaneous disease, said to be caused by eating fish daily, and especially shell-fish. It is known in the Colony as *Sarnas*.

In 1832, *Cholera morbus* in epidemic form ravaged the native population, carrying off thousands of victims, the exact number of which has never been published. The preventive recommended by the priests on this occasion, viz., prayer to St. Roque, proved quite ineffectual to stay the plague. Annually many natives suffer from what is called *Colerin*—a mild form of *Cholera*, but not epidemic. In the spring, deaths always occur from acute indigestion, due to eating too plentifully of new rice. Many who have recovered from *Cholera* become victims to a disease known as *Beri Beri*, of which the symptom is a swelling of the legs. *Small-pox* makes great ravages, and *Measles* is a common complaint. *Lung* and *Bronchial* affections are very rare. The most fearful disease in the Colony is *Leprosy*. To my knowledge it is prevalent in the Province of Bulacan (Luzon), and in the islands of

Cebú and Negros. There is an asylum for lepers near Manila (*vide* Chaps. V. and XXII.) and at Mabolo, just outside the City of Cebú, but no practical measures were ever adopted by the Spaniards to eradicate the disease, which, in Cebú at least, is known to be spreading. The Spanish authorities were always too indifferent about the propagation of leprosy to establish a home on one island for all male lepers and another home on another island for female lepers. Some years ago I read a series of well-written articles on this question published in the *Boletín de Cebú*, by Dr. Manuel Rogel.¹ In Baliuag (Bulacan) there are leper families, personally known to me, who are allowed to mix with the general public. In Cebú and Negros Islands they are permitted to roam about on the high roads and beg.

The Colony abounds in valuable medicinal herbs and trees, and the natives are acquainted with many efficacious remedies for current maladies.

* * * * *

Marriages between natives are usually arranged by the parents of the respective families. The nubile age of females is from about eleven years. The parents of the young man visit those of the maiden, to approach the subject delicately in an oratorical style of allegory. The response is in like manner—shrouded with mystery—and the veil is only thrown off the negotiations when it becomes evident that both parties agree. If the young man has no dowry to offer, it is frequently stipulated that he shall serve on probation for an indefinite period in the house of his future bride—as Jacob served Laban to make Rachael his wife—and not a few drudge for years with this hope before them.

Sometimes, in order to secure service gratis, the elders of the young woman will suddenly dismiss the young man after a prolonged expectation, and take another *Catipad*, as he is called, on the same terms. The old colonial legislation—"Leyes de Indias," in vain prohibited this barbarous ancient custom, and there was a modern Spanish law which permitted the intended bride to be "deposited" away from parental

¹ Author of "Lepra en Visayas," pub. in Manila 1897. Referring to Leprosy, "The Charity Record," London, Dec. 15th, 1898, says:—"Reliable estimates place the number of lepers in India, China, and Japan at one million. About half a million would probably be a correct estimate for India only, although the official number is less, owing to the many who from being hidden, or homeless, or from other causes, escape enumeration."

custody, whilst the parents were called upon to show cause why the union should not take place. However, it often happens, that when Cupid has already shot his arrow into the virginal breast, and the betrothed foresee a determined opposition to their mutual hopes, they anticipate the privileges of matrimony, and compel the bride's parents to countenance their legitimate aspirations to save the honour of the family. *Honi soit qui mal y pense*—they simply force the hand of a dictatorial mother-in law. The women are mercenary in the extreme, and if, on the part of the girl and her people, there be a hitch, it is generally on the question of dollars, when both parties are native. Of course, if the suitor be European, no such question is raised—the ambition of the family and the vanity of the girl being both satisfied by the alliance itself.

When the proposed espousals are accepted, the donations *propter nuptias* are paid by the father of the bridegroom to defray the wedding expenses, and often a dowry settlement, called in Tagalog dialect "*bigaycaya*," is made in favour of the bride. Very rarely the bride's property is settled on the husband. I never heard of such a case. The Spanish laws relating to married persons' property are quaint. If the husband be poor, and the wife well-off, so they may remain, notwithstanding the marriage. He, as a rule, becomes a simple administrator of her possessions, and, if honest, often depends on her liberality to supply his own necessities. If he becomes bankrupt in a business in which he employed also her capital or possessions, she ranks as a creditor of the second class under the "Commercial Code." If she dies, the poor husband, under no circumstances, by legal right (unless under a deed signed before a notary) derives any benefit from the fact of his having espoused a rich wife,—her property passes to their legitimate issue or,—in default thereof—to her nearest blood relation. The children might be rich, and, but for their generosity, their father might be destitute, whilst the law compels him to render a strict account to them of the administration of their property during their minority.

A married woman often signs her maiden name, sometimes adding "*de* ——" (her husband's surname).

If she survives him, she again takes up her *nomen ante nuptias* amongst her old circle of friends, and only adds "widow of ——" to show who she is to the public (if she be in trade), or to those who have only known her as a married woman.

The offspring use the surnames of both father and mother, the latter coming after the former, hence it is the more prominent. Frequently, in documents requiring the mention of a person's father and mother, the maiden surname of the latter is revived.

Thus marriage, as I understand the spirit of the Spanish law, seems to be a simple contract to legitimize and license procreation.

Up to the year 1844, only a minority of the Christian natives had distinctive family names. They were, before that date, known by certain harsh ejaculations, and classification of families was uncared for among the majority of the population. Therefore, in that year a list of Spanish surnames was sent to each parish priest, and every native family had to adopt a separate appellation, which has ever since been perpetuated. Hence one meets natives bearing illustrious names, such as Juan Salcedo, Juan de Austria, Rianzares, Ramon de Cabrera, Pio Nono Lopez, and a great many Legaspis.

When a wedding among natives was determined upon, the betrothed went to the priest—not necessarily together—kissed his hand, and informed him of their intention. There was a tariff of marriage fees, but the priest usually set this aside, and fixed his charges according to the resources of the parties. This abuse of power could hardly be resisted, as the natives have a radicate aversion to being married elsewhere than in the village of the bride. The priest too (not the bride) usually had the privilege of “naming the day.” The fees demanded were sometimes enormous, the common result being that many couples merely cohabited under mutual vows because they could not pay the wedding expenses.

The banns were verbally published after the benediction following the conclusion of the Mass. The ceremony almost invariably took place after the first Mass, between five and six in the morning.

In the evening, prior to the marriage, the couple had of course to confess and obtain absolution from the priest.

Mass having been said, those who were spiritually prepared presented themselves for Communion in the sacrifice of the Eucharist *de sanguine et corpore Domini*. Then an acolyte placed over the shoulders of the bridal pair a thick mantle or pall. The priest recited a short formula of about five minutes' duration, put his interrogations, received the muttered responses, and all was over. To the espoused, as they left the church, was tendered a bowl of coin; the bridegroom passed a

handful of the contents to the bride, who accepted it and returned it to the bowl. This act was symbolical of his giving to her his worldly possessions. Then they left the church with their friends, preserving that solemn stoical countenance common to all Malay natives. There was no visible sign of emotion as they all walked off, with the most matter-of-fact indifference, to the paternal abode. This was the custom under the Spaniards; the Revolution decreed civil marriages.

Then the feast called the *Catapúsan*¹ begins. To this the vicar and headmen of the villages, the immediate friends and relatives of the allied families, and any Europeans who may happen to be resident or sojourning, are invited. The table is spread *à la Russe*, with all the good things procurable served at the same time—sweetmeats predominating. Imported beer, Dutch gin, chocolate, etc. are also in abundance. After the early repast, both men and women are constantly being offered betel-nut to masticate, or cigars and cigarettes.

Meanwhile the company is entertained by native dancers. Two at a time—a young man and woman—stand *vis-à-vis* and alternately sing a love ditty, the burthen of the theme usually opening by the regret of the young man that his amorous overtures have been disregarded. Explanations follow, in the poetic dialogue, as the parties dance around each other, keeping a slow step to the plaintive strains of music. This is called the *Balitao*. It is most popular in Visayas.

Another dance is performed by a young woman only. If well executed, it is extremely graceful. The girl begins singing a few words in an ordinary tone, when her voice gradually drops to the *diminuendo*, whilst her slow gesticulations and the declining vigour of the music together express her forlornness. Then a ray of joy seems momentarily to lighten her mental anguish; the spirited *crescendo* notes gently return; the tone of the melody swells; her step and action energetically quicken—until she lapses again into resigned sorrow, and so on alternately. Coy in repulse, and languid in surrender, the *dansuse* in the end forsakes her sentiment of melancholy for elated passion.

¹ *Catapúsan* signifies in native dialect the gathering of friends, which terminates the festival connected with any event or ceremony, whether it be a wedding, a funeral, a baptism, or an election of local authorities, etc. The festivities after a burial last nine days, and on the last day of wailing, drinking, praying and eating, the meeting is called the *Catapúsan*.

The native dances are numerous. Another of the most typical, is that of a girl writhing and dancing a *pas seul* with a glass of water on her head. This is known as the *Comitan*.

There is scarcely a Christian village in the Islands, however remote, which has not a band of music of some kind with which the natives display their natural talent.

When Europeans are present, the bride usually retires into the kitchen or a back room, and only puts in an appearance after repeated requests. The conversation rarely turns upon the event of the meeting; there is not the slightest outward manifestation of affection between the newly united couple, who, during the feast, are only seen together by mere accident. If there are European guests, the repast is served three times—firstly for the Europeans and headmen, secondly for the males of less social dignity, and lastly for the women.

Neither at the table, nor in the drawing-room, do the men and women mingle, except for perhaps the first quarter of an hour after the arrival, or whilst dancing continues.

About an hour after the mid-day meal, those who are not lodging at the house, return to their respective residences to sleep the *siesta*. On an occasion like this—at a *Catapúsan* given for any reason—native outsiders, from anywhere, always invade the kitchen in a mob, hang around doorways, fill up corners, and drop in for the feed uninvited, and it is usual to be liberally complaisant to all comers.

As a rule, the married couple live with the parents of one or the other, at least until the family inconveniently increases. In old age, the elder members of the families come under the protection of the younger ones quite as a matter of course. In any case, a newly married pair seldom reside alone. Relations from all parts flock in. Cousins, uncles and aunts, of more or less distant grade, hang on to the recently established household, if it be not extremely poor. Even when an European marries a native woman, she is certain to introduce some vagabond relation—a drone to hive with the bees—a condition quite inevitable, unless the husband be a man of specially determined character.

Death at childbirth is very common, and it is said that 25% of the new-born children die within a month.

Among the lowest classes, whilst a woman is lying-in, the husband closes all the windows to prevent the evil spirit (*asuan*) entering;

sometimes he will wave about a stick or bolie knife at the door, or on top of the roof, for the same purpose. Even among the most enlightened, at the present day, the custom of shutting the windows is inherited from their superstitious forefathers.

It is considered rather an honour than otherwise to have children by a priest, and little secret is made of it.

In October, 1888, I was in a village near Manila, at the bedside of a sick friend, when the curate entered. He excused himself for not having called earlier, by explaining that "Turing" had sent him a message informing him that as the vicar (a native) had gone to Manila, he might take charge of the church and parish. "Is 'Turing' an assistant curate?" I inquired. My friend and the pastor were so convulsed with laughter at the idea, that it was quite five minutes before they could explain that the intimation respecting the parochial business emanated from the absent vicar's *bonne amie*.

Parents offer their girls to Europeans for a loan of money, and they are often admitted under the pseudonyme of sempstresses or housekeepers. Natives among themselves do not kiss—they smell each other, or rather, they place the nose and lip on the cheek and draw a long breath.

Marriages between Spaniards and native women, although less frequent than formerly, still take place. It is difficult to apprehend an alliance so incongruous, there being no affinity of ideas, and the only condition in common is, that they are both human beings professing Christianity. The European husband is either drawn towards the level of the native by this heterogeneous relationship, or, in despair of remedying the error of a passing passion, he practically ignores his wife in his own social connections. Each forms then a distinct circle of friends of his, or her, own selection, whilst the woman is refractory to mental improvement, and, in manners, is but slightly raised above her own class by European influence and contact. There are some exceptions, but I have most frequently observed in the houses of Europeans married to native women in the provinces, that the wives take up their chief abode in the kitchen, and are only seen by the visitor when some domestic duty requires them to move about the house.

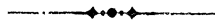
Familiarity breeds contempt, and these *mésalliances* diminish the dignity of the superior race by reducing the birth origin of both races to a common level in their children.

The Spanish half-breeds and creoles constitute a very influential body. A great number of them are established in trade in Manila and the provinces. Due to their European descent, more or less distant, the half-breeds are of quicker perception, greater tact, and gifted with wider intellectual faculties than the indigenous class. Also, the Chinese half-breeds—a caste of Chinese fathers and Philippine mothers—who form about one-sixth of the Manila population, are shrewder than the natives of pure extraction. There are numbers of Spanish half-breeds fairly well educated, and just a few of them very talented. Many of them have succeeded in making pretty considerable fortunes in their negotiations, as middlemen, between the provincial natives and the European commercial houses. Their true social position is often an equivocal one, and the complex question has constantly to be confronted whether to regard a Spanish demi-sang from a native or European standpoint. Among themselves, they are continually struggling to attain the respect and consideration accorded to the superior class, whilst their connections and purely native relations link them to the other side.

In this perplexing mental condition, we find them on the one hand striving in vain to disown their affinity to the inferior races, and on the other hand, jealous of their true-born European acquaintances. A morosity of disposition is the natural outcome. Their character generally is evasive and vacillating. They are captious, fond of litigation, and constantly seeking subterfuges. They appear always dissatisfied with their lot in life, and inclined to foster grievances against whoever may be in office over them.

Pretentions in the extreme, they are fond of pomp and paltry show, and some have, years ago, aspired to become the reformers of the Colony's institutions.

The Jesuit Father, Pedro Murillo Velarde, at page 272 of his work on this Colony, expressed his opinion of the political-economical result of mixed marriages to the following effect:—"Now," he says, "we have a querulous, discontented population of half-castes, who, sooner or later, will bring about a distracted state of society, and occupy the whole force of the Government to stamp out the discord." How far the prophecy was fulfilled will be seen in another chapter.



CHAPTER XII.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

"Plus ultra."

HISTORY attests that at least during the first two centuries of Spanish rule, the subjugation of the natives and their acquiescence in the new order of things were obtained more by the subtle influence of the missionaries than by the State.

As the soldiers of Castile carried war into the interior and forced its inhabitants to recognise their King, so the priests were drafted off from the Capital to mitigate the memory of bloodshed and to mould Spain's new subjects to social equanimity.

In many cases, in fact, the whole task of gaining their submission to the Spanish Crown and obedience to the dictates of Western civilization had been confided solely to the pacific medium of persuasion. The difficult mission of holding in check the natural passions and instincts of a race which knew no law but individual will, was left to the successors of Urdaneta. Indeed, it was but the general policy of Philip II. to aggrandize his vast realm under the pretence of rescuing benighted souls. The efficacy of conversion was never doubted for a moment, however suddenly it might come to pass, and the Spanish cavalier conscientiously felt that he had a high mission to fulfil under the Banner of the Cross. In every natural event which coincided with their interests, in this respect, the wary priests deserved a providential miracle.

In their opinion the non-Catholic had no rights in this world—no prospect of gaining the next. If the Pope claimed the whole world (such as was known of it) to be in his gift—how much more so heathen lands! The obligation to convert was imposed by the Pope, and was an inseparable condition of the conceded right of conquest. It was therefore constantly paramount in the conqueror's mind.¹ The Pope

¹ Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, Madrid 1825, tom. II., Nos. 12, 18.

could depose and give away the right of any sovereign prince "*si vel paulum deflexerit.*" The Monarch held his sceptre under the sordid condition of vassalage, hence Philip II. for the security of his Crown could not have disobeyed the will of the Pontiff, whatever his personal inclinations might have been regarding the spread of Christianity. If he desired it, he served his ends with advantage—if he were indifferent to it, he secured by its prosecution a formidable ally in Rome. America had already drained the Peninsula of her able-bodied men to such an extent, that a military occupation would have overtaxed the resources of the Mother Country.

The power of the Friars was recognized to the last by the Spanish-Philippine authorities, who continued to solicit the co-operation of the parish priests in order to secure obedience to decrees affecting their parishioners.

Up to the Rebellion of 1896 in Luzon—and elsewhere till the last day of Spanish rule—the placid word of the ecclesiastic, the superstitious veneration which he inspired in the ignorant native community, had a greater law-binding effect than the commands of the civil functionary. The gownsman used those weapons appropriate to his office which best touched the sensibilities and won the adhesion of a rude audience. The priest appealed to the soul, to the unknown, to the awful and the mysterious. Go where he would, the convert's imagination was so pervaded with the mystic tuition that he came to regard his tutor as a being above common humanity. The feeling of dread reverence which he inspired in the hearts of the most callous secured to him even immunity from the violence of brigands, who carefully avoided the man of God. In the State official the native saw nothing but a man who strove to bend the will of the conquered race to suit his own. A Royal Decree or the sound of the cornet would not have been half so effective as the elevation of the Holy Cross before the fanatical majority, who became an easy prey to fantastic promises of eternal bliss, or the threats of everlasting perdition.

Nor is this assertion by any means chimerical, for it has been proved on several occasions, notably in the attempt to raise troops to drive out the British in 1763, and in the campaign against the Sultan of Sulu in 1876. But, since the monastic Cavite conspiracy of 1872, the Friars had, undoubtedly, been losing ground amongst a certain class. Many natives were driven to emigrate, whilst others were emerging yearly by

hundreds from their mental obscurity. Already the intellectual struggle for freedom from mystic enthrallment had commenced without injury to faith in things really divine.

Each decade brought some reform in the relations between the parish priest and the people. Link by link the chain of priestcraft encompassing the development of the Colony was yielding to natural causes. The most enlightened natives themselves were beginning to understand that their spiritual wants were not the only care of the priests, and that the aim of the Church, through its satellites, was to monopolize all in the world worth having, and to subordinate to their common will all beyond their mystic circle. The Romish Church owes its power to the uniformity of precept and practice of the vast majority of its members, and it is precisely because this was the reverse in political Spain, where statesmen are divided into a dozen or more groups with distinct policies—that the Church was practically unassailable. In the same way, all the friars of a corporation are so closely united, that a quarrel with one of them brought the enmity and opposition of his whole community. The Progressists, therefore, who combated ecclesiastical preponderance in the Philippines, demanded the retirement of the friars to conventual reclusion or missions, and the appointment of *clérigos*, or secular clergymen belonging to no order or association, to the vicarages and curacies. By such a change it was anticipated abuses could have been remedied, for a misunderstanding with a *clérigo* vicar would only have provoked a single-handed encounter.

That a priest should have been practically a Government agent in his locality would not have been contested in the abstract, had he not, as a consequence, assumed the powers of the old Roman Censors, who exercised the most dreaded function of the *Regium Morum*. Spanish opinion, however, was very much divided as to the political safety of strictly confining the friars to their religious duties. It was doubted by some whether any State authority could ever gain the confidence of the native, or repress his inherent inclinations like the friar, who led by superstitious teaching, and held the conscience by an invisible cord through the abstract medium of the confessional. However this might be, it was felt that a change in the then existing system of semi-sacerdotal Government was desirable to give more vigorous scope to the budding intelligence of the minority, in the hope that the majority might ere long claim its benefits.

Emerging from the lowest ranks of society, with no training whatever but that of the seminary, it was natural to suppose that these Spanish priests would have been more capable, than ambitious political men of the world, of blending their ideas with those of the native, and of forming closer associations with a rural population engaged in agricultural pursuits familiar to themselves in their own youth. Before the abolition of Convents in Spain, the priests were allowed to return there after ten years' residence in the Colony; since then they usually entered upon their new lives for the remainder of their days, so that they naturally strove to make the best of their social surroundings.

The Civil employé, as a rule, could feel no personal interest in his temporary native neighbours, his hopes being centred only in rising in the Civil Service there or elsewhere—Cuba or Porto Rico or where the ministerial wheel of fortune placed him.

The younger priests—narrow-minded and biased—those who had just entered into Provincial curacies—were frequently the greater bigots. Enthusiastic in their calling, they pursued with ardour their mission of proselytism without experience of the world. They entered the Islands with the zeal of youth, bringing with them the impression imparted to them in Spain, that they were sent to make a moral conquest of savages. In the course of years, after repeated rebuffs, and the obligation to participate in the affairs of everyday life in all its details, their rigidity of principle relaxed, and they became more tolerant towards those with whom they necessarily came in contact.

The Spanish parish priest was consulted by the native in all matters; he was, by force of circumstances, often compelled to become an architect—to build the church in his adopted village—an engineer, to make or mend roads, and more frequently a doctor. His word was paramount in his parish, and in his residence he dispensed with that stern severity of conventual discipline to which he had been accustomed in the Peninsula. Hence it was really here that his mental capacity was developed—his manners improved—and that the raw sacerdotal peasant was converted into the man of thought, study and talent—occasionally into a gentleman. In his own vicinity, when isolated from European residents, he was practically the representative of the Government and of the white race as well as of social order. His theological knowledge was brought to bear upon the most secular subjects. His thoughts necessarily expanded as the exclusiveness

of his religious vocation yielded to the realization of a social position and political importance of which he had never entertained an idea in his native country.

So large was the party opposed to the continuance of priestly influence in the Colony, that a six months' resident would not fail to hear of the many iniquities with which the Friars in general were reproached. If self-indulgence is to be accounted a sin, then they were sinful indeed. And it would be contrary to fact too, to pretend that the bulk of them supported their teaching by personal example. I have been acquainted with a great number of the priests and their offspring too, in spite of their vow of chastity ; whilst many lived in comparative luxury, notwithstanding their vow of poverty.

There was Father Juan T——, of Malolos, whose son, my friend, was a prominent lawyer. Father S——, of Bugason, had a whole family living in his parish. Archbishop P—— had a daughter frequently seen on the *Paseo de Santa Lucia*. The late parish priest of Lipa, Father B——, whom I knew, had a son whom I saw in 1893. The late parish priest of Santa Cruz, Father M—— L——, got his spiritual flock to petition against his being made prior of his order in Manila so that he should not have to leave his women. I was intimately acquainted and resided more than once with a very mixed up family in the south of Negros Island. My host was the son of a secular clergyman ; his wife and sister-in-law were the daughters of a friar ; this sister-in-law was the mistress of a friar ; my host had a son who was married to another friar's daughter, and a daughter who was the wife of a foreigner. In short, bastards of the friars are to be found everywhere in the Islands. Regarding this merely as the natural outcome of the celibate rule, I wish thereby to show that the pretended sanctity of the clergy in the Philippines was an absurdity and that the monks were in no degree less frail than mankind in common.

The mysterious deaths of General Solano (in August, 1860), and of Zamora, the Bishop-elect of Cebú (in 1873), occurred so opportunely for Philippine monastic ambition that little doubt existed in the public mind as to who were the real criminals. When I first arrived in Manila, nearly twenty years ago, a fearful crime was still being commented on. Father Piernavieja, formerly parish priest of San Miguel de Mayumo, had recently committed a second murder. His first victim was a native youth, his second a native woman *enceinte*.

The public voice could not be raised very loudly there against the priests, but the scandal was so great that the criminal friar was sent to another province—Cavite—where he still celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Eucharist. Nearly two decades afterwards—in January 1897—this rascal met with a terrible death at the hands of the rebels. He was in captivity, and having been appointed “Bishop” in a rebel diocese, to save his life he accepted the mock dignity, but unfortunately for himself he betrayed the confidence of his captors and collected information concerning their movements, plans, and strongholds for remittance to his community. In expiation of his treason he was bound to a post under the tropical sun and left there to die. See how the public in Spain are gulled! In a Málaga newspaper this individual was referred to as a “venerable figure, worthy of being placed high up on “an altar, before which all Spaniards should prostrate themselves and “adore him. As a *religieux* he was a most worthy minister of the “Lord; as a patriot he was a hero.”

Within my recollection, too, a Friar absconded from a Luzon Island parish with a large sum of parochial funds, and was never heard of again.

I well remember another interesting character of the monastic orders. He had been parish priest in a Zambales province town, but intrigues with a *soi-disant* *cousine* brought him under ecclesiastical arrest at the convent of his order in Manila. Thence he escaped, and came over to Hongkong, where I made his acquaintance in 1890. He told me he had started life in an honest way as a shoemaker's boy, but was taken away from his trade to be put in the seminary. His mind seemed to be a blank on any branch of study beyond shoemaking and church ritual. He pretended that he had come over to Hongkong to seek work, but in reality he was awaiting his *cousine*, whom he rejoined on the way to Europe, where, I believe, he became a *garçon de café* in France.

In 1893 there was another great public scandal brought about by the Friars, who were openly accused of having printed the seditious proclamations whose authorship was attributed to the natives. The plan of the Friars was to start the idea of an intended revolt, in order that they might be the first in the field to quell it, and thus be able to again proclaim to the most Catholic nation the absolute necessity of their continuance in the Islands for the security of Spanish sovereignty.

But the plot was discovered ; the actual printer, a friar, mysteriously disappeared, and the courageous Governor-General Despujols was, through monastic influence, recalled.

In June, 1888, some cases of personal effects belonging to a friar were consigned to the care of an intimate friend of mine, whose guest I was at the time. They had become soaked with sea-water before he received them, and a neighbouring priest requested him to open the packages and do what he could to save the contents. I assisted my friend in this task, and amongst the friar's personal effects we were surprised to find intermixed with prayer-books, scapularies, missals, prints of saints, etc., about a dozen most disgustingly obscene double-picture slides for a stereoscope. What an entertainment for a guide in morals ! This same friar had held a vicarage before in another province, but having become an habitual drunkard, he was removed to Manila, and there appointed a confessor. From Manila he had just been again sent to take charge of the *cure of souls*.

I knew a money-grabbing parish priest—a friar—who publicly announced raffles from the pulpit of the church from which he preached morality and devotion. On one occasion a \$200 watch was put up for \$500—at another time he raffled dresses for the women. Under the pretext of being a pious institution, he established a society of women, called the Association of St. Joseph (*Cofradia de San José*), upon whom he imposed the very secular duties of domestic service in the convent and raffle-ticket hawking. He had the audacity to dictate to a friend of mine—a planter, Don Leandro L——, the value of the gifts he was to make him, and when the planter was at length wearied of his importunities, he conspired with a Spaniard to deprive my friend of his estate, alleging that he was not the real owner. Failing in this, he stirred up the petty Governor and headmen against him. The petty Governor was urged to litigation, and when he received an unfavourable sentence, the priest, enraged at the abortive result of his malicious intrigues, actually left his vicarage to accompany his litigious *protégé* to the chief judge of the province in quest of a reversion of the sentence.

I remember only too well a certain native Father L——, a parish priest in Visayas, who was accused of several crimes, one of which was that of having murdered a man for lust. On the 17th of August, 1881, I arrived at the Town Hall of Marayo, and demanded horses to continue

my journey. Whilst I was waiting there, a crowd assembled and threatened to take my life. One man raised his knife when I turned my back, but I was in time to face him with my revolver, and he sneaked off.

After a deal of wrangling and shouting, I managed to clear the Town Hall, and it was only the next day that I could get to know the cause of the tumult. It appeared that a Spanish officer named Perdigon had been commissioned to capture the delinquent Father L—, and the priest's family, in order to subvert justice, had basely spread the report that Perdigon was possessed of an evil spirit. Hence the family incited the natives to kill any European who chanced to travel along that coast in case he should turn out to be the officer in question.

After midnight I left the Town Hall and took refuge in a hut, as hospitality had been refused me by the parish priest. On arriving at the sugar plantation of a Spanish acquaintance, this person facetiously enquired of the guide who had to take back the horses—"Who is the stranger?" "Perdigon" replied the man. "How is it he did not eat you?" continued the Spaniard. "Well, I managed to keep out of his way," rejoined the native, but I did not, myself, perceive that he was taking any special precautions. The wicked priest, being a native, was pursued, and I happened to be in Valladolid (Negros) later on when Father L— was landed from Guimarrás Island, where he had been captured in company with a mistress.

A priest of evil propensities brought only misery to his parish and aroused a feeling of odium against the Spanish friars in general. As incumbents they held the native in contempt. He who should be the parishioner was treated despotically as the subject whose life, liberty, property, and civil rights were in his sacerdotal lord's power. And that power was not unfrequently exercised, for if a native refused to yield to his demands, or did not contribute with sufficient liberality to a religious feast, or failed to come to Mass, or protected the virtue of his daughter, or neglected the genuflection and kissing of hands, or was out of the priest's party in the municipal affairs of the parish, or in any other trivial way became a *persona non grata* at the "convent," he and his family would become the pastor's sheep marked for sacrifice. As Government agent it was within his arbitrary power to attach his signature to or withhold it from any municipal document. From time to time he could give full vent to his animosity by secretly

denouncing to the civil authorities as “inconvenient in the town” all those whom he wished to get rid of. He had simply to send an official advice to the Governor of the province, who forwarded it to the Governor-General, stating that he had reason to believe that the persons mentioned in the margin were disloyal, immoral or whatever it might be, and recommend their removal from the neighbourhood. A native so named suddenly found at his door a patrol of the civil guard who escorted him, with his elbows tied together, from prison to prison, up to the capital town and thence to Manila. Finally, without trial or sentence, he was banished to some distant island of the Archipelago. He might one day return to find his family ruined, or he might as often spend his last days in misery alone. Sometimes a native who had privately heard of his “denunciation” became a *remontado*, that is to say he fled to the mountains to lead a bandit’s life where the evils of a debased civilization could not reach him. Banishment in these circumstances was not a mere transportation to another place, but was attended with all the horrors of a cruel captivity, of which I have been an eye witness. From the foregoing it may be readily understood how the conduct of the regular clergy was the primary cause of the Rebellion of 1896.

The Hierarchy of the Philippines consists of one Archbishop in Manila, and four Suffragan Bishoprics, respectively of Nueva Segovia, Cebú, Jaro, and Nueva Cáceres.

The Jesuits were expelled from these Islands in the year 1768, by virtue of an Apostolic Brief¹ of Pope Clement XIV., but were permitted to return in 1852, on the understanding that they would confine their labours to scholastic education and the establishment of missions amongst uncivilized tribes. Consequently, in Manila they refounded their school—the Municipal Athenæum—a mission house and a Meteorological Observatory, whilst in many parts of Mindanao Island they have established missions, where they are under the belief that they have converted Mussulmans to Christianity. The Jesuits, compared with the members of the other orders, are very superior men,

¹ The Royal Decree setting forth the execution of this Brief was printed in Madrid in 1773. This politic-religious Order was banished from Portugal and Spain in 1767. In Madrid, on the night of the 31st March, the Royal Edict was read to the members of the Company of Jesus, who were allowed time to pack up their most necessary chattels and leave for the coast, where they were hurriedly embarked for Rome. The same Order was suppressed for ever in France in 1764.

and their fraternity includes a few, but the only, learned ecclesiastics who came to this Colony. Several Chinese also have been admitted to holy orders, two of them having become Austin Friars.¹

The first native Friars date their admission from the year 1700, since when there have been sixteen of the Corporation of Saint Augustine. Subsequently they were excluded from the corporations, and were only admitted to holy orders as curates to assist parish vicars, as chaplains, and in other minor offices. Up to the year 1872, native priests were appointed to vicarages, but in consequence of their *alleged* implication in the Cavite insurrection of that year, their benefices, as they became vacant, were given to Spanish Friars, whose corporations were established in Manila.

The Austin Friars were the religious pioneers in these Islands; then followed the Dominicans; and after them came the Franciscans. The last to arrive were the Recoletos, who, however, are merely a branch of the St. Augustine Order, the Recoletos being known as the unshod, and their *confrères* as the shod fathers of the same institution. In Cebú, the Paul Fathers, or followers of Saint Vincent de Paul, were employed in scholastic work, the same as the Jesuits were in Manila. In 1886, Capuchin Friars—the lowest type of European Catholic sacerdotal orders in the East—were sent to the Caroline Islands. The immediate result of their arrival is alluded to in Chap. III.

The Church was financially supported by the State to the extent of about three-quarters of a million dollars per annum.

The following are some of the most interesting items taken from “The Budget for 1888,” viz. :—

SANCTORUM or Church tax of $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents (*i.e.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ reales)

on each *Cédula personal*, say on 2,760,613 Cédulas

in 1888, less 4% cost of collection - - - \$496,910.00

The Friars appointed to incumbencies received in former times tithes from the Spaniards, and a Church tax from the natives computed by the amount of tribute paid. Tithe payment (*Diézmós prediales*) by the Spaniards became almost obsolete, and the *Sanctorum* tax on *Cédulas* was paid to the Church through the Treasury.

There were priests in missions and newly formed parishes, where the domiciled inhabitants were so few that the *Sanctorum* tax on the aggregate of the *Cédulas* was insufficient for their support. These

¹ Vide “Catálogo de los Religiosos de N. S. P. San Agustin,” pub. Manila 1864.

missionaries were allowed salaries ranging from \$600 to \$2,200 per annum (the parish priest or missionary of Vergara, Davao Province, for instance, received \$2,200 a year).

A project was under consideration to value the incumbencies, and classify them (like the Courts of Justice, *vide* page 262), with the view of apportioning to each a fixed income payable by the Treasury in lieu of accounting to the Church for the exact amount of the *Sanctorum*.

By Decree of Governor-General Terrero, dated November 23rd, 1885, the State furnished free labour (by natives who did not pay poll tax, *vide* page 247) for Church architectural works, provided it was made clear that the cost of such labour could not be covered by the surplus funds of the *Sanctorum*.

<i>Cathedral in Manila.</i>								\$	cts.
Archbishop's salary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,000	00
Other salaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,300	00
„ expenses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,000	00
								<hr/>	
								\$55,300	00

<i>Bishoprics.</i>								\$	cts.
Nueva Segovia (Ilocos)	-							Four Bishops, each with a salary of	
Cebú	-	-	-						
Jaro (Yloilo)	-	-	-						
Nueva Cáceres (Camarines)	-								
Court of Arches (amount contributed by the State ¹)	-							5,000	00
Chaplain of Los Baños	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	00
Sulu Mission	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000	00

<i>Capuchin Friars.</i>									
Mission House in Manila	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,700	00
For the Caroline and Pelew Islands, there were 12 Capuchins paid by Government—6 @ \$300 each and 6 @ \$500 each per annum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,800	00
Transport of Missionaries estimated at about, per annum	-							10,000	00
The anticipated <i>total</i> State outlay for the support of the Church, Missions, Monasteries, Convents, etc., <i>including the above and all other items</i> for the financial year of 1888 was	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	724,634	50

¹ For any further expense this might incur, 3% was deducted from the parish priests' emoluments.

Moreover, the religious Corporations possessed large private revenues. Their investments in Hongkong are extensive. The Austin and Dominican Friars in particular held very valuable real property in the provinces near Manila, which was rented out to the native agriculturists on tyrannical conditions. On the Laguna de Bay shore the rent was raised, as the natives, at their own expense, improved their holdings. Leases were granted for the nominal term of three years, but the receipts given for the rent were very cunningly worded. Some have been shown to me ; neither the amount of money paid, nor the extent of the land rented, nor its situation was mentioned on the document, so that the tenant was constantly at the mercy of the owners. The native planters were much incensed at the treatment they received from these landowners, and their numerous well-founded complaints formed part of the general outcry against the priesthood. The bailiffs of these corporation lands were unordained brothers of the Order. They resided in the Estate Houses, and by courtesy were styled "fathers" by the natives. They were under certain religious vows, but not being entitled to say Mass, they were termed "legos," or ignorant men, by their own Order.

The clergy also derived a very large portion of their incomes from commissions on the sale of *cédulas*, sales of Papal Bulls, masses, pictures, books, chaplets and indulgences, marriage, burial and baptismal fees, benedictions, donations touted for after the crops were raised, legacies to be paid for in masses, remains of wax candles left in the church by the faithful, fees for getting souls out of purgatory, alms, etc. The surplus revenues over and above parochial requirements were supposed to augment the common Church funds in Manila. The Corporations were consequently immensely wealthy, and their power and influence were in consonance with that wealth.

Each Order had its procurator in Madrid, who took up the cudgels in defence of his Corporation's interest in the Philippines whenever this was menaced. On the other hand, the Church, as a body politic, dispensed no charity, but received all. It was always begging ; always above civil laws and taxes ; claimed immunity, proclaimed poverty, and inculcated in others charity to itself.

Most of the parish priests—Spanish or native—were very hospitable to travellers, and treated them with great kindness. Amongst them, there were some few misanthropes and churlish characters, who

did not care to be troubled by anything outside the region of their vocation, but upon the whole I found them remarkably complaisant.

In Spain there were training colleges of the three Communities in Valladolid, Ocaña and Monte Agudo, respectively, for young novices intended to be sent to the Philippines, the last Spanish Colony where Friars held vicarages.

They were usually taken from the peasantry and families of lowly station. As a rule they had little or no secular education, and regarding them apart from their religious training, they might be considered a very ignorant class. Amongst them the Franciscan Friars appeared to be the least—and the Austins the most—polished of all.

* * * * *

The ecclesiastical archives of the Philippines abound with proofs of the bitter and tenacious strife sustained, not only between the civil and Church authorities, but even amongst the religious communities themselves.

Each Order was so intensely jealous of the other, that one is almost led to ponder whether the final goal of all could have been identical.

All voluntarily faced death with the same incentive, whilst amicable fellowship in this world seemed an impossibility. The first Bishop (*vide* page 55) struggled in vain to create a religious monopoly in the Philippines for the exclusive benefit of the Augustine Order. It has been shown in Chap. V. how ardent was the hatred which the Jesuits and the other religious orders mutually entertained for each other. Each sacred fraternity laboured incessantly to gain the ascendancy in the conquered territories, and their divine calling served for nothing in palliating the acrimony of their reciprocal accusations and recriminations.

For want of space, I can only refer to a few of these disputes.

The Austin Friars attributed to the Jesuits the troubles with the Mussulmans of Mindanao and Sulu, and, in their turn, the Jesuits protested against what they conceived to be the bad policy of the Government, adopted under the influence of the other Orders in Manila. So distinct were their interests, that the Augustine chroniclers refer to the other Orders as *different religions*.

In 1778, the Province of Pangasinan was spiritually administered by the Dominicans, whilst that of Zambales was allotted to the Recoletos. The Dominicans, therefore, proposed to the Recoletos to cede

Zambales to them, because it was repugnant to have to pass through Recoletos territory going from Manila to their own province! The Recoletos were offered Mindoro Island in exchange, which they refused, until the Archbishop compelled them to yield. Disturbances then arose in Zambales, the responsibility of which was thrown on the Dominicans by their rival Order, and the Recoletos finally succeeded in regaining their old province by intrigue.

During the Governorship of Count Lizárraga (1709-1715), the Aragonese and Castillian priests quarrelled about the ecclesiastical preferments.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Bishop-elect of Cebú, Fray Pedro Saez de la Vega Lanzaverde, refused to take possession, because the nomination was *in partibus*. He objected also that the Bishopric was merely one in perspective and not yet a reality. The See remained vacant whilst the contumacious priest lived in Mexico. Fray Sebastian de Jorronda was subsequently appointed to administer the Bishopric, but also refused, until he was coerced into submission by the Supreme Court (1718).

In 1767 the Austin Friars refused to admit the episcopal visits, and exhibited such a spirit of independence, that Pope Benedict XIV. was constrained to issue a Bull to exhort them to obey, admonishing them for their insubordination.

The Friars of late years were subject to a visiting priest—the Provincial—in all matters *de vita et moribus*—to the Bishop of the diocese in all affairs of spiritual dispensation, and to the Governor-General as vice-royal patron in all that concerned the relations of the Church to the Civil Government.¹

An observant traveller, unacquainted with the historical antecedents of the friars in the Philippines, could not fail to be impressed by the estrangement of religious orders, whose sacred mission, if genuine, ought to have formed an inseverable bond of alliance and good fellowship.

¹ "Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias,"—Ley 46, tit. 14, lib. 1º, forbids priests and members of any religious body to take part in matters of Civil Government.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

“*Mañana.*”

AFTER the first occupation of these Islands, the Supreme rule has been usually confided for indefinite periods to military men ; but circumstances have frequently placed naval officers, magistrates, the Supreme Court, and even ecclesiastics at the head of the local government.

Of late years the common practice has been to appoint a Lieutenant-General as Governor, with the local rank of Captain-General during his three years' term of office. The first exception to this recent rule was made (1883-1885) when Joaquin Jovellar, a Captain-General in Spain was specially empowered to establish some notable reforms—the good policy of which was doubtful. In 1897 another Captain-General in Spain, Fernando Primo de Rivera, held office in Manila.

Since the conquest, the Colony has been divided and sub-divided into provinces and military districts as they gradually yielded to the Spanish sway. Such districts, called *Encomiendas*,¹ were then rented out to *Encomenderos*, who exercised little scruple in their rigorous exactions from the natives. Some of the *Encomenderos* acquired wealth during the terms of their holdings, whilst others became victims to the revenge of their subjects. They must indeed have been bold enterprising men who, in those days, would have taken charge of districts distant from the Capital. They were frequently called upon to aid the Central Government with vessels, men, and arms against the attacks of common enemies. Against the incursions of the Mussulmans—necessity made them warriors—if they were not so by taste—civil engineers to open communications within their districts—administrators,

¹ In the early days of Mexican conquest, the conquered land was apportioned to the warriors under the name of *Itepartimentos*, but such divisions included the absolute possession of the natives as slaves. Vide *La vida y escritos del P. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapa*, by Antonio Maria Fabié, Colonial Minister in the Cánovas Cabinet of 1890, Madrid.

judges and all that represented social order. *Encomiendas* were sometimes given to Spaniards as rewards for high services rendered to the commonwealth,¹ although favouritism, or (in later years) purchase money more commonly secured the vacancies, and the holders were quite expected to make fortunes in the manner they thought most convenient to themselves.

The *Encomenderos* were, in the course of time, superseded by Judicial Governors, called *Alcaldes*, who received small salaries, from £60 per annum and upwards, but they were allowed to trade. The right to trade—called “*indulto de comercio*”—was sold to the *Alcaldes-Governors*, except those of Tondo (now Manila Province), Zamboanga, Cavite, Nueva Ecija, Islas Batanes and Antique, whose trading right was included in the emoluments of office.

In 1840 Eusebio Mazorea wrote thus²:—“The salary paid to the
“ Chiefs of Provinces who enjoy the right of trade is more or less \$300
“ per annum, and after deducting the amount paid for the trading
“ right, which in some provinces amounts to five-sixths of the whole—
“ as in Pangasinan; and in others to the whole of the salary—as in
“ Caraga; and discounting again the taxes, it is not possible to
“ honestly conceive how the appointment can be so much sought
“ after. There are candidates up to the grade of Brigadier who
“ relinquish a \$3,000 salary to pursue their hopes and projects in
“ Governorship.”

This system obtained for many years, and the abuses went on increasing. The *Alcaldes* practically monopolized the trade of their districts, unduly taking advantage of their Governmental position to hinder the profitable traffic of the natives and bring it all into their own hands. They tolerated no such thing as competition; they arbitrarily fixed their own purchasing prices, and sold at current rates. Due to the scarcity of silver in the interior, the natives often paid their tribute to the Royal Treasury in produce—chiefly rice—which was received into the Royal Granaries at a ruinously low valuation, and accounted for to the State at its real value; the difference being

¹ Juan Salcedo, Legaspi's grandson (*vide* Chaps. II. and IV.) was rewarded with several *Encomiendas* on the west coast of Luzon, where he levied a tribute on the natives whom he subdued.

² “Noticias de Filipinas,” by Don Eusebio Mazorea. Inedited *MS.* dated 1840, in the Archives of Bauan Convent, Province of Batangas.

the illicit profit made by the Alcalde. Many of these functionaries exercised their power most despotically in their own circuits, disposing of the natives' labour and chattels without remuneration, and not unfrequently for their own ends,—invoking the King's name, which imbued the native with a feeling of awe, as if His Majesty were some supernatural being.

In 1810 Thomas Comin wrote as follows:—"In order to be a Chief of a Province in these Islands, no training or knowledge or special services are necessary; all persons are fit and admissible It is quite a common thing to see a barber or a Governor's lackey, a sailor or a deserter, suddenly transformed into an Alcalde, Administrator, and Captain of the forces of a populous province without any counsellor but his rude understanding, or any guide but his passions."¹ After centuries of such misrule, the Filipino lost respect for the white face and disloyalty to the dominant power was checked more by fear than by esteem.

By Royal Decree of 1844, Government officials were thenceforth strictly prohibited to trade under pain of removal from office.

In the year 1850, there were 34 Provinces, and two Political Military Commandancies. Until June, 1886, the Government of a Province under civil rule still remained in the hands of the Chief Judge of the same—the *Alcalde Mayor*. This created a strange anomaly; for in the event of the Judicial-Governor issuing an edict prejudicial to the commonweal of his circuit, an appeal against his measure had to be made to himself as Judge. Then if it were taken to the central authority in Manila, it was sent back for "information" to the Judge-Governor, without independent inquiry being made in the first instance, hence protest against his acts was fruitless.

Under the Regency of Queen Maria Christina, a great reform was introduced by a Decree dated in Madrid on the 26th of February, 1886, to take effect on the 1st of June following.

¹ The text reads thus:—"Para ser jefe de Provincia en estas islas no se requiere carrera, conocimientos ni servicios determinados, todos son aptos y admisibles Es cosa bastante comun ver á un peluquero ó lacayo de un gobernador, á un marinero y á un desertor transformado de repente en Alcalde-Mayor, sub-delegado y Capitan á guerra de una Provincia populosa, sin otro consejero que su rudo entendimiento, ni mas guía que sus pasiones." Thomas Comin was an employé of the "Compañía de Filipinas" (*vide* page 283), and subsequently Spanish Consul-General in Lisbon.

Eighteen Civil Governorships were created, and Alcaldes' functions were confined to their Judgeships; thus the anomaly of the chief ruler of a province and the arbiter of legal questions raised therein being one and the same person henceforth disappeared. Under this recent law, the Civil Governor was assisted by a Secretary, so that two new official posts were created in each of these provinces.

The Archipelago, including Sulu, was divided into 19 Civil Provincial Governments, 4 Military General Divisions, 43 Military Provincial Districts, and 4 Provincial Governments under Naval Officers, forming a total of 70 Divisions and Sub-Divisions.

GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

	\$	cts.
The Governor-General received a salary of - - -	40,000	00
The Central Government Office, called " <i>Gobierno General</i> " with its Staff of Officials and all expenses - - -	43,708	00
The General Government Centre was assisted in the General Administration of the Islands by two other Governing Bodies, namely :		
The General Direction of Civil Administration -	29,277	34
The Administrative Council - - - - -	28,502	00
The Chief of the General Direction received a salary of \$12,000, with an allowance for official visits to the Provinces of \$500 per annum.		
The Council was composed of three Members, each at a salary of \$4,700, besides a Secretary and officials.		

The above-mentioned 70 divisions and sub-divisions were
the following, namely :—

Civil Governments.

MANILA P ^{CE} .—Salary of Civil Governor \$5,000.—Total cost	20,248	00
<i>Carried forward</i> -	\$161,735	34

\$ cts.
Brought forward - 161,735 34

ALBAY PCE	-	} Eight First Class Governments :— Salary of each Civil Governor \$4,500 Total cost of each Government 8,900
BATANGAS	-	
BULACAN	-	
ILOCOS NORTE	-	
ILOCOS SUR	-	
LA LAGUNA	-	
PAMPANGA	-	
PANGASINAN	-	

8 First Class Governments cost 71,200 00

BATAAN	-	} Seven Second Class Governments :— Salary of each Civil Governor \$4,000 Total cost of each Government 7,660
CAMARINES NORTE	-	
CAMARINES SUR	-	
MINDORO	-	
NUEVA ECIJA	-	
TAYABAS	-	
ZAMBALES	-	

7 Second Class Governments cost 53,620 00

CAGAYAN	-	} Three Third Class Governments :— Salary of each Civil Governor \$3,500 Total cost of each Government 6,700
ISABELA	-	
NUEVA VIZCAYA	-	

3 Third Class Governments cost 20,100 00

Military General Governments.

GENERAL DIVISION OF S. VISAYAS, under a Brigadier and Staff	- - - - -	10,975 00
GENERAL DIVISION OF N. VISAYAS, under a Brigadier and Staff	- - - - -	10,975 00
GENERAL DIVISION OF MINDANAO, under a Brigadier and Staff	- - - - -	17,825 00
GENERAL DIVISION OF CAVITE, under a Brigadier and Staff	- - - - -	6,596 66

Carried forward - 353,027 00

\$ *cts.*
Brought forward - 353,027 00

Military Provinces and Districts.

SULU	-	-	-	Under a Colonel and Staff	-	-	7,240 00
YLOILO	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	4,410 00
COTOBATTO	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	5,426 66
EAST CAROLINES AND PELEW ISLANDS				" Lieut.-Colonel and Staff	-	-	4,900 00
WEST CAROLINES AND PELEW ISLANDS				" " "	-	-	5,970 00
CEBÚ	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	3,500 00
CÁPIZ	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	3,500 00
MISÁMIS	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	4,816 66
LADRONE ISLANDS	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	4,975 00
ZAMBOANGA	-	-	-	" Major and Staff	-	-	3,856 66
SURIGAO	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	4,356 66
DAVAO	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	4,156 66
DAPITAN	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	2,692 00
ZUCURAN	-	-	-	" " "	-	-	2,692 00

LA UNION, ANTIQUE, SÁMAR, LEYTE, ABRA, BOJOL, TÁRLAC, NEGROS, MORONG	}	Each under a Major.—	
Nine Districts @ \$3,040		27,360 00	

BATANES, CALAMIANES, ROM- BLON, BENGUET, LEPANTO, BURIAS, INFANTE, PRIN- CIPE, BONTOC, CONCEPCION	}	Each under a Captain.—	
Ten Districts @ \$1,980		19,800 00	

CAGAYAN (Mindanao), BILING, NUEVA VIZCAYA, SASANGANI (recently occupied Districts of Palaúan)	}	Each under a Captain.—	
Five Districts @ \$1,792 (vide end of Chap. X.)		8,960 00	

SIASSI, BONGAO, TATOAN	Each under a Captain.—Three	
Districts @ \$2,032	-	6,096 00

Carried forward - 477,735 30

									\$	cts.
									Brought forward	- 477,735 30
ESCALANTE ¹	under a Lieutenant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		1,525 00
MASBATE	„ Cavalry Sub-Lieutenant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		1,450 00

Provincial Governments under Naval Officers, Officers in Charge of Naval Stations as ex-officio Governors.

CORREGIDOR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,821 00
BALÁBAC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,960 00
ISABELA DE BASILAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,276 66
PALAUAN (Puerta Princesa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,910 00

Total cost of General Government of the Islands \$500,677 96

Deduct—

Officers' Salaries, &c. included in Army	
Estimates - - - - -	\$145,179 96
Officers' Salaries, &c. included in Navy	
Estimates - - - - -	14,640 00
	<hr/> 159,819 96
	<hr/> \$340,858 00

As it was intended, in due course, to appoint a Civil Governor to every province in the Islands, it may be interesting to note here the principal duties and qualifications of this functionary.

He was the representative of the Governor-General, whose orders and decrees he had to publish and execute at his own discretion. He could not absent himself from his province without permission. He had

¹ Transferred to Bais in January, 1889, in consequence of the rise of brigandage in the S.E. of Negros Island.

The brigands, under the leadership of a native named Camartin and another, who declared themselves prophets, plundered the planters along that coast, and committed such notorious crimes that troops had to be dispatched there under the command of the famous Lieutenant-Colonel Villa-Abrille. The Governor-General Valeriano Weyler went to the Visayas Islands and personally directed the operations.

to maintain order, veto petitions for arms' licences, hold under his orders and dispose of the Civil Guard, Carabineers and local guards. He could suspend the pay for ten days of any subordinate official who failed to do his duty. He could temporarily suspend subordinates in their functions with justifiable cause, and propose to the Governor-General their definite removal. He had to preside at all elections of native petty Governors and town authorities, whom he could also remove at his discretion—to bring delinquents to justice—to decree the detention on suspicion of any individual, and place him at the disposal of the chief judge within three days after his capture—to dictate orders for the government of the towns and villages—to explain to the petty Governors the true interpretation of the law and regulations.

He was chief of police, and could impose fines without the intervention of judicial authority up to \$50 ; and in the event of the mulcted person being unable to pay, he could order his imprisonment at the rate of one day's detention for each half-dollar of the fine—it was provided, however, that the imprisonment could not exceed 30 days in any case. He had to preside at the ballot for military conscription, but he could delegate this duty to his Secretary, or, failing him, to the Administrator. Where no harbour-master had been appointed, the Civil Governor acted as such. He had the care of the primary instruction ; and it was his duty specially to see that the native scholars were taught the Spanish language. Land concessions ; improvements tending to increase the wealth of the province ; permits for felling timber ; and the collection of excise taxes were all under his care. He had also to furnish statistics relating to the labour poll-tax ; draw up the provincial budget ; render provincial and municipal accounts, etc., all of which must be counter-signed under the word *Intervine* by the Secretary. He was provincial postmaster-general, chief of telegraph service, prisons, charities, board of health, public works, woods and forests, mines, agriculture and industry.

Under no circumstances could he dispose of the public funds, which were in the care of the Administrator and Interventor, and he was not entitled to any percentages (as Alcalde-Governors formerly were), or any emoluments whatsoever further than his fixed salary.

A Governor must be a Spaniard over 30 years of age. It is curious to note from its political significance, that among the numerous classes

of persons eligible for a Civil Governorship, were those who had been Members of the Spanish Parliament or Senate during one complete session.

Upon the whole, a Provincial Governor passed life very comfortably if he did not go out of his way to oppress his subjects and create discord. His tranquillity, nevertheless, was always dependent upon his maintaining a good understanding with the priesthood of his district, and his conformity with the demands of the friars. If he should have the misfortune to seriously cross their path, it would bring him a world of woe, and finally his downfall. There have been Provincial Governors who in reality maintained their posts by clerical influence, whilst others who have exercised a more independent spirit—who have set aside Church interests to serve those of the State, with which they were intrusted—have fallen victims to sacerdotal intrigue; for the subordinates of the hierarchy had power to overthrow as well as to support those who were appointed to their districts. Few improvements appear to have been made in the provinces by the initiative of the local Governors, nor did they seem to take any special interest in commercial and agricultural advancement. This lack of interest was somewhat excusable and comprehensible, however, seeing that after they were appointed, and even though they governed well within the strict attributions of their office, they were constantly expecting that a ministerial change or the fall of a single minister might remove them from their posts, or that the undermining influence of favouritism might succeed in accomplishing their withdrawal. It was natural, therefore, that they should have been indifferent about the fomenting of new agricultural enterprises, of opening tracks for bringing down timber, of facilitating trade, or of in any way stimulating the development of the resources of a province when the probability existed that they would never have the personal satisfaction of seeing the result of their efforts.

Some Governors with whom I am personally acquainted have, in spite of all discouragement, studied the wants of their provinces, but to no purpose. Their estimates for road-making and mending, bridge-building and public works generally, were shelved in Manila, whilst the local funds (*Fondos locales*), which ought to have been expended in the localities where they were collected, were seized by the authorities in the Capital and applied to other purposes.

An annual statement of one province will be sufficient, as an example, to illustrate the nature of this local tax :—

LOCAL FUNDS.¹—ALBAY PROVINCE.

Provincial Revenue.

	\$	cts.	\$	cts.
Stamps on Weights and Measures - - -	2,490	00		
Billiard Tax - - - - -	360	00		
Live stock credentials and transfers - -	136	00		
90 % of fines imposed for shirking forced labour - - - - -	1,500	00		
Tax in lieu of forced labour - - - - -	85,209	00		
Vehicle tax - - - - -	4,000	00		
			93,695	00

Municipal Revenue.

Tax paid by sellers in the public market place	7,050	00		
„ on slaughter of animals for food - -	12,098	00		
„ „ local sales of hemp (casual sellers, without hemp-dealers' annual licence)	40	00		
90 % of the Municipal fines - - - - -	260	00		
Local tax on Chinese - - - - -	294	00		
Surplus tax of 10% on tithes paid - -	70	00		
„ „ 10% on House property - -	310	00		
„ „ 10% on Industrial licences -	5,710	00		
„ „ 10% on Alcohol licences ¹ -	2,525	00		
			28,357	00
			\$122,052	00

In the same year this province contributed to the common funds of the Treasury a further sum of \$133,009.

There was in each town another local tax called “*Caja de Comunidad*,” contributed to by the townspeople to provide against any urgent necessity of the community, but it found its way to Manila and was misappropriated, like the *Fondos locales*.

¹ From the 1st January, 1889, the Government Financial year was made concurrent with the year of the Calendar.

In 1887 the parish priest of Bañan (Batangas Province) told me that although there must have been about \$300,000 paid into this fund up to the year 1882 by his parish alone, yet financial aid was refused by the Government during the cholera epidemic in that year.

There was not a dollar at the disposal of the Provincial Governor for local improvements. If a bridge broke down, so it remained for years; whilst thousands of travellers had to wade through the river unless a raft were put there at the expense of the very poorest people by order of the petty Governor of the nearest village. The "Tribunal," which served the double purpose of Town Hall and Dâk Bungalow for wayfarers, was often a hut of bamboo and palm leaves, whilst others which had been decent buildings generations gone by, lapsed into a wretched state of dilapidation. In some villages there was no Tribunal at all, and the official business had to be transacted in the municipal Governor's house. I first visited Calamba (on the Laguna de Bay shore) in 1880, and for fourteen years, to my knowledge, the headmen had to meet in a sugar store in lieu of a Tribunal. In San José de Buenavista, the capital town of Antique Province, the Town Hall was commenced in good style and left half finished during 15 years. Either some one for pity sake, or the headmen for their own convenience, went to the expense of thatching over half the unfinished structure. This half was therefore saved from utter ruin, whilst all but the stone walls of the remainder rotted away. So it continued until 1887, when the Government authorised a portion of this building to be restored.

As to the roads connecting the villages, quite 20% of them serve only for travellers on foot, on horse or on buffalo back at any time, and in the wet season certainly 60 % of all the Philippine highways are in too bad a state for any kind of passenger conveyance to pass with safety. In the wet season, many times I have made a sea journey in a prahu, simply because the high road near the coast had become a mud track, for want of macadamized stone and drainage, and only serviceable for transport by buffalo.

In the dry season the sun mended the roads, and the traffic over the baked clods reduced them more or less to dust, so that vehicles could pass.

Private property owners expended much time and money in the preservation of public roads, although a curious law existed prohibiting repairs to highways by non-official persons.

Every male adult inhabitant or resident (with certain exceptions) had to give the State fifteen days' labour per annum, or redeem that labour by payment (*vide* "Fiscal Reforms," page 248). Of course thousands of the most needy class preferred to give their fifteen days. This labour, and the cash paid by those who redeemed their obligation, were theoretically supposed to be employed in local improvements.

The Budget for 1888 showed only the sum of \$120,000 to be used in road-making and mending in the whole Archipelago.

It provided for a Chief Inspector of Public Works with a salary of \$6,500, aided by a staff composed of 48 technical and 82 non-technical subordinates.

As a matter of fact, the Provincial and District Governors were often urged by their Manila Chiefs not to encourage the employment of labour for local improvements, but to press the labouring class to pay the redemption tax to swell the central coffers, regardless of the corresponding misery and discomfort and loss to trade in the interior. But labour at the disposal of the Governor was not alone sufficient. There was no fund from which to defray the cost of materials; or, if these could be found without payment, some one must pay for the transport by buffaloes and carts and find the implements for the labourers' use. How could labourers' hands alone repair a bridge which had rotted away? To cut a log of wood for the public service would have necessitated communications with the Inspection of Woods and Forests and other centres and many months' delay.

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The system of controlling the action of one public servant by appointing another under him to supervise his work, has always found favour in Spain, and was adopted in this Colony. There were a great many Government employments of the kind which were merely sinecures. In many cases the pay was small, it is true, but the labour was often of proportionately smaller value compared with that pay. With very few exceptions, all the Government Offices in Manila were closed to the public during half the ordinary working day—the afternoon—and many of the Civil Service officials made their appearance at their desks about ten o'clock in the morning, retiring shortly after mid-day, when they had smoked their habitual number of cigarettes.

The crowd of office-seekers were indifferent to the fact that the true source of national vigour is the spirit of self-dependence manifested

by the individuals who constitute the nation. Constant clamour for Government employment tends only to enfeeble individual effort, and destroys the stimulus, or what is of greater worth, the necessity of acting for one's self. The Spaniard looks to the Government for active and direct aid, as if the Public Treasury were a natural spring at the waters of which all temporal calamities could be washed away—all material wants supplied. He will tell you with pride rather than with abashment that he is an *empleado*—a State dependent.

National progress is but the aggregate of personal activity and rightly directed individual energy, and a nation weakens as a whole as its component parts become dormant or as the majority rely upon the efforts of the few. The spirit of Cæsarism—"all for the people and nothing by them"—must tend not only to political slavery and to render social enfranchisement impossible, but to reduce commercial prosperity and national power and influence amongst other States to a nullity. The Spaniards have indeed proved this fact.

The best laws themselves were never intended to provide for the people, but to regulate the conditions on which they could provide for themselves. Amongst the Spaniards, the consumers of public wealth are far too numerous in proportion to the producers, hence not only is the State constantly sorely pressed for funds, but the busy bees who form the nucleus of the nation's vitality are heavily taxed to provide for the dependent office-seeking drones. Against this state of things, the industrious populations of Biscay and Catalonia have protested.

It is the fatal delusion that liberty and national welfare depend solely upon good government, instead of good government depending upon the joint action of independent individual exertion, that has brought the Spanish nation to its present state of deplorable impotence.

The Government itself is but the official counterpart of the governed. By the aid of servile speculators, a man in political circles struggles to come to the front—to hold a portfolio in the ministry—if it only be for a week, when his pension for life is assured on his retirement. Merit, ability and long service have little weight, and the protégés of the outgoing minister must make room for those of the next lucky ministerial pension-seeker, and so on successively.

This Colony therefore became a lucrative hunting-ground at the disposal of the Madrid Cabinet wherein to satisfy the craving demands of their numerous partisans and friends.

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They were sent out with a salary and to make what they could—at their own risk of course—like the country lad who was sent up to London with the injunction from his father “Make money, honestly if you can, but make it.”

From the Conquest up to 1844, when trading by officials was abolished, it was a matter of little public concern how Government servants made fortunes. Only when the jealousy of one urged him to denounce another was any inquiry instituted so long as the official was careful not to embezzle or commit a direct fraud on the *Real Haber* (the Treasury funds). When the *Real Haber* was once covered, then all that could be got out of the Colony was for the benefit of the officials, great and small. In 1840, Eusebio Mazorca wrote as follows :¹—“Each chief of a province is a real Sultan, and when he has terminated his administration, all that is talked of in the capital is the thousands of dollars clear gain which he made in his Government.”

Up to thirteen years ago, whilst taxes of a province were in the custody of the Administrator, the Judicial Governor had a percentage assigned to him to induce him to control the Administrator's work. The Administrator himself had percentages, and the accounts of these two functionaries were checked by a third individual styled “the Interventor,” whose duties appeared to be to intervene in the casting up of his superiors' figures. From June, 1886, the payment of percentages both to Governors and Administrators ceased.

From time to time one saw published in the Manila journals a citation to the Administrator and Interventor of a Province to appear at the Audit Office to justify their accounts, and such interviews have not unfrequently been followed up by long legal proceedings.

In 1840, Eusebio Mazorca wrote thus² :—“The Governor receives payment of the tribute in rice paddy, which he credits to the native

¹ The text reads thus :—“Cada Jefe de Provincia es un verdadero Sultan y cuando acaba su administracion solo se habla en la Capital de los miles de pesos que sacó *limpios* de su alcaldía.”—“Noticias de Filipinas,” by Don Eusebio Mazorca. Inedited MS. dated 1840. In the archives of Bauan Convent, Province of Batangas.

² The text reads thus :—“Cobrando el Alcalde en palay el tributo, solo abona al indio dos reales plata por caban ; introduce en cajas reales su importe en metálico y vende despues el palay en seis, ocho y á veces mas reales fuertes plata cada caban y le resulta con esta sencilla operacion un doscientos ó trescientos por ciento de ganancia Ahora recientito

“ at two reals in silver per caban. Then he pays this sum into the
 “ Royal Treasury in money, and sells the rice paddy for private account
 “ at the current rate of six, eight or more reals in silver per caban,
 “ and this simple operation brings him 200 to 300 per cent. profit.”

The same writer adds :—“ Now quite recently the Interventor of
 “ Zamboanga is accused by the Governor of that place of having made
 “ some \$15,000 to \$16,000 solely by using false measures
 “ The same Interventor to whom I refer, is said to have made a fortune
 “ of \$50,000 to \$60,000, whilst his salary as second official in the
 “ Audit Department¹ is \$540 per annum.” According to Zúñiga, the
 salary of a professor of law with the rank of magistrate was \$800 per
 annum.

Could the peculations by the Government employés from the highest
 circles downwards have been arrested, the inhabitants of this Colony
 would doubtless have been several millions richer per annum. One
 frequently heard of officials leaving for Spain with sums far exceeding
 the total emoluments they had received during their term of office.
 Some provincial employés acquired a pernicious habit of annexing
 what was not theirs by all manner of pretexts. To cite some instances :
 I knew a Governor of Negros Island who seldom saw a native pass the
 Government House with a good horse without begging it of him—thus,
 under fear of his avenging a refusal, his subjects furnished him little by
 little with a large stud, which he sold before he left, much to their
 disgust.

In another provincial capital there happened to be a native headman
 imprudently vain enough to carry a walking stick with a chased gold-
 knob handle studded with brilliants. It took the fancy of the Spanish
 Governor, who repeatedly expressed his admiration of it, hoping
 that the headman would make him a present of it. At length the
 Governor was relieved of his post, but prior to his departure he called

“ está acusado el Ministro Interventor de Zamboanga por el Gobernador de aquella
 “ plaza de haberse utilizado aquel de \$15,000 á \$16,000 solo con el trocatinte de
 “ la medida Se cuenta al mismo interventor á que me refiero
 “ \$50,000 á \$60,000 cuando el sueldo de su empleo—oficial 2º de la Contaduría
 “ es de \$540 al año.”—“Noticias de Filipinas,” by Don Eusebio Mazorca.
 Unedited MS. dated 1840. In the Archives of Bauan Convent, Province of
 Pangasinan.

¹ The Audit Office was suppressed and revived, and again suppressed on the
 1st January, 1889.

together the headmen to take formal leave of them, and at the close of a flattering speech, he said he would willingly hand over his official stick as a remembrance of his command. In the hubbub of applause which followed, he added, "and I will retain a souvenir of my loyal subordinates." Suiting the action to the word, he snatched the coveted stick out of the hand of the owner, and kept it. A General, who has quite recently made for himself a world-wide notoriety for alleged cruelty in another Spanish colony, enriched himself by peculation to such an extent that he was at his wits' end how to remit his ill-gotten gains clandestinely. Finally, he resolved to send an army Captain over to Hongkong with \$35,000 with which to purchase a draft on Europe. The Captain left, but he never returned.

The cases of official swindling are far too numerous to come within the space of this volume.

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In the whole of the Colony there are about 725 towns and 23 missions. Each town was locally governed by a native—in some cases a Spanish or Chinese half-caste—who was styled the petty Governor or *Gobernadorcillo*, whilst his popular title was that of *Capitan*. This service was compulsory.

The elections of *Gobernadorcillos* and their subordinates took place every two years, and the term of office counted from the 1st of July following such elections.

There were a few towns where the *Gobernadorcillos* were able to make considerable sums, and here the appointment was energetically sought for, but as a rule it was regarded as an onerous task, and I know several who have paid bribes to the officials to rid them of it under the pretext of ill-health, legal incapacity, and so on. The *Gobernadorcillo* was supported by what was pompously termed a ministry, the "ministers of justice" being two lieutenants of the town, suburban lieutenants of the wards, the chiefs of police, of plantations, and of live stock.

The *Gobernadorcillo* was nominally the delegate and practically the servant of the Governor of the Province, through whom he received his instructions and to whom he communicated all official information. In his town and its wards he might be regarded as the counterpart of the Governor in his Province.

He was the arbiter of local petty questions, and endeavoured to adjust them, but when they assumed a legal aspect, they were taken up

by the local Justice of the Peace, who was directly subordinate to the Chief Judge of the Province.

The *Gobernadorcillo* was also subservient to the Administrator for the collection of taxes—to the Chief of the Civil Guard for the capture of criminals, and to the priest of his parish for the interests of the Church, and (if he were a Friar) the private ends of its representative.

He was often made personally responsible for the taxes to be collected, and on this score he was at times imprisoned, unless he succeeded in throwing the burden on the actual collectors—the *Cabezas de Barangay*.

The *Gobernadorcillo* was often put to considerable expense in the course of his two years, in entertaining and supplying the wants of officials passing through. To cover this outlay, the loss of his own time, the salaries of writers in the Town Hall, presents to his Spanish chiefs to secure their goodwill, and other calls upon his private income, he naturally had to exact funds from the townspeople. To cover these disbursements legally, he could receive, if he chose (but few did), the munificent salary of \$2 per month, and an allowance for clerks equal to about one-fifth of what he had to pay them.

Some of these *Gobernadorcillos* were well-to-do planters, and were anxious for the office, even if it cost them money, on account of the local prestige which the title of "Capitan" gave them, but others were often so poor, that if they had not pilfered this compulsory service would have ruined them. However, a smart *Gobernadorcillo* was rarely out of pocket by his service. One of the greatest hardships to the *Gobernadorcillo* was that he often had to abandon his plantation or other means of living to go to the capital of the province at his own expense whenever he was cited there. Many of them did not speak or understand Spanish, in which case they had to pay and be at the mercy of a Secretary (*Directorcillo*).

When there was any question on the *tapis* of general interest to the townspeople (such as a serious innovation in the existing law, or the annual feasts, or the anticipated arrival of a very big official) the headmen (*principalia*) were cited to the Town Hall. They were also expected to assemble there every Sunday and Great Feast Days (three-cross Saint days in the Calendar), to march thence in procession to the church to hear Mass, under certain penalties if they failed to attend. Each one carried his stick of authority ; and the official dress was a

short Eton jacket of black cloth over the shirt, the tail of which hung outside the trousers.

Some *Gobernadorcillos*, imbued with a sense of the importance and solemnity of office, ordered a band, playing lively dance music, to head the *cortège* to and from the church.

After Mass they repaired to the convent, and on bended knee kissed the priest's hand. Town affairs were then discussed. Some present were chided, others were commended by the holy friar.

During the sowing and harvesting seasons, some of the headmen were only seen in town on Sundays, their lands being so distant, or the roads so bad that they went off there from the Monday to the Saturday of each week.

For the direct collection of taxes and contributions, each township was sub-divided into what were called *Barangays*, which were simply groups of forty or fifty families; each group having to pay its respective head, who was responsible to the petty Governor, who in turn made the payment to the Administrator of the Province for remission to the Treasury (*Intendencia*) in Manila.

This *Barangay* chiefdom system took its origin from that established by the natives themselves prior to their conquest, and in some parts of the Colony the original title of *datto* was still applied to the Chief. This position was amongst themselves hereditary, and continued to be so for many years under Spanish rule. The appointment was then sought for by the natives, as it gave the heads of certain families a birthright importance or superiority over their class. Later on they were chosen like all the other native local authorities every two years, but if they had anything to lose, they were invariably re-elected. In order to be included in the headmen of the town (the *principalia*) a *Barangay* chief had to serve for ten years in that capacity unless he were, meanwhile, elected to a higher rank, such as Lieutenant or *Gobernadorcillo*.

The obligations of a *Barangay* chief were perhaps the most irksome and repugnant of all. The Government rarely recognized any bad debts in the collection of the taxes, until the chief had been made bankrupt and his goods and chattels sold to make good the sums which he could not collect from his group, whether it arose from their poverty, death or from their having absconded.

I have been present at the sales by public auction of the live stock

of some of these chiefs to supply taxes to the Government, which admitted no excuses or explanations. Many *Barangay chiefs* have gone to prison through their inability or refusal to pay others' debts. On the other hand, it is true there were among them some profligate characters who misappropriated the collected taxes. Even in that case the Government had really little right to complain, for the labour of tax-gathering was a *forced service* without remuneration for expenses or loss of time incurred.

In many towns, villages and hamlets there were posts of the Civil Guard established for the arrest of criminals and the maintenance of public order ; moreover, there was in each town a body of guards called "*Cuadrilleros*" for the defence of the town and the persecution of bandits and criminals within the jurisdiction of the town only. They did not appear to be specially chosen for their loyalty, indeed no one who could hopefully aspire to a higher vocation would accept to be a *Cuadrillero*.

There were frequent cases of *Cuadrilleros* passing over to the opposite side, to join a band of brigands. Some years ago the whole body appertaining to the town of Mauban, in the Province of Tayabas, suddenly took to the mountains ; and whilst, on the other hand, many have rendered valuable aid to society, this uncertainty of character vastly diminishes their public utility.

From the time the first administration in the Philippines was organized up to the year 1884, all the subdued natives paid tribute.

Latterly it amounted to the nominal sum of four shillings and five pence per annum (one dollar and 17 cuartos), and those who did not choose to work for the Government during forty days in the year, paid also a poll-tax (*fallas*) of \$3 per annum. But, as a matter of fact, thousands were declared as workers who never did work, and whilst roads were in an abominable condition and public works abandoned, not much secret was made of the fact that a great portion of the poll-tax never reached the Treasury.

These pilferings were known to the Spanish local authorities as *cuidas* or droppings ; and in a certain province I have met at table a provincial chief judge, the nephew of a General, and other persons who openly discussed the value of the different Provincial Governments (before 1884) in Luzon Island, on the basis of so much for salary and so much for fees and *cuidas*.

However, as good faith depends on the individual and not on the system, the above arrangement may be said to have worked as well as any other would under the circumstances, but for some reason, best known to the authorities, it was abolished. In lieu thereof a scheme was proposed, obliging every inhabitant in the Philippines, excepting only public servants, the clergy and a few others, to work for fifteen days per annum without the right of redeeming this obligation by payment. Indeed, the Decree to that effect was actually received from the Home Government by the Governor-General in Manila. It was so palpably ludicrous, that the Governor-General did not give it effect.

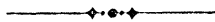
He had sufficient common sense to foresee in its application the extinction of all European prestige and moral influence over the natives if Spanish and foreign gentlemen of good family were seen sweeping the streets, one lighting the lamps, another road-mending, another guiding a buffalo cart with a load of stones, and so on. This measure therefore, regarded by some as a practical joke—by others as the conception of a lunatic theorist—was withdrawn, or at least allowed to subside. Perhaps it may be said to have fallen by the weight of its own absurdity.

Nevertheless, those in power were bent on reform, but the greatest blunder of all—the abolition of tribute—was not remedied. The Peninsular system of a document of identity (*Cédula personal*), which works well amongst Europeans, was then adopted for all classes and nationalities above the age of 18 years without exception, and its possession was compulsory. The amount paid for this document, which was of nine classes,¹ from \$25 value downwards, varied according to the income of the holder or the cost of his trading licences. Any person holding this document of a value under \$3½ was subject to fifteen days' forced labour per annum, or to pay 50 cents for each day he failed to work. The holder of a document of \$3½ or over paid also \$1½ "Municipal Tax" in lieu of labour. The "*Cédula*" thenceforth served as a passport for travelling within the Archipelago, to be exhibited at any time on demand by the proper authority.

¹ There was also a tenth class *gratis* for the clergy, army, and navy forces and convicts, and a "*privileged*" class *gratis* for petty Governors and their wives, Barangay chiefs and their wives, and Barangay chiefs' assistants, called "*primogénitos*" (*primogénito* means first born—perhaps it was anticipated that he would "assist" his father).

No legal document was valid unless the interested parties had produced their *Cédulas*, the details of which were noted in the legal instrument. No petitions would be noticed ; and very few transactions could be made in the Government Offices without the presentation of this document of identity. The Decree relating to this reform, like most ambiguous Spanish edicts, set forth that any person was at liberty to take a higher valued personal identity document than that corresponding to his position, without the right of any official to ask the reason why. This was highly prejudicial to the public welfare, for, in this way, thousands of able-bodied natives become exempt from labour for public improvements which were so imperatively necessary in the provinces. The labour question was indeed altogether a farce, and simply afforded a pretext for levying a tax.

In 1890 certain reforms were introduced into the townships, most of which were raised to the dignity of Municipalities. The titles of *Gobernadorcillo* and *Directorcillo* (the words themselves in Spanish bear a sound of contempt) were changed to *Capitan Municipal* and *Secretario* respectively (Municipal Captain and Secretary) with nominally extended powers. For instance, the Municipal Captains were empowered to disburse for public works, without appeal to Manila, a few hundred dollars in the year (to be drawn, in some cases, from empty public coffers, or private purses). The old-established obligation to supply travellers, on payment thereof, with certain necessities of life and means of transport, was abolished. The amplified functions of the local Justices of the Peace were abused to such a degree that these officials became more the originators of strife than the guardians of peace.



CHAPTER XIV.

PHILIPPINE FINANCES.

THE secession of Mexico from the Spanish Crown in the second decade of this century brought with it a complete revolution in Philippine affairs. Direct trade with Europe through one channel or the other had necessarily to be permitted. The "Situado" or subsidy received from Mexico became a thing of the past, and necessity urged the home authorities to somewhat relax the old restraint on the development of this Colony's resources.

In 1839 the first Philippine Budget was presented in the Spanish Córtes, but so little interest did the affairs of this Colony excite, that it provoked no discussion; excepting only the amendment of one item, the Budget was adopted in silence.

There is apparently no record of the Philippine Islands having been at any time in a flourishing financial condition. Of late years the revenue of the Colony has invariably resulted much less than the estimated yield of taxes and contributions. The figures of the last three years, prior to the Budget of 1888, which I give in full, stand thus :—

FINANCIAL YEAR.	INCOME IN BUDGET.	INCOME REALIZED.	DIFFERENCE.
	\$	\$	\$
1884-1885 - -	11,298,508.98	9,893,745.87	1,404,763.11
1885-1886 - -	11,528,178.00	9,688,029.70	1,840,148.30
1886-1887 - -	11,554,379.00	9,324,974.08	2,229,404.92
1896-1897 - -	17,086,423.00	No official returns procurable.	

Anticipated Revenue, Year 1888.

									\$	cts.
Direct Taxes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,206,836	93
Customs Dues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,023,400	00
Government Monopolies (stamps, cock-fighting, opium, gambling, etc.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,181,239	00
Lotteries and Raffles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	513,200	00
Sale of State property	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	153,571	00
War and Marine Department (sale of useless articles. Gain on repairs to private ships in the Government Arsenal)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,150	00
Sundries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	744,500	00
									9,837,896	93
Anticipated Expenditure, year 1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,825,633	29
Anticipated Surplus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$12,263	64

The actual deficit in the last previous Budget for which there was no provision, was estimated at \$1,376,179.56, against which the above balance would be placed. There were some remarkable inconsistencies in the 1888 Budget :—The Inspection of Woods and Forests was an institution under a Chief Inspector with a salary of \$6,500, assisted by a technical staff of 64 persons and 52 non-technical subordinates. The total cost for the year was estimated at \$165,960, against which the anticipated income derived from duties on felled timber was \$80,000—hence a loss to the Colony of \$85,960 was duly anticipated to satisfy office-seekers. Before the Budget appeared, economists hoped that this institution would have been abolished and a Foresters' Corps created under one Chief for the due preservation of forests and the regulation of felling in season. Those who wished to cut timber were subjected to very complicated regulations, which severely taxed one's patience. The tariff of duties and mode of calculating it were capriciously modified from time to time on no commercial basis whatever. Merchants who had contracted to supply timber at so much per foot for delivery within a fixed period, were never sure of their profits; for the dues might, meanwhile, be raised without any consideration for trading interests. Beyond all doubt the primordial

element of civilization is the establishment of easy means of communication. Yet, whilst this was so sadly neglected in the interior of the islands, the Budget provided the sum of \$113,686.64 for a School of Agriculture in Manila, and ten model farms and Schools of Cultivation in the Provinces. It was not the want of farming knowledge, but the scarcity of capital and the scandalous neglect of public highways and bridges for transport of produce which retarded agriculture. The one hundred and thirteen thousand dollars if disbursed on roads, bridges, town halls, and landing-jetties, would have benefited the Colony—as it was this sum went to furnish salaries to needy Spaniards.

The following are a few of the most interesting items of the Budget :—

<i>Revenue.</i>		
		\$ cts.
2,760,613 Documents of Identity (<i>Cédulas personales</i>)		
costing 4 % to collect—gross value	- - -	4,401,629 25
Tax on the above, based on the estimated local consumption of Tobacco	- - - - - -	222,500 00
Chinese Capitation Tax	- - - - - -	236,250 00
Tax on the above for the estimated local consumption of Tobacco	- - - - - -	11,250 00
Recognition of vassalage collected from the unsubdued mountain tribes	- - - - - -	12,000 00
Industrial and Trading Licences (costing $\frac{1}{2}$ % to collect)		
gross value	- - - - - -	1,350,000 00
Yield of the Opium Contract (rented out)	- - -	483,400 00
„ „ „ Cock-fighting Contract (rented out)	- -	149,039 00
Lotteries and Raffles, nett profit say	- - - -	501,862 00
State Lands worked by miners	- - - -	100 00
Sale of State Lands	- - - - - -	50,000 00
Mint—Profits on the manipulation of the bullion, less expenses of the Mint (\$46,150), nett	- - -	330,350 00
Stamps and Stamped Paper	- - - - -	548,400 00
Convict labour hired out	- - - - - -	50,000 00

Expenditure.

34 % of the maintenance of Fernando Po (by Decree of 5th August 1884) - - - - -	\$ cts.
	68,618 18
Share of the pension paid to the heir of Christopher Columbus, the Duke of Veragua (\$23,400 a year) -	3,000 00
Share of the pension paid to Ferdinand Columbus, Marquis of Bárboles - - - - -	1,000 00
The Marquis of Bedmar is the heir of the assayer and caster in the Mint of Potosi (Peru). The concern was taken over by the Spanish Government, in return for an annual perpetual pension, of which this Colony contributes the sum of - - - - -	1,500 00
The Consular and Diplomatic Services, Philippine Share	66,000 00
Postal and Telegraph Services (with a staff of 550 persons) - - - - -	406,547 17
The Submarine Cable Co. Subsidy (Bolinao to Hong-kong) payable up to June 1890 - - - - -	48,000 00
Charitable Institutions partly supported by Government, including the "Lepers' Hospital" \$500 - - - - -	26,887 50

The Treasury.

The salary of the Treasurer-General was \$12,000.

The Branches of the Treasury or Administration in the Provinces were the following, viz. :—

3	of the First Class with Custom House.	
7	" " " without "	
1	" Second " with "	(Zamboanga).
6	" " " without "	
6	" Third " " "	
5	" Fourth "	
19	" Sub-delegations.	

47 Provincial Administrations, total cost per annum - \$228,866

The Army and Armed Land Forces.

Rank and File and Non-commissioned Officers as follows :—

Infantry, Artillery, Engineer and Carabineer Corps -	-	-	-	9,470
Cavalry Corps -	-	-	-	407
Disciplinary Corps (Convicts) -	-	-	-	630
„ „ (Non-commissioned Officers) -	-	-	-	92
Three Civil Guard Corps (Provincial Constabulary) -	-	-	-	3,342
Veteran Civil Guard Corps (Manila and Suburban Military Police) -	-	-	-	400
Total number of men -	-	-	-	14,341

YEAR 1888. HOW EMPLOYED.	ARMY OFFICERS IN THE PHILIPPINES.								
	LIEUTENANT- GENERALS.	BRIGADIERS.	COLONELS.	LIEUTENANT- COLONELS.	MAJORS.	CAPTAINS.	LIEUTENANTS.	SUB- LIEUTENANTS.	TOTALS.
Governor-General with local rank of Captain-General - - - }	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Employed in Government Admin- istration, Political Military Provincial Governments, Staff Officers and Officers at the Orders of the Governor-General }	1	7	7	14	39	37	23	12	140
With command or attached to Army Corps and Disciplinary Corps - }	—	—	5	11	14	88	136	127	381
Civil Guard - - - - - }	—	—	3	3	9	33	54	54	156
Veteran Civil Guard - - - }	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	6	13
Invalid Corps - - - - - }	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Military Academy - - - }	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	4
Prisons and Penitentiaries - - }	—	—	—	1	1	4	3	—	9
Commissariat Department - - }	—	1	1	1	—	14	18	—	35
Judicial Audit Department - - }	—	1	1	—	2	2	—	—	6
In expectation of Service - - }	—	—	1	3	6	12	12	12	46
In excess of Active Service require- ments - - - - - }	—	—	—	3	1	—	7	9	20
Total of Officers -	2	9	19	36	73	191	262	220	812

The Archbishop as Vicar-General of the Armed Forces ranked in precedence as a Field-Marshal. (In the Spanish Army a Field Marshal ranks between a Brigadier and Lieutenant-General.)

OFFICERS' PAY PER ANNUM.

RANK.	ORDINARY PAY.	WHEN COMMANDING A CORPS. <i>Extra.</i>	WHEN IN CIVIL GUARD.	WHEN IN VETERAN CIVIL GUARD.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Captain-General was paid as Gov- ernor-General of the Colony -}	40,000 ¹	—	—	—
Lieutenant-General (local rank), } Sub-Inspector of Army Corps }	12,000	—	—	—
Brigadier - - - - -	4,500	800	—	—
Colonel - - - - -	3,450	600	4,200	—
Lieutenant-Colonel - - -	2,700	400	3,288	—
Major - - - - -	2,400	—	2,520	2,880
Captain - - - - -	1,500	—	1,584	—
Lieutenant - - - - -	1,125	—	1,242	1,485
Sub-Lieutenant - - - -	975	—	1,068	1,275

¹ This was not included in Army Estimates, but in Civil Government. Officers from Captain (inclusive) upwards "in expectation of Service" and "In excess of Active Service requirements," received only 4/5ths of ordinary pay.

After 6 years' and up to 9 years' service, an officer could claim a free passage back to the Peninsula for himself, and his family if married.

After 9 years' service, his retirement from the Colony for 3 years was compulsory. If he nevertheless wished to remain in the Colony, he must quit Military service. If he left before completing 6 years' service, he would have to pay his own passage unless he went "on commission" or with sick leave allowance.

Estimated Annual Disbursements for—

The Civil Guard, composed of Three Corps = 3,342 Men and 156 Officers - - - - -	\$ 638,896 77
The Veteran Civil Guard (Manila Police) One Corps = 400 Men and 13 Officers - - - - -	73,246 88
The Disciplinary Corps, Maintenance of 630 Convicts and Material - - - - -	56,230 63
(For the Disciplinary Convict Corps) 92 Non-commis- sioned Officers and 23 Officers - - - - -	47,909 51
	<u>\$104,140 14</u>

Army Estimate.

	\$	cts.
Estimate according to the Budget - - - -	3,016,185	91
<i>Plus</i> the following sums charged on other estimates, viz. :—		
Disciplinary Corps, maintenance of 630 Convicts and material - - - - -	56,230	63
The Civil Guard - - - - -	638,896	77
The Veteran Civil Guard - - - - -	73,246	88
Pensions - - - - -	117,200	00
Transport and maintenance of Recruits from Provinces -	6,000	00
Expeditions to be made against the Natives of Mindanao Island.—Religious ceremonies to celebrate Victories gained over Mahomedans, Maintenance of War Prisoners, etc. - - - - -	11,000	00
Total cost of Army and Armed Land Forces -	\$3,918,760	19

Before the walls were built around Manila, about the year 1590, each soldier and officer lived where he pleased, and, when required, the troops were assembled by the bugle call.

At the close of the 16th century barracks were constructed, but up to the middle of last century the native troops were so badly and irregularly paid, that they went from house to house begging alms of the citizens (*vide* page 52, King Philip II.'s Decree).

Last century, in the Fort of Yligan (north of Mindanao Island), troops died of sheer want, and when this was represented to the Governor, generous reforms were made to better their position. The Spanish soldiers were in future to be paid \$2 per month and native soldiers \$1 per month to hold the fort, at the risk of their lives, against attack from the Mussulmans.

In the Forts of Labo and Taytay, in the north of Palaúan Island, the soldiers' pay was only nominal, rations were often short, and their lives altogether most wretched. Sometimes they were totally overlooked by the military chiefs, and they had to seek an existence as best they could when provisions were not sent from the Capital.

Mexican soldiers arrived in nearly every ship, but there was no order—no barracks for them, no regular mode of living, no regulations at all for their board and lodging, etc., hence many had to subsist by serving natives and half-breeds, much to the discredit of the Mother Country, and consequent loss of prestige.

Each time a new expedition was organized a fresh recruiting had to be made at great cost and with great delay. There was practically no regular army except those necessarily compelled to mount guard, etc. in the City.

Even the officers received no pay with regularity and punctuality, and there was some excuse for stealing when they had a chance, and for the total absence of enthusiasm in the Service. When troops were urgently called for, the Governor-General had to bargain with the officers to fill the minor posts by promises of rewards, whilst the high commands were eagerly sought for, not for the pay or the glory, but for the plunder in perspective.

In 1739 the Armoury in Manila contained only—

- 25 Arquebuses of native manufacture.
- 120 Biscayan muskets.
- 40 Flint guns.
- 70 Hatchets.
- 40 Cutlasses.

The first regular military organization in these Islands was in the time of Pedro Manuel de Arandia (1754), when one regiment was formed of five companies of native soldiers together with four companies of troops which arrived with the Governor from Mexico. This Corps, afterwards known as the “King’s Regiment” (*Regimiento del Rey*) was divided into two battalions, each of which was increased to ten companies as the troops returned from the Provinces.

The 20 companies were each composed as follows :—

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Captain, | 2 Drummers, |
| 1 Lieutenant, | 6 First Corporals, |
| 1 Sub-lieutenant, | 6 Second Corporals, |
| 4 Sergeants, | 88 Rank and File. |

¹ In 1888 the “King’s Regiment” was divided into two regiments, under new denominations, viz., “Castilla, No. 1,” (3rd April), and “España, No. 1,” (18th June).

The Governor-General's body guard of Halberdiers was reformed, and thenceforth consisted of 18 men, under a Captain and a Corporal.

The monthly pay under these reforms was as follows :—

STAFF OFFICERS.	\$	REGIMENTAL OFFICERS AND STAFF.	\$ c.	GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S BODY GUARD.	\$
Chief of the Staff	40	Captain - -	25 00	Captain - -	35
Adjutant Major -	25	Lieutenant - -	18 00	Corporal - -	10
Adjutant - -	18	Sub-Lieutenant -	14 00	Guards - -	
Captain - -	12	Sergeant - -	4 00		
		Drummer - -	3 00		
		First Corporal -	3 25		
		Second „ -	3 00		
		Rank and File -	2 62½		
		Besides an allowance of about 1½ pints of clean rice per day.			

From the 1st of October 1754 they were quartered in barracks, Commissariat Officers were appointed, and every man and officer was regularly paid fortnightly.

The soldiers were not used to this discipline, and desertion was frequent. They much preferred the old style of roaming about to beg or steal, and live where they chose until they were called out to service, and very vigorous measures had to be adopted to compel them to comply with the new regulations.

In May 1755 four artillery brigades were formed, the commanding officer of each receiving \$30 per month pay.

In 1757 there were 16 fortified outposts in the Provinces, at a total estimated cost of \$37,638 per annum (including Zamboanga, the chief centre of operations against the Mahomedans, which alone cost \$18,831 in 1757), besides the armed forces and Camp of Manila, Fort Santiago and Cavite Arsenal and Fort, which together cost a further sum of \$157,934 for maintenance in that year.

THE NAVY AND MARITIME FORCES.

Year 1888.

ARMED VESSELS.	CLASS.	COM. MANDER'S PAY.	MAINS ON BOARD.	SAILORS.	OBSERVATIONS.
"Aragon" - - -	1st class Cruiser	5,760	46	220	
"Velasco" - - -	2nd " "	4,560	19	101	
"Marqués del Duero" -	Despatch boat -	3,360	—	62	
"Sirena" - - -	Schooner -	3,360	—	64	
"San Quintín" - -	Despatch boat -	4,560	—	120	
"Cebú" - - -	Transport -	2,280	—	26	
"Argos" - - -	" -	4,560	—	51	
"Manila" - - -	" -	3,360	—	46	
"Elcano" - - -	Gunboat -	3,360	—	54	
"General Lezo" - -	" -	3,360	—	54	
"Mindanao ¹ " - -	" -	2,280	—	23	
"Paragua ² " - - -	" -	2,280	—	16	
"Blasco ³ " - - -	" -	1,980	—	14	
"Marqués de la Victoria"	Hulk - -	3,360	—	63	In charge of Quarter- master, { In Su- bigs.
"Caviteño" - - -	—	—	—	23	
"Santa Ana" - - -	Felucca - -	—	—	23	
"Da. Maria de Molina" -	Hulk - -	2,280	—	42	In Caroline Islands.
"Animosa" - - -	" - -	2,280	—	42	

In construction in 1888 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 17 \\ 25 \\ 35 \end{array} \right\}$ of this Class.

IN PHILIPPINE WATERS.

Year 1898.

NAME.	CLASS.	TONS.	H.P.
"Reina Cristina" - - -	Cruiser - - -	3,500	3,950
"Castilla" - - -	" - - -	3,200	4,400
"Don Ant ^o . de Ulloa" - -	" - - -	1,290	1,523
"Don Juan de Austria" - -	" - - -	1,130	1,600
"Isla de Cuba" - - -	" - - -	1,048	2,200
"Isla de Luzon" - - -	" - - -	1,048	2,200
"Velasco" - - -	Gunboat - - -	1,152	1,500
"Elcano" - - -	" - - -	560	600
"General Lezo" - - -	" - - -	520	600
"Argos" - - -	" - - -	508	600
"Marqués del Duero" - -	" - - -	500	550
"Manila" - - -	Transport - - -	1,900	750
"General Alava" - - -	" - - -	1,200	1,000
"Cebú" - - -	" - - -	532	600
"Callao" - - -	Gunboat and 4 others very small, besides 3 armed steam launches built in Hongkong, viz.: "Lanao," "Corcuero," and "General Blanco."		

NAVAL DIVISIONS.

STATIONS.	COMMANDER'S PAY.	FORCES IN ADDITION TO CREWS.
South Division - - -	\$ 5,760	
Palañan (Pta. Princess) - -	4,560	30 Marines.
Isabel de Basilan - - -	3,360	30 " (27 of the Naval Brigade under a Lieut.)
Balábac Island - - -	3,360	22 Marines.
Corregidor Island - - -	3,360	
West Caroline Islands - - -	3,360	
East " " - - -	4,560	

HARBOUR-MASTERS.

STATION.	RANK.	PAY.
Manila - - - - -	Frigate Captain - - -	\$ 3,200
Yloilo - - - - -	" - - -	3,200
Cebu - - - - -	1st Class Ship's Lieutenant -	1,500
Cápis - - - - -	" "	1,500
Zamboanga - - - - -	" "	1,500
Pangasinan - - - - -	" "	1,500
Ilocos Norte y Sur - - - - -	" "	1,500
Cagayan - - - - -	" "	1,500
Ladrone Islands - - - - -	" "	1,500
Laguimanoc - - - - -	Civilian - - - - -	144

The Chief of the Philippine Naval Forces was a Rear-Admiral receiving \$16,392 per annum.

There were two Brigades of Marine Infantry, composed of 376 men with 18 officers.

Cavite Arsenal.

The chief Naval Station was at Cavite, six miles from Manila.

The Officer in command of the Cavite Arsenal and Naval Station took rank after the Rear-Admiral, and received a salary of \$8,496 per annum.

In Cavite there were 90 Marines as Guards.

244 „ Reserved Forces.

100 Convicts for Arsenal labour.

The Navy Estimates for 1888, according to the Budget for that year, amounted to \$2,573,776.27.

JUDICIAL STATISTICS.

Civil and Criminal Law Courts.

The Civil and Criminal Law Courts were as follows, viz. :—

2	Supreme Courts in Manila and Cebú quite independent of each other.	
4	First Class Courts of Justice in Manila	(called " <i>de término</i> .")
8	" " in the Provinces	(" " <i>de término</i> .")
10	Second " " " "	(" " <i>de ascenso</i> .")
19	Third " " " "	(" " <i>de entrada</i> .")
7	Provincial Governments with judicial attributions.	

Judges' Salaries.

President of the Supreme Court of Manila	-	-	-	-	\$7,000
" " " Cebú	-	-	-	-	6,000
Judge of each of the 12 First Class Courts	-	-	-	-	4,000
" " " 10 Second "	-	-	-	-	3,000
" " " 19 Third "	-	-	-	-	2,000

Law Courts Estimate for 1888. \$ cts.

Supreme Court of Manila	-	-	-	-	-	90,382	00
" " Cebú	-	-	-	-	-	49,828	00
All the minor Courts and allowances to Provincial Governors with judicial attributions	-	-	-	-	-	192,656	00
Estimated total cost for the year	-	-	-	-	-	\$332,866	00

Penitentiaries and Convict Settlements.

Manila (Bilibid Jail) containing on an average - 900 Native Convicts.

And in 1888 there were also 3 Spanish "

Cavite Jail contained	"	-	-	-	51	Native	"
Zamboanga Jail contained in 1888	-	-	-	-	93	"	"
Agricultural Colony of San Ramon, worked by convict labour, contained in 1888	-	-	-	-	164	"	"
Ladrone Island Penal Settlement contained in 1888	101	"	"	"	"	"	"
" " " " " 3 Spanish	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
In the Army and Navy Services	-	-	-	-	730	Native	"

2,045 Convicts.

Total estimated disbursements for Penitentiaries and Convict maintenance in the Settlements for the year - - \$82,672.71

Moreover, an allowance of \$2,000 was made for rewards for the capture or slaughter of brigands.

Brigandage first came into prominence in Governor Arandia's time (1754-1759), and he used the means of "setting a thief to catch a thief," which answered well for a short time, until the crime became more and more an established custom as provincial property increased in value and capitals were accumulated there. Yet, up to the end of Spanish rule, brigandage, pillage and murder were treated with such leniency by the judges, and often condoned by them for a consideration, that there was little hope for the extinction of such crimes.

When a band of thieves and assassins attacked a village or a residence, murdered its inhabitants, and carried off booty, the Civil Guard at once scoured the country, and often the malefactors were arrested. The Civil Guard was an excellent institution, and performed its duty admirably well, but as soon as the villains were handed over to the legal functionaries, society lost hope. Instead of the criminals being garrotted according to law after the charge was proved, as the public had a right to demand, they were "protected"—some were let loose on the world again, whilst others were sent to prison, whence they were often allowed to escape, or they were transported to a penal settlement to work without fetters, and where they were just as comfortable as if they were working for a private employer on a plantation. I record these facts from personal knowledge, for my wanderings in the Islands brought me into contact with all sorts and conditions of men. I have been personally acquainted with many brigands, and I gave regular employment to an ex-bandit for years.

At Christmas 1884 I went to Laguimanoc in the Province of Tayabas to spend a few days with an English friend of mine.¹ On the way there, at Sariaya, I stayed at the house of the Captain of the Civil Guard, when a message came to say that an attack had been made the night before on my friend's house, and his manager, a Swede, had been killed, and many others in the village wounded.

The Captain showed me the despatch, and invited me to join him as a volunteer to hunt down the murderers. I agreed, and we succeeded in capturing several of them. Within half an hour we were

¹ This gentleman has since retired from business and is now residing in the county of Essex, England.

mounted and on their track. It was a dark night, and the rain poured in torrents. We had four native soldiers with us following on foot. We jumped over ditches, through rice paddy fields and across coconut plantations, and then forded a river, on the opposite bank of which was the next guards' post in charge of a lieutenant, who joined us with eight foot soldiers. That same night, we together captured five of the wretches, who had just beached a canoe containing part of their spoils. The prisoners were bound elbows together at their backs and sent forward under escort. We rode on all night till five o'clock the next morning, arriving at the Convent of Pagbilao just as Father Jesus was going down to say Mass. I had almost lost my voice through being ten hours in the rain, but the priest was very attentive to us, and we went on in a prahu to the village where the crime had been committed. In another prahu the prisoners were sent in charge of the soldiers.

In the meantime, the Chief Judge and the Government Doctor of the Province had gone on before us. On the way we met a canoe going to Pagbilao, and carrying the corpse of the murdered Swede for burial. When we arrived at the village, we found one native dead and many natives and Chinese badly wounded.

My friend's house had the front door smashed in—an iron strong box had been forced, and a few hundred dollars, with some rare coins, were stolen. The furniture in the dining-room was wantonly chopped and hacked about with bobie knives, with no apparent object further than a savage love for mischief. His bedroom had been entered, and there the brigands began to make their harvest—the bundles of wearing apparel, jewellery and other valuables were already tied up, when lo! the Virgin herself appeared, casting a penetrating glance of disapprobation upon the wicked revelry! The brigands abandoned their plunder, and fled in terror from the saintly apparition. And when my friend returned to his house and crossed the bloodstained floor of the dining-room to go to his bedroom, the cardboard Virgin, with a trade advertisement on the other side, was still peeping round the jamb of the door to which she was nailed, with the words "Please to shut the door," printed on her spotless bust.

The next day the Captain remained there whilst I went on with the Lieutenant and a few Guards in a sailing prahu down the coast, where we made further captures, and returned in three days. I will relate an

incident of our journey in the prahu. A strong wind got up, and we thought it would be prudent to beach our craft on the seashore instead of attempting to get over the shoal of the St. John's River.

We ran her ashore under full sail, and just at that moment a native with a bar of iron in his hand rushed towards us. In the gloom of eventide he must have mistaken us for a party of weather-beaten native or Chinese traders whose skulls he might smash in at a stroke and rifle their baggage. He halted, however, perfectly amazed when two Guards jumped forward with their bayonets fixed in front of him. Then we got out, took him prisoner, and the next day he was let off with a souvenir of the lash, as there was nothing to prove that he was a brigand by profession.

Fortunately, the second leader of the brigand gang was shot through the lungs a week afterwards as he was jumping from the window-opening of a hut, and there he died.

The Captain of the Civil Guard received an anonymous letter stating where the brigand chief was hiding. This came to the knowledge of the *cuadrillero* officer (a native) who had hitherto supplied his friend, the brigand, with rice daily, so he hastened on before the Captain could arrive, and imposed silence for ever on the fugitive bandit by stabbing him in the back. In this way the *cuadrillero* avoided the disclosure of unpleasant facts which would have implicated himself.

The prisoners were conducted to the Provincial Jail, and three years afterwards when I made inquiries about these fellows, I found that two of them had died of their wounds, whilst not a single one had been executed or even sentenced.

The most ignorant classes superstitiously believe that certain persons are possessed of a diabolical influence called *anting-anting*, which preserves them from all harm. They believe that the body of a man so affected is even refractory to the effects of bullet or steel. Brigands are often captured wearing medallions of the Virgin Mary or the Saints as a device of the *anting-anting*. In Maragondon, Cavite Province, the son of a friend of mine was enabled to go into any remote places with impunity, because he was generally supposed to be possessed of this charm. Some highwaymen too have a curious notion that they can escape punishment for a crime committed in Easter Week, because the thief on the Cross was pardoned his sins.

It frequently happened, that in the course of time, when public indignation had somewhat abated, criminals who ought to have been extinguished from society were transferred to the Manila Jail, whence they were permitted to decamp.

In 1885 I purchased a small estate, where there was some good wild boar-hunting and snipe-shooting, and I had occasion to see the man who was tenant previous to my purchase, in Manila Jail. He was accused of having been concerned in an attack upon a village near the Capital, and was incarcerated for eighteen months without being definitely convicted or acquitted. Three months after he came out of prison he was appointed petty Governor of his own village, much to the disgust of the villagers, who in vain petitioned against it in writing.

I visited the Penal Settlement, known as the Agricultural Colony of San Ramon, situated about fifteen miles north of Zamboanga, where I remained twelve days. The Director of the Settlement was D. Felipe Dujiols, an army captain who had defended Oñate, in the Spanish Province of Guipúzcoa, against the Carlist attack in the last civil war; so, as we were able to mutually relate our personal experiences of the Spanish civil war at that period, we speedily became friends. As his guest, I was afforded an excellent opportunity of acquiring more ample information about the system of convict treatment. With the 25 convicts just arrived, there were in all 150 natives of the most desperate class—assassins, thieves, conspirators, etc., working on this Penal Settlement. They were well fed, fairly well lodged, and worked with almost the same freedom as any other independent labourers. Within a few yards of the Director's bungalow were the barracks, for the accommodation of a detachment of 40 soldiers—under the command of a lieutenant—who patrolled the Settlement during the day and mounted guard at night. During my stay, one prisoner was chained and flogged, but that was for a serious crime committed the day before. The only severe hardship which these convicts had to suffer, and the sole punishment which they endured under the rule of my generous host D. Felipe, was the obligation to work like honest men in other countries would be willing to do.

In this same Penal Settlement some years ago, a party of convicts attacked and killed three of the European overseers, and then escaped to the Island of Basilan, which lies to the south of Zamboanga. The leader of these criminals was a native named Pedro Cuevas, and there

he became a sort of petty chief, with the title of *Paulima*, amongst the Basilan Mussulman inhabitants, and living in perfect security he was able to defy the Government.

Within half a day's journey from Manila there are several well-known marauders' haunts, such as San Mateo, Imus, Silan, Indan, the mouths of the Hagonoy River which empties itself into the Bay, etc. In 1881 I was the only European amongst 20 to 25 passengers in a canoe going to Balanga on the west shore of Manila Bay, when about mid-day a canoe, painted black and without the usual outriggers, bore down upon us, and suddenly two gun-shots were fired, whilst we were called upon to surrender. The pirates numbered eight; they had their faces bedaubed white and their canoe ballasted with stones. There was great commotion in our craft; the men shouted and the women got into a heap over me, reciting *Ave Marias*, and calling upon all the Saints to succour them.

Just as I extricated myself and looked out from under the palm-leaf awning, the pirates flung a stone which severely cut our pilot's face. They came very close, brandishing their knives, but our crew managed to keep them from boarding us by pushing off their canoe with the paddles.

When the enemy came within range of my revolver, one of their party, who was standing up waving a bolie knife, suddenly collapsed into a heap. This seemed to discourage the rest, who gave up the pursuit, and we went on to Balanga.

In consequence of this attack, the Judicial-Governor of Bataan Province ordered that in future the postal service boat leaving that coast should carry a swivel gun at the bows and lances on board.

No one experienced in the Colony ever thought of prosecuting a captured brigand; for whoever might be the legal adviser retained, a criminal or civil law suit in the Philippines was one of the worst calamities that could befall a man. Between notaries, procurators, solicitors, barristers and the sluggish process of the courts, a litigant was fleeced of his money, often worried into a bad state of health, and kept in horrible suspense and doubt for years. When judgment was given, it was as hard to get it executed as it was to win the case. Even then, when the question at issue was supposed to be settled, a defect in the sentence could always be concocted to re-open the whole affair. If the case had been tried and judgment given under the

Civil Code, a way was often found to convert it into a criminal case, and when apparently settled under the Criminal Code, a flaw could be discovered under the *Laws of the Indies*, or the *Siete Partidas*, or the *Roman Law*, or the *Norisima Recopilacion*, or the *Antiguos fueros*, Decrees, Royal Orders, *Ordenanzas de buen Gobierno*, and so forth, by which the case could be re-opened.

I knew a man in Negros Island—a planter—who was charged with homicide. The judge of his Province acquitted him, but fearing that he might be again arrested on the same charge, he came up to Manila with me to procure a ratification of the sentence in the Supreme Court. The expenses of the legal proceedings were so enormous, that he was compelled to fully mortgage his plantation. Weeks passed, and he had spent all his money without getting justice, so I lent his notary 40*l.* to assist in bringing the case to an end. The planter returned to Negros apparently satisfied that he should be no further troubled, but later on, the newly appointed judge in that island, whilst prospecting for fees by turning up old cases, unfortunately came across this, and my planter acquaintance was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, although the family lawyer, proceeding on the same lines, had still a hope of finding defects in the sentence to reverse it in favour of his client.

Availing one's self of the dilatoriness of the Spanish law, it was possible for a man to occupy a house, pay no rent, and refuse to quit on legal grounds during a couple of years or more. A person who had not a cent to lose, could persecute another of means by a trumped up accusation, until he was ruined by an "*informacion de pobreza*"—a declaration of poverty—which enabled the persecutor to keep the case going as long as he chose without needing money for fees.¹

A case of this kind was often got up at the instigation of a native lawyer. When it had gone on for a certain time, the prosecutor's adviser proposed an "extra-judicial arrangement," to extort costs from his victim, the wearied and browbeaten defendant.

About the year 1886 there was a *cause célèbre*, the parties being the firm of Jurado and Co. *versus* The Hongkong and Shanghai

¹ Under British law, a litigant is not allowed to bring and conduct an action *in formâ pauperis* until it is proved that he is not worth 5*l.* after his debts are paid; and, moreover, he must obtain a certificate from a barrister that he has *good cause of action*.

Banking Corporation. The Bank had agreed to make advances on goods to be imported by the firm in exchange for the firm's acceptances. The agreement was subject to six months' notice from the Bank. In due course the Bank had reason to doubt the genuineness of certain documents. Mr. Jurado was imprisoned, but shortly released on bail. He was dismissed from his official post of second chief of Telegraphs, worth \$4,000 a year. Goods, as they arrived for his firm, were seized and stored pending litigation, and deteriorated to only a fraction of their original value. His firm was forced by these circumstances into liquidation, and Jurado sued the Bank for damages. The case was open for several years, during which time the Bank coffers were once sealed by judicial warrant, a sum of cash was actually transported from the Bank premises, the Bank manager was nominally arrested but really a prisoner on parole in his house. Several sentences of the Court were given in favour of each party. Years after this they were all quashed on appeal to Madrid. Mr. Jurado went to Spain to fight his case. In 1891 I accidentally met him and his brother (a lawyer) in the street in Madrid. The brother told me the claim against the Bank then amounted to \$935,000, and judgment for that sum would be given in a fortnight thence. Still, years after that, when I was again in Manila, the case was yet pending, and another onslaught was made on the Bank. The Court called on the manager to deliver up the funds of the Bank. On his refusal to do so a mechanic was sent there to open the safes. This man laboured in vain for a week. Then I learned that a syndicate had been formed and subscribed to by a number of Philippine capitalists to fleece the Bank. I had all the particulars from one of the syndicate resident in Malolos. One of the most energetic members of it was an acquaintance of mine—a native private banker in Manila. Whilst the case was in its first stages I happened to be discussing it at a shop in the *Escotta*—the principal business street—when one of the partners, a Spaniard, Don Enrique Navarro, asked me if I should like to see with my own eyes the contending lawyers putting their heads together over the matter. "If so," said he, "you have only to go through my shop and up the winding back staircase, from the landing of which you can see them any day you like at 1 o'clock." I did so more than once, and there, indeed, were the rival advocates laughing

and gesticulating and presumably cogitating how they could plunder the litigant who had most money to spend. At one stage of the proceedings the Bank specially retained a reputed Spanish lawyer (Mr. Godinez), who went to Madrid to push the case. Later on a British Q.C. was sent over to Manila from Hongkong to advise the Bank. The Prime Minister was appealed to. The good offices of our Ambassador in Madrid were solicited. For a long time the Bank was placed in a most awkward legal dilemma. The other side contended that the Bank could not be heard, or appear for itself, or by proxy, on the ground that under its own charter it had no right to be established in Manila at all; that in view of the terms of that charter it had never been legally registered as a Bank in Manila, and that it had no legal existence in the Philippines. This was merely a technical quibble. Half-a-dozen times over the case was supposed to be finally settled, but again re-opened. Happily it may now be regarded as closed for ever.

A great many well-to-do natives have a mania for seeing their sons launched into the "learned professions," hence there was a mob of native doctors who made a scanty living, and a swarm of half-lawyers, popularly called "abogadillos," who were a pest to the Colony. Up to the beginning of the 18th century, the offices of solicitors and notaries were filled from Mexico, where the licences to practise in Manila were publicly sold. Since then, the Colleges and the University issued licences to natives, thus keeping up the supply of native pettyfogging advocates who stirred up strife to make cases, availing themselves of the complicity of the law.



CHAPTER XV.

TRADE OF THE ISLANDS.

ITS EARLY HISTORY.

From within a year after the foundation of the Colony up to the second decade of this century direct communication with Mexico was maintained by the State galleons, termed the *Naos de Acapulco*. The first sailings of the galleons were to Navidad, but for over two centuries Acapulco was the port of destination on the Mexican side, and this inter-communication with New Spain only ceased a few years before that Colony threw off its allegiance to the Mother Country. But it was not alone the troubled state of political affairs which brought about the discontinuance of the galleons' voyages, although the subsequent secession of Mexico would have produced this effect. The expense of this means of intercourse was found to be bearing too heavily upon the scanty resources of the Exchequer, for the condition of Spain's finances had never, at any period, been so lamentable.

The Commander of the State *Nao* had the title of General, with a salary of \$40,000 per annum. The chief officer received \$25,000 a year. The quarter-master was remunerated with 9% on the value of the merchandise shipped, and this amounted to a very considerable sum per voyage.

The last State galleon left Manila for Mexico in 1811, and the last sailing from Acapulco for Manila was in 1815.

These ships are described as having been short fore and aft but of great beam, light draught, and, when afloat, had a half-moon appearance, being considerably elevated at bows and stern. They were of 1,500 tons burden, had four decks, and carried guns.

The Governor-General, the clergy, the civil functionaries, troops, prisoners, and occasionally private persons, took passage in these ships to and from the Philippines. It was, practically, the Spanish Mail.

This Colony had no coin of its own.¹ It was simply a dependency of Mexico ; and all that it brought in tribute and taxes to its Royal Treasury belonged to the Crown, to be disposed of at the King's will. For many years these payments to the local treasury were made wholly—and afterwards partially—in kind, and were kept in the Royal Stores. As the junks from China arrived each spring, this colonial produce belonging to the Crown was bartered for Chinese wares and manufactures. These goods, packed in precisely 1,500 bales, each of exactly the same size, constituted the official cargo, and were remitted to Mexico by the annual galleon. The surplus space in the ship was at the disposal of a few chosen merchants who formed the "*Consulado*,"—a trading ring which required each member to have resided in the Colony a stipulated number of years, and to be possessed of at least eight thousand dollars.

For the support of the Philippine administration Mexico remitted back to Manila, on the return of the galleon, a certain percentage of the realized value of the above-mentioned official cargo, but seeing that in any case—whether the Philippine Treasury were flourishing or not—a certain sum was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the Colony, this remittance, known as the "*Real Situado*" or royal subsidy, was, from time to time, fixed.²

The Philippine Colony was therefore nominally self-supporting, and the *Situado* was only a guaranteed income, to be covered, as far as it could be, by shipments of foreign bartered manufactures and local produce to Mexico. But, as a matter of fact, the Mexican subsidy seldom, if ever, was so covered.

By Royal Decree of 6th of June, 1665, the Mexican subsidy to the Philippines was fixed at \$2,500,000, of which \$2,000,000 was remitted in coin and \$500,000 in merchandise for the Royal Stores. Against this was remitted value in goods (Philippine taxes and tribute) \$176,101.40 so that the net Subsidy, or donation, from Mexico was - 73,898.60

\$250,000.00

¹ According to Zuñiga (*Hist. de Phil.*), the ancient inhabitants of Luzon Island had a kind of shell-money—the *Siguy* shell. This statement needs confirmation, as *Siguy* shells are so very plentiful that, at the present day, they are used by children to play at *Suneca*.

² *Situado* is not literally "Subsidy," but it was tantamount to that.

Hence, in the course of time, coin—Mexican dollars—found their way in large quantities to the Philippines, and thence to China.

The yearly value of the merchants' shipments was first limited to \$250,000, whilst the return trade could not exceed \$500,000 in coin or stores, and this was on the supposition that 100 per cent. profit would be realized on the sales in Mexico.

The allotment of surplus freight room in the galleon was regulated by the issue of *boletas*—documents which, during a long period, served as paper money in fact, for the holders were entitled to use them for shipping goods, or they could transfer them to others who wished to do so.

The demand for freight was far greater than the carrying power provided. Shipping warrants were delivered gratis to the members of the *Consulado*, to certain ecclesiastics, to members of municipality and others. Indeed, it is asserted by some writers, that the Governor's favourites were served with preference, to the prejudice of legitimate trade.

The Spaniards were not allowed to go to China to fetch merchandise for transhipment, but they could freely buy what was brought by the Chinese.

Indian and Persian goods uninterruptedly found their way to Manila.

The mail galleon usually sailed in the month of July in each year, and the voyage occupied about five months.

Very strict regulations were laid down regarding the course to be steered, but many calamities befell the ships, which were not unfrequently lost through the incapacity of the officers who had procured their appointments by favour.

For a century and a half there was practically no competition. All was arranged beforehand as to shape, quantity, size, etc. of each bale. There was, however, a deal of trickery practised respecting the declared values, and the *boletas* were often quoted at high prices. Even the selling price of the goods sent to Mexico was a preconcerted matter.

The day of the departure of the galleon or its arrival with a couple of millions of dollars or more,¹ and new faces, was naturally one of

¹ The values of shipments by law established were little regarded.

rejoicing—it was almost the event of the year. A *Te Deum* was chanted in the churches, the bells tolled, and musicians promenaded the streets, which were illuminated and draped with bunting.

So far as commercial affairs were concerned, the Philippine merchants passed very easy lives in those palmy days. One, sometimes two, days in the week were set down in the calendar as Saint-days to be strictly observed, hence an active business life would have been incompatible with the exactions of religion. The only misadventure they had to fear, was the loss of the galleon. Market rises and falls were unknown. During the absence of the galleon, there was nothing for the merchants to do but to await the arrival of the Chinese junks in the months of March, April and May, and prepare their bales. For a century and a half this sort of trading was lucrative; it required no smartness, no spirit of enterprise or special tact. Shippers were busy for only three months in the year, and during the remaining nine months, they could enjoy life as they thought fit—cut off from the rest of the world.

Some there were who, without means of their own, speculated with the *Obras Pias* funds, lent at interest.¹

By disasters at sea—shipwreck and seizure by enemies—the Philippine merchants often lost the value of their shipments in the State galleons. Mexico frequently lost the Philippine remittances to her, and the specie she sent to the Philippines. The State galleon made only one voyage a year there and back, if all went well, but, if it were lost, the shipment had to be renewed, and it often happened that several galleons were seized in a year by Spain's enemies.

¹ The *Obras Pias* funds were legacies left by pious persons. Two-thirds of the capital were to be lent at interest, to stimulate trade abroad, and one-third was to be reserved, to cover possible losses. When the accumulated interest on the original capital had reached a certain amount, it was to be applied to the payment of masses for the repose of the donors' souls.

The peculations of the Governor-General, Pedro Manuel de Arandia (1754–1759), permitted him to amass a fortune of a quarter of a million dollars in less than five years' service, which sum he left to pious works. On the separation of Mexico, (in 1819) the Government appropriated the *Obras Pias* funds, on the pretext of administering them. This measure was quite just, if, as there is reason to believe, many of the donations were the fruits of the corrupt administration of the country's wealth by high officials.

The institution existed up to the close of Spanish rule and lent money to private persons on house property and lands in and near the capital at six per cent. interest per annum. In olden times it operated as a bank.

The abortive attempt to annex the British Isles to the Spanish Crown in 1588, brought about the collapse of Spain's naval supremacy, enabling English mariners to play havoc with her galleons from America. The Philippine Islands, as a colony, had, at that date, only just come into existence, but during the series of Anglo-Spanish wars which preceded the "Family Compact" (*vide* page 94), Philippine-Mexican galleons laden with treasure became the prey of British commanders, notably Admiral Anson. The coasts were infested with Anson's Fleet. He was the terror of the Philippines from the year 1743. His exploits gave rise to consternation, and numerous councils were held to decide what to do to get rid of him. The captured galleon "Pilar" gave one-and-a-half million dollars to the enemy—the "Covadonga" was an immense prize. All over the Islands the Spaniards were on the alert for the dreaded foe; every provincial Governor sent out his spies to high promontories with orders to signal by beacons if the daring Britisher's ships were seen hovering about, whilst, in Manila, the citizens were forewarned that, at any moment, they might be called upon to repel the enemy.

Not only in fleets of gold-laden vessels did Spain and her dependencies lose immense wealth through her hostile ambition, for in view of the restrictions on Philippine trade, and the enormous profits accruing to the Spanish merchants on their shipments, English, Dutch, French, and Danish traders entered into competition against them. Shippers of these nationalities bought goods in Canton, where they established their own factories, or collecting stores. In 1731, over three millions of Mexican dollars were taken there for making purchases, and these foreign ships landed the stuffs, etc., in contraband at the American ports, where Spaniards themselves co-operated in the illicit trade. The *Rights of Man* conscientiously asserted themselves above the merciless restraint imposed by His Catholic Majesty on his own subjects, who had a natural *right* to trade.

As the Southern (Peninsula) Spanish merchants were helpless to stay this competition, which gradually annihilated their profits, their rancorous greed made them clamour against the Philippine trade, to which they chose to attribute their misfortunes, and the King was petitioned to curtail the commerce of this Colony with Mexico for their exclusive benefit. But it was not Spanish home trade alone which suffered: Acapulco was so beset with smugglers, whose merchandise,

surreptitiously introduced, found its way to Mexico City, that, in latter days, the Philippine galleons' cargoes did not always find a market. Moreover, all kinds of frauds were practised about this time in the quality of the goods baled for shipment, and the bad results revealed themselves on the Mexican side. The shippers, unwisely, thought it possible to deceive the Mexicans by sending them inferior articles at old prices, hence their disaster became partly due to "the vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself and falls on t'other side." The Governor commissioned four of the most distinguished Manila citizen traders to inspect the sorting and classification of the merchandise shipped. These citizens distinguished themselves so effectually to their own advantage, that the Governor had to suppress the commission and abandon the control, in despair of finding honest colleagues. Besides this fraud, contraband goods were taken to Acapulco in the galleons themselves, hidden in water jars.

In the time of Governor Pedro Arandia, 1754, the hundred per cent. fixed profit was no longer possible. Merchants came down to Acapulco and forced the market, by waiting until the ships were obliged to catch the monsoon back, or lie up for another season, so that often the goods had to be sold for cost, or a little over. In 1754, returns were so reduced, that the *Consulado* was owing to the *Obras Pias* over \$300,000, and to the *Casa Misericordia* \$147,000, without any hope of repayment. The *Casa Misericordia* lent money at 40%, then at 35%, and in 1755 at 20% interest, but the state of trade made capital hardly acceptable even at this last rate.

As early as the beginning of last century, the Cadiz merchants began to evince jealousy towards the Philippine shippers, alleging that the home trade was much injured by the cargoes carried to Mexico in Philippine bottoms. So effectually did they influence the King in their favour, that he issued a decree prohibiting the trade between China and the Philippines of all woven stuffs, skein and woven silk and clothing, except the finest linen. Manila imports from China were thereby limited to fine linen, porcelain, wax, pepper, cinnamon and cloves. At the expiration of six months after the proclamation of the decree, any remaining stocks of the proscribed articles were to be burnt! Thenceforth trade in such prohibited articles was to be considered illicit, and such goods arriving in Mexico after that date were to be confiscated.

By Royal Decree dated 27th of October, 1720, and published in Mexico by the Viceroy on the 15th of February, 1724, the following was enacted, viz.:—THAT in future there should be two galleons per annum, instead of one as heretofore, carrying merchandise to Acapulco, each to be of 500 tons. THAT the value of the merchandise, sent in the two, was to be \$300,000, to be precisely in gold, cinnamon, wax, porcelain, cloves, pepper, etc., but not silks, or stuffs of any kind containing silk, under pain of confiscation, to be allotted in three equal parts, namely, to the Fiscal officer, the Judge intervening, and the informer, and perpetual banishment from the Indies of all persons concerned in the shipment. THAT the number of Manila merchants was to be fixed, and any one not included in that number was to be prohibited from trading. No ecclesiastic, or professor of religion, or foreigner could be included in the elected few whose rights to ship were non-transferable. THAT if the proceeds of the sale happened to exceed the fixed sum of \$600,000, on account of market prices being higher than it was anticipated, only that amount could be brought back in money, and the difference, or excess, in goods. If it turned out to be less than that amount, the difference could not be added and remitted in money, under penalties of confiscation and two years' banishment from the Indies.

By Royal Decree of the year 1726, received and published in Manila on the 9th of August, 1727, the following regulations were made known, viz.:—THAT the prohibition relating to silk and all-silk goods was revoked. THAT only one galleon was to be sent each year (instead of two) as formerly. THAT the prohibition on clothing containing some silk, and a few other articles, was maintained. THAT certain stuffs of fine linen were permitted for five years to be shipped, to the limit of 4,000 pieces per annum, precisely in boxes containing each 500 pieces.

The Southern Spanish traders in 1729 petitioned the King against the Philippine trade in woven goods, and protested against the five years' permission granted in the above decree of 1726, declaring that it would bring about the total ruin of the Spanish weaving industry, and that the galleons, on their return to the Philippines, instead of loading Spanish manufactures, took back specie for the continuance of their traffic to the extent of three to four millions of dollars each year.

The King, however, refused to modify the decree of 1726 until the five years had expired, after which time, the Governor was ordered to load the galleons according to the former decree of 1720.

The Manila merchants were in great excitement. The Governor, under pretext that the original Royal Decree ought to have been transmitted direct to the Philippines and not merely communicated by the Mexican Viceroy, agreed "to obey and not fulfil" its conditions.

From the year 1720, during the period of prohibitions, the Royal Treasury lost about \$50,000 per annum, and many of the taxes were not recovered in full. Besides this, the donations to Government by the citizens, which sometimes had amounted to \$40,000 in one year, ceased. A double loss was also caused to Mexico, for the people there had to pay much higher prices for their stuffs supplied by Spanish (home) monopolizers, whilst Mexican coffers were being drained to make good the deficits in the Philippine Treasury. The Manila merchants were terribly alarmed, and meeting after meeting was held. A Congress of Government officials and priests was convened, and each priest was asked to express his opinion on the state of trade.

Commercial depression in the Philippines had never been so marked, and the position of affairs was made known to the King in a petition, which elicited the Royal Decree dated 8th of April 1734. It provided that the value of exports should henceforth not exceed \$500,000, and the amount permitted to return was also raised to \$1,000,000 (always on the supposition that 100^o/_o over cost laid down would be realized). The dues and taxes paid in Acapulco on arrival, and the dues paid in Manila on starting, amounted to 17^o/_o of the million expected to return.¹ This covered the whole cost of main-

¹ It happened at this date that the dues, etc. equalled 17^o/_o on the anticipated one million dollars, but they were not computed by per centage. The Royal Dues were a fixed sum since about the year 1625, so that when the legal value of the shipments was much less, the dues and other expenses represented a much higher per centage. These charges were as follows, viz. :—

Royal Dues	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$160,000
Port Dues at Acapulco	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000
Disbursements paid in Manila on the ship's departure	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,500
Port and Anchorage dues on arrival in Philippines	-	-	-	-	-	-	500
							<hr/>
							\$170,000

tenance of ships, salaries, freight and charges of all kinds which were paid by Government in the first instance.

The fixed number of merchants was to be decided by the merchants themselves without Government intervention.

Licence was granted to allow those of Cavite to be of the number, and both Spaniards and natives were eligible. Military, and other professional men, except ecclesiastics, could henceforth be of the number. Foreigners were strictly excluded. The right to ship (*boleto*) was not to be transferable, except to poor widows. A sworn invoice of the shipment was to be sent to the Royal officials and magistrate of the Supreme Court in Mexico for the value to be verified. The official in charge, or supercargo, was ordered to make a book containing a list of the goods and their respective owners and hand this to the commander of the fortress in Acapulco, with a copy of the same for the Viceroy. The Viceroy was to send his copy to the Audit Office to be again copied, and the last copy was to be forwarded to the Royal Indian Council.

Every soldier, sailor and officer was at liberty to disembark with a box containing goods, of which the Philippine value should not exceed \$30, in addition to his private effects.

All hidden goods were to be confiscated, one half to the Royal Treasury, one fourth to the Judge intervening, and one fourth to the informer, but, if such confiscated goods amounted to \$50,000 in value, the Viceroy and Mexican Council were to determine the sum to be awarded to the Judge and the informer.

If the shipment met a good market and realized more than one million dollars, only one million could be remitted in money, and the excess in duty-paid Mexican merchandise.

If the shipment failed to fetch one million, the difference could not be sent in money for making new purchases.

The object of these measures was to prevent Mexicans supplying trading capital to the Philippines instead of purchasing Peninsula manufactures. It was especially enacted that all goods sent to Mexico from the Philippines should have been purchased with the capital of the Philippine shippers, and be their exclusive property without lien. If it were discovered that on the return journey merchandise was carried to the Philippines belonging to Mexicans, it was to be

confiscated, and a fine imposed on the interested parties of three times the value, payable to the Royal Treasury on the first conviction. The second conviction entailed confiscation of all the culprits' goods, and banishment from Mexico for ten years.

The weights and measures were to be Philippine, and, above all, wax was to be sent precisely in pieces of the same weight and size as by custom established.

The Council for freight allotment in Manila was to comprise the Governor, the senior Magistrate—and failing this latter, the Minister of the Supreme Court next below him—also the Archbishop, or in his stead the Dean of the Cathedral—an ordinary judge, a Municipal Councillor, and *one merchant* as commissioner in representation of the eight who formed the *Consulado* of merchants.

The expulsion of the non-Christian Chinese in 1755 (*vide* page 118) caused a deficit in the taxes of \$30,000 per annum. The only exports of Philippine produce at this date were cacao, sugar, wax and sapanwood. Trade was in a deplorable state, and consequently the Treasury was the same. To remedy matters, and to make up the above \$30,000, the Government proposed to levy an export duty. This tax was to be applied to the cost of armaments fitted out against pirates. Before the tax was approved of by the King, some priests loaded a vessel with export merchandise and absolutely refused to pay the impost, alleging immunity. The Governor argued that there could be no such thing as religious immunity in trade concerns. The priests appealed to Spain, and the tax was disapproved of; meantime, most of the goods and the vessel itself rotted, pending the solution of the question, by the Royal Indian Council.

There have been three or four periods during which no galleon arrived at the Philippines for two or three consecutive years, and coin became very scarce, giving rise to rebellion on the part of the Chinese and misery to the Philippine population. After the capture of the “Covadonga” by the English, six years elapsed before a galleon brought the subsidy; then the “Rosario” arrived with 5,000 gold ounces (nominally \$80,000).

However, besides the Subsidy, the Colony had certain other sources of public revenue, as will be seen by the following :—

Philippine Budget for the year 1757.

INCOME.	\$	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	\$	cts.
Stamped Paper	12,199	87½	Supreme Court	34,219	75
Port and Anchorage Dues...	25,938	00	Treasury and Audit Office ...	12,092	00
Sale of Offices, such as Notaries, Public Scribes, Secretaryships, etc.	5,839	12½	University	800	00
Offices hired out	4,718	75	Cost of the annual Galleon...	23,465	00
Taxes rented out	28,500	00	Clergy	103,751	00
Excise duties	4,195	00	Land and Sea forces all over Philippines — Staff and Material	*312,864	00
Sale of <i>Encomiendas</i> , and 22 provincial govts. hired out	263,588	00	Salaries, Hospitals and Divers expenses	70,158	00
Divers taxes, fines, pardons, etc.	18,156	00	Remittance in Merchandise on account of the Subsidy	140,106	00
Tribute, direct tax	4,477	00			
Subsidy from Mexico	250,000	00			
Deficit	79,844	00			
	697,455	75		697,455	75

* Including cost of expeditions and defence against the Mussulmans.

When the merchant citizens of Manila were in clover, they made donations to the Government to cover the deficit, and loans were raised amongst them to defray extraordinary disbursements, such as expeditions against the Mussulmans, etc.

In the good years, too, the valuation of the merchandise shipped and the returns were under-rated in the sworn declarations, so that an immensely profitable trade was done on a larger scale than was legally permitted. Between 1754 and 1759, in view of the reduced profits, due to the circumstances already mentioned, the merchants in Manila prayed the King for a reduction of the Royal dues, which had been originally fixed on the basis of the gross returns being equal to double the cost of the merchandise laid down in Acapulco.

To meet the case, another Royal Decree was issued confirming the fixed rate of Royal dues and disbursements, but in compensation the cargo was thenceforth permitted to include 4,000 pieces of fine linen, without any restriction whatsoever as to measure or value; the sworn value was abolished, and the maximum return value of the whole shipment was raised to one and-a-half millions of dollars. Hence the total dues and disbursements became equal to 11½ per cent. instead of 17 per cent., as heretofore, on the anticipated return value.

In 1763, the Subsidy, together with the *Consulado* shippers' returns, amounted in one voyage to two-and-a-half millions of dollars (*vide* page 96). After the independence of Mexico, tribute in kind

(tobacco) was, until recently, shipped direct to Spain, and Peninsula coin began to circulate in these Islands.

Consequent on the banishment of the non-Christian Chinese in 1755, trade became stagnant. The Philippines now experienced what Spain had felt since the reign of Philip III., when the expulsion of 900,000 Moorish agriculturists and artisans crippled her home industries, which it took a century and a half to revive.

The Acapulco trade was fast on the wane, and the Spanish element were anxious to get the local trade into their own hands.

Every Chinese shop was closed by order, and a joint-stock trading company of Spaniards and half-breeds was formed with a capital of \$76,500, in shares of \$500 each. Stores were opened in the business quarter, each under the control of two Spaniards or half-breeds, the total number of shopmen being 21.

The object of the company was to purchase clothing and staple goods of all kinds required in the Islands, and to sell the same at 30 per cent. over cost price. Out of the 30 per cent. were to be paid an 8 per cent. tax, a dividend of 10 per cent. per annum to the shareholders, and the remainder was to cover salaries and form a reserve fund for new investments. The company found it impossible to make the same bargains with the Chinese sellers as the Chinese buyers had done, and a large portion of the capital was soon lost.

The funds at that date in the *Obras Pias* amounted to \$159,000, and the trustees were applied to by the company for financial support, which they refused. The Governor was petitioned; theologians and magistrates were consulted on the subject. The theological objections were overruled by the judicial arguments, and the Governor ordered that \$130,000 of the *Obras Pias* funds should be loaned to the company on debentures; nevertheless, within a year the company failed.

A commercial company, known as the "*Compañia Guipuzcoana de Caracas*," was created under Royal sanction, and obtained certain privileges. During the term of its existence, it almost monopolized the Philippine-American trade which was yet carried on exclusively in the State galleons. On the expiration of its charter, about the year 1783, a petition was presented to the Home Government, praying for a renewal of monopolies and privileges in favour of a Trading Corporation, to be founded on a modified basis. Consequently, a

charter (*Real Cédula*) was granted on the 10th March, 1785, to a new company, bearing the style and title of the "*Real Compañia de Filipinas*." Its capital was \$8,000,000, in 32,000 shares of \$250 each. King Charles III. took up 4,000 shares—3,000 shares were reserved for the Friars and the Manila residents, the balance being allotted in the Peninsula.

The defunct company had engaged solely in the American trade, employing the galleons—the present one left that sphere of commerce, and proposed to trade with the East and Europe.

"To the '*Real Compañia de Filipinas*' was conceded the exclusive privilege of trade between Spain and the Archipelago, with the exception of the traffic between Manila and Acapulco. Its ships could fly the Royal Standard, with a signal to distinguish them from war vessels. It was allowed two years, counting from the date of charter, to acquire foreign-built vessels and register them under the Spanish flag, free of fees. It could import, duty free, any goods for the fitting out of its ships, or ships' use. It could take into its service Royal naval officers, and, whilst these were so employed, their seniority would continue to count, and in all respects they would enjoy the same rights as if they were serving in the navy. It could engage foreign sailors and officers, always provided that the captain and chief officer were Spaniards."

"All existing decrees and Royal orders, forbidding the importation into the Peninsula of stuffs and manufactured articles from India, China and Japan were abrogated in favour of this company. Philippine produce, too, shipped to Spain by the Company, could enter duty free."

"The prohibition on direct traffic with China and India was henceforth abolished in favour of all Manila merchants, and the Company's ships in particular could call at Chinese ports."

"The company undertook to support Philippine agriculture and to spend, with this object, 4% of its nett profits."

In order to protect the company's interests, foreign ships were not allowed to bring goods from Europe to the Philippines, although they could land Chinese and Indian wares.

By the Treaties of Tordesillas and Antwerp (*vide* pages 19 and 76), the Spaniards had agreed that to reach their Oriental possessions

¹ "La Libertad del comercio de Filipinas," by Manuel Azcárraga.

they would take only the Western route, which would be *viâ* Mexico or round Cape Horn. These Treaties, however, were virtually quashed by King Charles III. on the establishment of the *Real Compañia*. Holland only lodged a nominal protest when the company's ships were authorised to sail to the Philippines *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope; for the Spaniards' ability to compete had, meanwhile, vastly diminished.

With such important immunities, and the credit which ought to be procurable by a company with \$8,000,000 paid up capital, its operations might have been relatively vast. However, its balance sheet, closed to the 31st October, 1790 ($5\frac{1}{2}$ years after it started), shows the total assets to be only \$10,700,194. The working account is not set out. Although it was never, in itself, a flourishing concern, it brought immense benefit to the Philippines (at the expense of its shareholders) by opening the way for the Colony's future commercial prosperity. These advantages operated in two ways. 1°. It gave great impulse to agriculture, which thenceforth began to make important strides. By large sums of money, distributed in anticipation of the 4% on nett profit, and expended in the rural districts, it imparted life, vigour and development to those germs of husbandry—such as the cultivation of sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, indigo, pepper, etc.—which, for a long time since, were, and to a certain extent are still, the staple dependence of many provinces. 2°. It opened the road to final extinction of all those vexatious prohibitions to trade with the Eastern ports and the Peninsula which had checked the spirit and energy of the Philippine merchants. It was the precursor of free trade—the stepping-stone to commercial liberty in these regions.

The causes of its decline are not difficult to trace. Established as it was on a semi-official basis, all kinds of intrigues were resorted to—all manner of favouritism was besought, to secure appointments, more or less lucrative, in the *Great Company*. Influential incapacity prevailed over knowledge and ability, and the men intrusted with the direction of the company's operations proved themselves inexperienced and quite unfit to cope with unshackled competition from the outer world. Their very exclusiveness was an irresistible temptation to contrabandists. Manila private merchants, viewing with displeasure monopoly in any form, lost no opportunity of putting obstacles in the way of the company. Again, the willing concurrence of native

labourers in an enterprise of magnitude was as impossible to secure then as it is now. The native had a high time at the expense of the company, revelling in the enjoyment of cash advances, for which some gave little, others nothing. Success could only be achieved by forced labour and this right was not included in the charter.

In 1825, the company was on the point of collapse, when, to support the tottering fabric, its capital was increased by \$12,500,000 under *Real Cédula* of that year, dated 22nd June. King Charles IV. took 15,772 (\$250) shares of this new issue. But nothing could save the wreck, and finally, it was decreed, by *Real Cédula* of 28th May, 1830, that the privileges conceded to the "*Real Compañia de Filipinas*" had expired—and Manila was then opened to Free Trade with the whole world.

In 1820 the declared independence of Mexico, acknowledged subsequently by the European Powers, forced Spain to a decision, and direct trade between the Philippines and the mother country became a reluctant necessity. No restrictions were placed on the export to Spain of Colonial produce, but value limitations were fixed with regard to Chinese goods. The export from the Philippines to Acapulco, Callao and other South American ports was limited to \$750,000 at that date. Twenty-two years afterwards, one third of all the Manila export trade was done with China.

When the galleons fell into disuse, communication was definitely established with Spain by merchant sailing ships *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope, whilst the opening of the Suez Canal has now brought the Philippines within 32 days' journey by steamer from Barcelona.

The voyage *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope occupied from three to six months; the sailings were less frequent than at the present day, and the journey was invariably attended with innumerable discomforts. A few old Spanish residents now compare their privations, when they journeyed from the Peninsula, with the travelling facilities of these times. What is to-day a pleasure, was then a hardship, consequently the number of Spaniards in the Islands was small; their movements were always known. It was hardly possible for a Spaniard to acquire a sum of money and migrate secretly from one island to another, and still less easy was it for him to leave the colony clandestinely.

The Spaniard of that day who settled in the Colony usually became well known during the period of the service which brought him to the

Far East. If, after his retirement from public duty, on the conclusion of his tenure of office, he decided to remain in the Colony, it was often due to his being able to count on the pecuniary support and moral protection of the priests. Hence it is, that the majority of needy Spaniards in the Philippines, in the course of time, came to entertain a kind of socialistic notion that those who have means, ought to aid and set up those who have nothing, without guarantee of any kind: "*Si hubiera quien me proteja!*" was the common sigh—the outcome of Caesarism nurtured by a Government which discountenanced individual effort. Later on, too, many natives seemed to think that the foreign firms, and others employing large capitals, might well become philanthropic institutions, paternally assisting them with unsecured capital. The natives were bred in this moral bondage—they had seen trading companies, established under royal sanction, benefit the few and collapse—they had witnessed extensive works, undertaken *por viâ de administracion*, miscarry in their ostensible objects, but prosper in their real intent, namely, the providing of berths for those who lived by their wits.

The patriarchal system was essayed by a wealthy firm of American merchants (Russell and Sturgis) with most disastrous results to themselves. They distributed capital all over the Colony, and the natives abused their support in a most abominable manner. A native, on the pretext that he had opened up a plantation, would present himself to the firm, and procure advances against future crops with every facility. Having once advanced, it was necessary to continue doing so to save the first loans.

Under the auspices of the late Mr. Nicholas Loney, great impulse was given to the commerce of Yloilo, and, due to his efforts, the Island of Negros was first opened up. His memory is still revered, and he is often spoken of as the original benefactor to the trading community of that district. Messrs. Russell and Sturgis subsequently extended their operations to that locality. The result was, that they were deceived in every direction by the natives who, instead of bringing in produce to pay off advances, sent their sons to colleges, built fine houses, bought pianos, jewellery, etc., and in a hundred ways satisfied their pride and love for outward show in a manner never known before, at the expense of the American capitalists. As bankers, the firm enjoyed the unlimited confidence of those classes who had something

to lose as well as to gain. Hence, it is said that the original partners having withdrawn their money interest, the firm endeavoured to continue the business with a working capital chiefly derived from the funds deposited by private persons at 8^o/_o per annum. All might have gone well, had not the unprincipledness of the native agriculturists, who had all to gain and extremely little to lose, brought about the failure of the house in 1875. The news amazed everybody. Trade was, for the moment, completely paralysed. The great firm, which had for years been the mainspring of all Philippine mercantile enterprise, had failed !

But whilst many individuals suffered (principally depositors at interest) fifty times as many families to-day owe their financial position to the generosity of the big firm, and I could mention the names of half-a-dozen real estate owners in Yloilo Province who, having started with nothing, somehow found themselves possessing comparatively large fortunes at the time of the liquidation.

Consequent on the smash a reaction set in which soon proved beneficial to the Colony at large. Foreign and Spanish houses of minor importance, which had laboured in the shade during the existence of the great firm, were now able to extend their operations in branches of trade which had hitherto been practically monopolized.

* * * * *

Before Manila was opened to foreign trade, even in a restricted form, special concessions appear to have been granted to a few traders. One writer mentions that a French mercantile house was founded in Manila many years prior to 1787, and that an English firm obtained permission to establish itself in 1809.

In olden times, the demand for ordinary commodities was supplied by the Chinese traders and a few Americans and Persians. During the latter half of the last century, occasionally a Spanish man-o'-war arrived, bringing European manufactures for sale, and loaded a return cargo of Oriental goods.

Fifty years ago the Philippine Islands were but little known in the foreign markets and commercial centres of Europe. Notwithstanding the special trading concessions granted to one foreigner and another from the beginning of this century, it was not until the Port of Manila was unrestrictively opened to resident foreign merchants in 1834 that

a regular export trade with the whole mercantile world gradually came into existence.

It is said that before this time (during the existence of the "*Real Compañía de Filipinas*") a Mr. Butler solicited permission to reside in, and open up, a trade between Manila and foreign ports, but his petition was held to be monstrous and grievously dangerous to the political security of the Colony, hence it was rejected. No doubt the same spirit of exclusiveness and abhorrence of foreign intercourse obtained at this time as in 1738, when the Spaniards preferred a war with England to the fulfilment of the *Asiento* contract entered into under the Treaty of Utrecht.¹

Subsequently the American firm already mentioned—Russell and Sturgis—made a similar request, which, having the support of the Governor-General of that day was granted. Then Mr. Butler, taking advantage of this recent precedent, succeeded in founding a commercial house in Manila. Since then a great number of foreigners have followed their example, so that in the ports of Manila, Yloilo, and Cebú there were about a dozen British and a dozen German and Swiss firms, besides a few smaller merchants of divers nationalities, trading with Europe, America, China, Australia, etc.

The same distrustful sentiment of olden times, in the Spanish commercial and colonial policy, continued up to the last day. Proposed reforms and solicitations for permission to introduce modern improvements were by no means welcomed. In the provinces, clerical opposition was cast against all liberal innovations, and in the Government

¹ The Peace of Utrecht, signed in 1713, settled the succession of Philip, the French Dauphin, to the Spanish throne, whilst among the concessions which England gained for herself under this treaty, was a convention with Spain, known as the *Asiento* contract. This gave the English the right, which had hitherto been denied them, of trading with the Spanish colonies of America. Nevertheless, the exercise of this right was disputed in 1738. An armed contest ensued, and the Spaniards lost several galleons in a naval combat, undertaken by Admiral Vernon and Commodore Anson, who attacked Peru and Chili.

So prejudicial to the vital interests of Spain was the ceded right held to be, that the earliest efforts of the first new Cabinet under Ferdinand VI. were engaged in a revision of the commercial differences between that country and England. England was persuaded to relinquish the *Asiento* contract in exchange for advantages of greater consideration in another direction.

Less than a century ago England took over from Spain Nootka Sound, a station on the Pacific coast, where a flourishing fur trade was carried on by British settlers; the cession was accorded under a solemn promise not to trade thence with the Spanish colonies of South America.

bureaux they were encompassed with obstructive formalities, objections and delays.¹

By Royal Ordinance of 1844, strangers were excluded from the interior; in 1857, unrepealed decrees were brought forward to urge the prohibition of foreigners to establish themselves in the Colony—and, as late as 1886, their trading here was declared to be prejudicial to the “material interests of the country.”²

The support of the Friars referred to in these pages became a thing of the past. Colonists had increased tenfold—the means of communication and of exit were too ample for the security of the lenders, who, as members of religious communities, could not seek redress at law, and, moreover, those “lucky hits”—which were made by penniless Europeans in former times by pecuniary help “just in the nick of time”—were no longer possible, for every known channel of lucrative transaction was, in time, taken up by capitalists.

It was the capital brought originally to the Philippines through foreign channels which developed the modern commerce of the Colony, and much of the present wealth of the inhabitants engaged in trade and agriculture is indirectly due to foreign enterprise. Negros Island was entirely opened up by foreign capital. In Manila, many of the half-castes, pure natives, and some Spaniards, who at this day figure as men of position and standing, commenced their careers as messengers, warehouse-keepers, scribes, etc. of the foreign houses established.

There were a great many well-to-do Spaniards in trade, but few whose funds on starting were brought by them from the Peninsula. The first Spanish steamer-owner in the Colony was a baker by trade,

¹ For example: *vide* “Memoria leída por el Secretario de la Cámara de Comercio de Manila, Don F. de P. Rodoreda, en 28 de Marzo de 1890,” page 6, (pub. Manila 1890 by Diaz Puertas y Compañía).

It says thus:—“Jurado Mercantil—El expediente siguió la penosa peregrinación de nuestro pesado y complicado engranaje administrativo y llevaba ya muy cerca de dos años empleados en solo recorrer dos de los muchos Centros consultivos á que debía ser sometido, etc.”

² The following is an extract from the text of the preamble to a Decree, dated 19th March, 1886,—relative to the organization of the Philippine Exhibition held in Madrid—signed by the Colonial Minister, Don German Gamazo:—

“Con él se logrará que la gran masa de numerario que sale de la Metrópoli para adquirir en países extranjeros algodón, azúcar, cacao, tabaco y otros productos vaya á nuestras posesiones de Oceanía donde comerciantes extranjeros las acaparan con daño evidente de los intereses materiales del país.”

and, due to the support of Russell & Sturgis, he made his way. One of the richest Spanish merchants (who died in 1894) once kept a little grocer's shop, and after the failure of Russell & Sturgis, he developed into a merchant and shipowner, his firm being now considered the largest Spanish house operating in hemp and other produce.

There are two foreign Bank Branches¹ and three Bank Agencies in Manila; also one foreign Bank Branch in Yloilo. About fourteen Spanish firms of a certain importance were established in Manila, Yloilo and Cebú in addition to the Europeans trading here and there on the coasts of the Islands. In Manila there was a Spanish private banking house; also the "*Banco Español de Isabel II.*," which was instituted in 1852, with a capital of \$400,000, in 2,000 shares of \$200 each. The capital was subsequently increased to \$600,000. Authorised by charter, it issued notes payable to bearer on demand from \$10 upwards.

The legal maximum limit of Note issue was \$1,200,000, whilst the actual circulation was about \$100,000 short of that figure. This bank did a very limited amount of very secure business, and it has paid dividends of 12 to 15%; hence the shares were always at a premium. In 1888, when 12% dividend was paid, this stock was quoted at \$420; in 1895 it rose to \$435.

During the reign of Isabella II. (1833-1868) Philippine coin was issued. Thirty-five years ago gold coin really obtained less than its nominal value in silver, and as much as 10% was paid to exchange an *onza* of gold (\$16) for silver. In 1878 gold and silver were worth their nominal relative values. Gold, however, has gradually disappeared from the Colony, large quantities having been exported to China. In 1881 the current premium for purchasing gold was 2%, and at the close of 1884 or beginning of 1885, as much as 10% premium was paid for Philippine gold of the Isabella II. or any previous coinage. The gold currency of Alfonso XII. (1875-1885) was always of less intrinsic value than the coin of earlier date, the

¹ 1°. The "Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation," incorporated in 1867. Present position: Capital paid up, \$10,000,000. Reserve fund, \$10,000,000 (held in London at Ex. 2s. per \$ = £1,000,000, invested in Consols and other Sterling securities). Reserve liability of proprietors, \$10,000,000.

2°. "The Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China," incorporated in 1853. Capital paid up, £800,000. Reserve fund, £500,000. Reserve liability of proprietors, £800,000.

difference averaging about $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. At the present day, gold could only be obtained in very limited quantities at about the same rate as sight drafts on Europe. Philippine gold pieces are rare.

In 1883 Mexican dollars of a later coinage than 1877 were called in, and a term was fixed after which they would cease to be legal tender. In July 1886 a Decree was published calling in all foreign and Chinese marked coins (chop dollars¹) within six months, after which date those not brought in would cease to be legal tender, and any person who introduced such coin into the Colony would be subject to the penalty of a fine equal to 20% of the value imported—the obligation to immediately re-export the coin—and civil action for the misdemeanour. At the expiration of the six months, the Treasury was not in a position to effect the conversion of the foreign medium in private hands prior to the publication of the decree. The term was extended, but in time the measure became practically void, so far as the legal tender was concerned. However, the importation of Mexican dollars was still prohibited, but as they remained current in Manila, at par value, whilst in Hongkong and Singapore they could be bought for 8 to 12% (and in 1894, 25%) less than Manila dollars, large quantities were smuggled into the Colony. It is estimated that in the year 1887 the clandestine introduction of Mexican dollars into Manila averaged about \$150,000 per month. I remember a Chinaman was caught in September, 1887, with \$164,000, imported in cases declared to contain matches. In 1890 there was a “boom” in the silver market. Owing to the action of the American Silverites, the Washington Treasury called for a monthly supply of four millions of silver dollars, consequently sight rate on London in Hongkong touched $3/10\frac{1}{2}$ and in Manila rose to $3/10\frac{1}{2}$, but a rapid reaction set in when the Treasury demand ceased. In 1895 we heard in Manila that the Government were about to coin Philippine dollars and absolutely demonetize Mexicans as a medium in the islands. But this measure was never carried out, probably because the government had not the necessary cash with which to effect the conversion.

In June 1893, the s.s. *Don Juan*, owned by Francisco L. Rojas, of Manila, took on board in Hongkong about \$400,000 Mexicans for

¹ Chop dollars are those defaced by private Chinese marks.

the purpose of smuggling them into Manila. On board there were also, as passengers, a Señor Rodoreda and a crowd of Chinese coolies. The vessel caught fire off the W. coast of Luzon. The captain, the crew, and the Spanish passenger abandoned the ship in boats, leaving the Chinese to their awful fate. A steam launch was sent alongside and saved a few dollars, whilst the despairing Chinese became victims to the flames and sharks. The ship's burnt-out hull was towed to Manila Bay. The remaining dollars were confiscated, and the captain and chief engineer were prosecuted.

The universal monetary crisis due to the depreciation of silver was experienced here, and the Government made matters still worse by coining half-dollars and 20-cent pieces, which had not the intrinsic value expressed, and exchange consequently fell still lower. In September, 1887, a Madrid periodical, *Correo de España*, stated that the Philippine 50 cent pieces were rejected in Madrid both by money-changers and merchants in the Government offices. In May, 1888, the dollar was quoted at $3/2\frac{3}{4}$ (over 19% below nominal value), and shippers to the Colony, who had already suffered considerably by the loss on exchange, had their interests still further impaired by the iniquitous action of the Treasury.

EXCHANGE FLUCTUATIONS.

SIGHT ON LONDON.			QUOTATIONS IN THE YEAR 1889.		
Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Sight on	Highest.	Lowest.
1869	$4/5\frac{1}{4}$	$4/1\frac{3}{4}$	London -	$3/6\frac{1}{4}$	$3/3$.
1879	$3/11$	$3/9$	Hongkong -	14 % dis.	1 % dis.
1880	$3/11\frac{3}{4}$	$3/9\frac{3}{4}$	Singapore -	13 „ „	1 „ „
1881	$4/1\frac{1}{2}$	$3/11$	Amoy -	$12\frac{3}{8}$ „ „	1 „ „
1882	$4/1$	$3/11\frac{1}{2}$	Madrid -	20 „ prem.	$10\frac{1}{2}$ „ prem.
1883	$4/0\frac{1}{4}$	$3/9\frac{1}{2}$	Paris -	fes. 4 ⁴⁵ .	fes. 4 ⁰⁸ .
1884	$3/9\frac{1}{4}$	$3/7\frac{3}{4}$			
1885	$3/10\frac{1}{4}$	$3/8\frac{1}{2}$			
1886	$3/9\frac{3}{4}$	$3/7\frac{1}{2}$			

EXCHANGE FLUCTUATIONS.—*continued.*

SIGHT ON LONDON.			COMPARED WITH QUOTATIONS ON 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1898.	
Year.	Highest.	Lowest.	Sight on	Rate.
1887	3/8½	3/3	London -	1/11½
1888	3/6¾	3/2¾	Hongkong -	½ % dis.
1889	3/6¼	3/3	Singapore -	½ „ prem.
1890	3/10½	3/2¼	Amoy -	½ „ „
1892	3/3¾	3/	Madrid -	30 „ „
1897	2/2	1/2¾	Paris -	frs. 2 42.

A Custom House was established and port opened in Zamboanga (6° 56" N. lat.) for direct communication with abroad in 1831; those of Sual (16° 5" N. lat.) and Yloilo (10° 42" N. lat.) in 1855, and that of Cebú (10° 20" N. lat.) in 1863. The Custom House of Sual was subsequently abolished, and the port closed to direct trading with foreign countries. The place having therefore lost its former importance, it has since lapsed into a miserable lifeless village.

Special permission could be obtained for ships to load in and sail direct from harbours where there were no Custom Houses established, on a sum of money being paid beforehand into the *Caja de Depósitos* in Manila, to cover duties, dues, etc.

After the opening of the Port of Yloilo, three years passed before a cargo of produce sailed thence to a foreign port. Since then, it has gradually become the shipping centre for the crops (chiefly sugar and sapanwood) raised in the Islands of Panay and Negros, whilst from about the year 1882 it has attracted a portion of what was formerly the Cebú trade. The development of Yloilo as a port, trading with abroad, is entirely due to foreigners.

The opening of the Port of Yloilo was a considerable aid to agriculture in the Visayas. Previous to this event, the small output of sugar (which had never reached one thousand tons in any year) had to be sent up to Manila; the expense of local freight, brokerages and double loading and reloading left so little profit to the planters that the results were then quite discouraging.

None but wooden sugar-cane mills were employed at that time, but since then, many small steam-power factories have been erected, although they are all far behind the latest modern improvements in the apparatus relating to this industry. The produce shipped in Yloilo is principally carried to the United States in American sailing ships. The following figures will serve to show the commercial importance of this district :—

CHIEF EXPORTS FROM YLOILO.¹

—	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
SUGAR - - -	62,775	67,169	56,497	93,396	41,196	109,609	83,456	77,847	76,977	114,207
SAPANWOOD - -	—	—	1,014	1,588	2,041	1,100	2,913	4,260	5,848	4,913

—	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
SUGAR - - -	96,000	85,104	165,407	137,716	88,533	110,527	124,648	130,542
SAPANWOOD - -	1,415	3,317	2,267	1,586	1,633	694	2,743	3,165

The opening of the port of Cebú has undoubtedly been beneficial to the Colony, but the inhabitants of that island, notably docile, are little fond of work, and the exports of local produce are small. In the same years as above, they have been as follows, viz. :—

CHIEF EXPORTS FROM CEBÚ.

—	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
SUGAR - - -	20,098	17,285	23,879	22,500	17,274	23,195	18,140	17,815	16,694	11,862
HEMP - - -	7,551	12,771	8,114	6,567	7,716	8,214	7,192	7,663	11,298	11,616

—	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
SUGAR - - -	3,455	8,762	18,388	16,962	10,198	13,335	7,701	15,257
HEMP - - -	7,068	11,087	11,035	10,010	16,804	10,445	12,564	10,054

¹ Yloilo had its "Gremio de Comerciantes" (Board of Trade), constituted by Philippine General-Government Decree of the 5th September, 1884—and Manila had a Chamber of Commerce.

TOTAL CHIEF EXPORTS FROM THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

—	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
SUGAR { Manila Cebu Yloilo Total	Tons. 98,824 20,098 62,775 181,697	Tons. 126,592 17,285 67,169 211,046	Tons. 71,032 23,879 56,497 151,408	Tons. 95,696 22,500 93,396 211,592	Tons. 63,208 17,274 41,496 121,978	Tons. 65,678 28,195 109,609 203,482	Tons. 84,204 18,140 83,456 185,800	Tons. 83,469 17,815 77,817 179,131	Tons. 91,628 16,694 76,997 185,319
HEMP { Manila Cebu Total	Tons. 42,383 7,551 49,934	Tons. 41,535 12,771 54,306	Tons. 36,091 8,114 44,205	Tons. 40,113 6,567 46,680	Tons. 43,260 7,716 50,976	Tons. 43,927 8,214 52,141	Tons. 39,268 7,192 46,460	Tons. 56,709 7,663 64,372	Tons. 71,381 11,298 82,679
SAPAN- WOOD { Manila Yloilo and Cebu Total	— — 5,527	4,253 — 4,253	3,989 1,914 5,003	1,336 1,588 2,924	827 2,041 2,868	2,911 1,100 4,011	1,885 2,943 4,828	962 4,260 5,222	750 5,853 6,603
<i>Shipped from Manila only.</i> { Coffee Cigars, thousands Tobacco Leaf Buffalo Hides Indigo Gum Mastic Cordage M. O. P. Shell	5,059 82,783 8,657 341 148 431 604 200	5,383 89,502 7,027 418 160 440 467 85	5,052 103,597 6,195 291 147 339 457 25	7,451 190,079 7,267 429 31 235 360 28	7,251 125,091 7,181 636 49 245 389 10	5,209 114,821 6,799 692 84 195 265 10	7,337 102,717 6,039 666 64 205 187 8	4,998 99,562 4,841 566 111 404 175 13	6,702 109,109 10,229 1,888 232 330 124 12

TOTAL CHIEF EXPORTS FROM THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS--continued.

—	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	According to Sir John Bowring.
SUGAR { Manila Cebu Yloilo }	92,856 11,862 114,207	48,071 3,455 96,000	73,295 8,762 85,104	67,996 18,388 165,407	107,003 16,962 137,716	94,656 10,198 83,533	107,221 13,355 110,527	97,705 7,701 124,648	57,382 15,257 130,542	
Total -	218,925	147,526	167,162	251,791	261,681	193,387	231,083	250,054	203,181	34,821
HEMP { Manila Cebu }	59,455 11,616	56,201 7,068	68,255 11,987	87,778 11,035	70,174 10,910	82,693 16,804	93,595 10,445	83,172 12,564	102,721 10,034	
Total -	71,071	63,269	79,343	98,813	80,184	99,497	104,040	95,736	112,755	25,781
SAPAN- WOOD { Manila Yloilo & Cebu }	574 4,018	1,385 1,415	880 3,317	1,574 2,267	3,332 1,583	1,292 1,633	1,619 694	808 2,743	1,022 3,165	
Total -	4,592	2,800	4,197	3,841	4,918	2,925	2,313	3,551	4,187	4,201
Coffee Cigars Tobacco Leaf Buffalo Hides Indigo Gum Mastic Cordage M. O. P. Shell	5,841 121,074 10,161	4,796 109,636 8,952	2,869 97,740 9,803	1,326 137,059 12,714	307 137,458 11,534	309 137,877 9,545	194 164,430 10,348	89 183,667 10,986	136 156,916 13,836	1,560 85,142 4,106
	755 221	394 19	272 89	327 278	398 72	398 72	467 27	397 23	728 33	402 36
	490	188	303	136	189	189	275	172	223	
	94	196	149	100	170	170	198	194	239	
	23	31	18	10	54	54	79	13	42	

Shipped from Manila only.

The total VALUES declared in the Customs Houses were as follows, viz. :—

In 1841—\$ 3,230,000	<i>Imports.</i>	\$ 4,370,000	<i>Exports.</i>
In 1885—\$19,171,468	„	\$24,553,685	„
In 1888—\$21,208,445	„	\$26,358,640	„
In 1891—\$24,860,000	„	\$25,751,843	„
In 1892—\$27,000,604	„	\$33,478,924	„
In 1896—\$17,740,010	„	\$28,210,032	„
In 1897—\$16,350,328	„	<i>No official returns procurable.</i>	

The Excise and Customs REVENUE in 1889 was as follows, viz. :—

CUSTOM HOUSE OF	IMPORT.	EXPORT.	NAVIGA- TION.	FINES.	EXCISE.	TOTALS.
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Manila - - -	1,538,834 10	545,929 44	23,414 94	1,027 13	157,946 21	2,267,151 82
Yloilo - - -	530,391 97	1,402 44	12,311 52	—	—	544,105 93
Cebu - - -	12,151 33	27,549 83	4,103 40	10 00	1,747 59	45,562 15
Zamboanga - -	307 12	—	38 47	3 34	—	348 93
Atimonan - -	—	—	42 09	—	—	42 09
Totals - -	2,081,684 52	574,881 71	39,910 42	1,040 47	159,693 80	2,857,210 92

Against a total of \$2,650,304.41 in 1888 and \$2,217,505.55 in 1896.

Most of the carrying Import trade was in the hands of subsidized Spanish steamer owners whilst the larger portion of the Exports was conveyed in foreign vessels, which arrived in ballast from Eastern ports where they had left cargoes.

Smuggling was carried on to a considerable extent for years, and in 1891 a fresh stimulus was given to contraband by the introduction of a Protectionist Tariff, which came into force on April 1st of that year, and under which Spanish goods brought in Spanish ships were allowed to enter free of duty.¹

In order to evade the payment of the Manila Port Works Tax (for which no value was given, nor ever likely to be, *vide* Chap. XXII.), large quantities of piece goods for Manila were shipped from Europe to Yloilo, passed through the Custom House there and re-shipped in inter-island steamers to Manila. In 1890 some two-thirds of the foreign imports into Yloilo were for re-shipment as above.

¹ *Vide* "Board of Trade Journal" for February and April 1891.

The circumstances which directly led to the opening of Zamboanga, as a port of commerce, are interesting, when it is remembered that the island (Mindanao) is independent in the interior—inhabited by races indomitable by the Spaniards, and where agriculture, by civilized settlers, is as yet nascent. It appears that the free and open Port of Sulu had been, for a long time, frequented by foreign ships, whose owners or officers (chiefly British) unscrupulously supplied the Sulus with sundry manufactured goods, including *arms of warfare*, much to the detriment of Spanish interests there, in exchange for mother-of-pearl, pearls, gums, etc. The Spaniards claimed suzerain rights over the island, but were not strong enough to establish and protect a Custom House, so they imposed the regulation that ships loading in Sulu should put in at Zamboanga for clearance to foreign ports. The foreigners who carried on this illicit traffic protested against a sailing-ship being required to go out of her homeward course about 120 miles to put into Zamboanga, for the mere formality of customs clearance. A British ship (and perhaps many before her) sailed straight away from Sulu, in defiance of the Spaniards, who had naturally sought their own protection. The matter was then brought to the notice of the British Government, who intimated that either Sulu must be declared a free port or a Custom House must be established there. The former alternative was chosen by the Spaniards.

Zamboanga would have been a convenient port of call for vessels coming from Australia if the harbour dues had not been so excessive.

The supreme control of merchant shipping and naval forces was vested in the same high official. No foreigner was permitted to own a vessel trading between Spain and her colonies, or between one Spanish colony and another, or doing a coasting trade within the Colony. This difficulty was however readily overcome, and reduced to a mere ineffective formality, by foreigners employing Spaniards to become nominal owners of their vessels. Thus a very large portion of the inter-island carrying trade in steamers was virtually conducted by foreigners, who were chiefly British.

Mail steamers, subsidized by the Government, left the Capital every fortnight for the different islands, and there was a quarterly Pacific Mail Service to the Ladrone Islands.¹ Regular mails arrived

¹ Manila to Yap, 1,160 miles. Yap to Ponapé, 1,270 miles. Ponapé to Apra, 880 miles.

from, and left for, Europe every fortnight, but there were frequent intermediate opportunities of remitting and receiving correspondence, so that there were really about three mails received and three despatched every month. The mail route for Europe is *viâ* Singapore, but there were some seven or eight sailings of steamers per month between Manila and Hongkong (the nearest foreign colony—640 miles), whence mails were forwarded to Europe, Australia, Japan, United States, etc.

Between the Capital and several ports in the adjacent provinces, there was a daily service of passenger and light cargo steamers.

Between Yloilo and the adjoining Province of Antique, the District of Concepcion and the Islands of Negros and Cebú, there were some half-dozen small steamers, belonging to Filipinos and Spaniards, running regularly with passengers and merchandise, whilst in the sugar-producing season—from January to May—they were fully freighted with cargoes of this staple article.

The carrying trade in sailing craft between the Islands was chiefly in the hands of natives and half-castes. There were also a few Spanish sailing ship-owners, and in the above-mentioned Port of Yloilo, a few schooners (called *lorchas*), loading from 40 to 100 tons of sugar, were the property of foreigners, under the nominal ownership of Spanish subjects, for the effects of the law.

The principal exporters employ middlemen for the collecting of produce and usually require their guarantee for sales at credit to the provincial purchasers of imports. These middlemen are always persons of means, born in the Colony, and understanding both the intricacies of the native character and the European mode of transacting business, they serve as very useful—almost indispensable—intermediaries.

It was only when the crisis in the Sugar trade affected the whole world, and began to be felt in the Philippines in 1884, that the majority of the natives engaged in that industry slowly yielded to the conviction that quotations depended upon circumstances quite beyond the control of the foreign buyers and exporters. Until that period, the idea obtained amongst the small planters, that the current price of produce fluctuated according to the caprice of the foreign buyer, instead of supply and demand—hence many have lost money by perversely refusing to take advantage of market rises. Before transactions were so thoroughly in the hands of middlemen, small producers used to take their samples to the purchasers, “to see how much they were disposed to

pay" as they expressed it—the term "market price" seldom being used or understood in the provinces.

Accustomed to deal, during the first centuries of the Spanish occupation, with the Chinese, the natives, even amongst themselves, rarely have fixed prices in retail dealings, and nearly every quotation in small traffic is taken only as a fancy price, subject to considerable rebate before closing. The Chinese understand the native pretty well; they study his likings, and they so fix their prices that an enormous reduction can be made for his satisfaction. He goes away quite contented, whilst the Chinaman chuckles over having got the best of the bargain. Even the import houses, when they publish their goods for sale, seldom state the prices; it seems as if all regarded the question of price as a shifty one.

The system of giving credit in the retail trade of Manila, and a few provincial towns, was the ruin of a great many shopkeepers. Without a dollar in his pocket, and often unworthy of credit, a person went into a shop and expected to be served with whatever he might select against his I.O.U. There were few retail tradesmen who had fixed prices; most of them fluctuated according to the race, or nationality, of the intending purchaser. The Chinese dealer made no secret about his price being merely nominal. If on the first offer you were about to move away, he would call after you and politely invite you to haggle with him¹ over what you were to pay for the chosen article.

* * * * *

The only real basis of wealth in the Colony, is the raw material obtained by Agriculture and Forest produce. Nothing was done by the conquerors to foster the Industrial Arts, and the Manufacturing Trades were of insignificant importance. Cigars were the only *manufactured* export staple, whilst a little cordage, and occasionally a parcel of straw or finely-split bamboo hats were shipped.

In the Provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga, split cane and Nito (*lygodium*) hats, straw mats, and cigar cases are made. Some of the finest worked cigar cases require so much time for making that they cost up to \$20 each. Hats can only be obtained in quantities by shippers through native middlemen.

In Yloilo Province a rough cloth called *Sinamay* is woven² from

¹ "V^d cuidado de regatear."

² Weaving was taught to the natives by a Spanish priest about the year 1595.

selected hemp fibre. Also in this province and that of Antique (Panay Island), *Piña* muslin of pure pine-leaf fibre and *Husi* of mixed pine-leaf and hemp filament are made. Ilocos Province has a reputation in these Islands for its woollen and dyed cotton fabrics. Taal, in Batangas Province, also produces a special make of cotton stuffs. Pasig, on the river of that name, and Sulipan in Pampanga, are locally known for their rough pottery.

Paete, at the extreme east of the Laguna de Bay, is the centre for white wood furniture and wood-carving. In Mariquina, near Manila, wooden clogs and native leather shoes are made. Santa Cruz, a ward of Manila, is the gold and silver workers' quarter. The native women in nearly all the civilized provinces produce some very handsome specimens of embroidery on European patterns. Mats to sleep upon (*petates*); straw bags (*bayones*), alcohol, bamboo furniture, buffalo-hide leather, wax candles, soap, etc. have their centres of manufacture on a small scale. The first Philippine brewery was opened 4th October, 1890, in San Miguel (Manila) by Don Enrique Barretto. Native capital alone supports these manufactures. The traffic and consumption being entirely local, the consequent increase of wealth to the Colony is the economized difference between them and imported articles. These industries bring no fresh capital to the Colony, by way of profits, but they contribute to check its egress by the returns of agriculture changing hands to the local manufacturer instead of to the foreign merchant.

Want of cheap means of land transport has, so far, been the chief drawback to Philippine manufactures, which are of small importance in the total trade of the Colony.

Philippine Railways were first officially projected in 1875, when a Royal Decree of that year, dated 6th of August, determined the legislative basis for works of that nature. The Inspector of Public Works was instructed to form a general plan of a railway system in the Island of Luzon. On the 11th of November following, this task was undertaken by Don Eduardo Lopez Navarro, an engineer personally known to me. The projected system included (1°) a line running north from Manila through the Provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga and Pangasinan. (2°) A line running south from Manila and then along the Laguna de Bay shore eastwards through Tayabas, Camarines and Albay Provinces. (3°) A branch from this line on the Laguna de Bay

shore to run almost due south to Batangas. The lines to be constructed were classed under two heads, viz.: 1°. Those of general public utility to be laid down either by the State or by subsidized companies; the concession in this case being given by the Home Government, and 2°. Those of private interest, for the construction of which concessions could be granted by the Governor-General.

In 1885 the Government solicited tenders for the laying of the first line of railway from Manila to Dagupan—a port on the Gulf of Lingayen, and the only practicable outlet for produce from the Province of Pangasinan and Tárlac District. The distance by sea is 216 miles—the railway line 196 kilometres (say 120 miles).

The subsidy offered by the Government amounted to about \$7,650 per mile, but on three occasions no tender was forthcoming either from Madrid or in Manila, where it was simultaneously solicited. Subsequently a modified offer was made of a guaranteed annual interest of 8% on a maximum outlay of \$4,964,473.65, and the news was received in Manila in October, 1886, that the contract had been taken up by a London firm of contractors. The prospectus of “The Manila Railway Co., Limited,” was issued in February, 1888. The line was to be completed within four years from the 21st of July, 1887, and at the end of 99 years the railway and rolling stock revert to the Government without compensation. The rails, locomotives (36 tons and 12 tons each), tenders, coaches, waggons, and ironwork for bridges, all came from England. The first stone of the Central Station in Manila (Bilibid Road, Tondo) was laid by Governor-General Emilio Terrero on the 31st of July, 1887. In 1890, the contractors, Messrs. Hett, Mayler & Co., failed, and only the first section of 28 miles was opened to traffic on the 24th of March, 1891.

✓ Many other circumstances, however, contributed to delay the opening of the whole line.

Compensation claims were very slowly agreed to—the Government engineers slightly altered the plans—the Company's engineers could not find a hard strata in the bed of the Calumpit River (a branch of the Rio Grande de Pampanga) on which to build the piers of the bridge; and lastly, the Spanish authorities, who had direct intervention in the work, found all sorts of excuses for postponing the opening of the line. Probably the Company did not choose to “grease the palm” any further. When the Civil Director was applied to, he calmly replied

that he was going to the baths and would think about it. Finally, on appeal to the highest authority, Governor-General Despujols himself went up to Tárlac, and in an energetic speech, reflecting on the dilatoriness of his subordinates, he declared the first Philippine Railway open to traffic on the 23rd of November, 1892. For about a year and a half passengers and goods were ferried across the Calumpit River in pontoons. Large caissons had to be sunk in the river in which to build the piers for the iron bridge, which cost an enormous sum of money in excess of the estimate. Later on heavy rains caused a partial inundation of the line, the embankment of which yielded to the accumulated mass of water, and traffic to Dagúpan was temporarily suspended. The total outlay on the line turned out to be far more than the Company had originally calculated, and to avert a financial collapse, fresh capital had to be raised by the issue of 6% Prior Lien Mortgage Bonds, ranking before the debenture stock. The following official quotations on the London Stock Exchange will show how the Manila Railway Company's shares and bonds were appreciated :—

OFFICIAL QUOTATIONS.

December.	7% Cum. Pref. £10 Shares.	6% Deb. £100 Stock.	6% Prior Lien Mort. Bonds, Series A., £100.	6% Prior Lien Mort. Bonds, Series B., £100.
	£	£	£	£
1893 -	2	49	98	87
1894 -	1	32	104	91
1895 -	$\frac{1}{2}$	29	107	85
1896 -	$\frac{1}{4}$	22	96	64
1897 -	$\frac{1}{4}$	19	101	75
1898 -	$1\frac{3}{4}$	45	110	98

Up to December, 1898, the interest had been regularly paid on the Prior Lien Bonds. Up to the same date no interest had been paid on the debentures since 1st of July, 1891, nor on the 7% Cumulative Preference Shares since 27th of July, 1890, when 3s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per share was distributed. On the 26th of January, 1895, these shares were officially quoted, for sellers, 0.

Including the termini in Manila (Tondo) and Dagúpan, there are 29 stations and, along the line, 16 bridges. The journey over the whole line occupies eight hours. From the Manila terminus there is a short line (about a mile) running down to the quay in Binondo for goods traffic only.

The country through which this line passes is flat, and has vast natural resources, the development of which—without a railway—had not been feasible owing to the ranges of mountains—chiefly the Cordillera of Zambales—which run parallel to the coast.

In 1887 a concession ¹ was applied for by a British commercial firm in Manila to lay a 21-mile line of railway, without subsidy, from Manila to Antipolo, to be called the “Centre of Luzon Railway.”

The basis of the anticipated traffic was the conveyance of pilgrims to the Shrine of Our Lady of Good Voyage and Peace (*vide* page 198), but, moreover, the proposed line connected the Parishes of Dilao (4,380 pop.), Santa Ana (2,115 pop.), Mariquina (10,000 pop.), Cainta (2,300 pop.), Taytay (6,500 pop.)—branching to Pasig and Angono—with Antipolo (3,800 pop.). The estimated outlay was about \$1,000,000, but the concession was abandoned.

* * * * *

There is a Telegraph Service from Manila to all civilized parts of Luzon Island—also in Panay Island from Cápiz to Yloilo, and in Cebú Island from the City of Cebú across the island and up the west coast as far north as Tuburan. There is a land line from Manila to Bolinao (Zambales), from which point a submarine cable was laid in April 1880, by the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company, Limited, whereby Manila was placed in direct telegraphic communication with the rest of the world. For this service the Spanish Government paid the Company \$4,000 a month for a period of 10 years, which expired in June, 1890. In April, 1898, the same Company detached the cable from Bolinao and carried it on to Manila, in the s.s. *Sherard Osborn*, 207 nautical miles having been added to the cable for the purpose. In return for this service the Spanish Government gave the Company certain exclusive rights and valuable concessions, which, up to the end of the year 1898, had not been

¹ This concession was granted to Messrs. Smith, Bell & Company, Manila, for 99 years, under Royal Order No. 508, dated June 11th, 1890. The work to be commenced within one year and finished in two years.

confirmed by the American Government. In May, 1898, the American Admiral Dewey ordered the Manila-Hongkong cable to be cut, but the connection was made good again after the Preliminaries of Peace with Spain were signed (12th of August, 1898). Cable communication was suspended, therefore, from the 2nd of May until the 21st of August of that year.

In 1897 another submarine cable was laid by the above Company, under contract with the Spanish Government, connecting Manila with the Southern Islands of Panay and Cebú (Tuburan). The Manila-Panay cable was also cut by order of Admiral Dewey (23rd of May, 1898), but after the 12th of August, under an arrangement made with the American and Spanish Governments, it was re-opened on a neutral basis, a claim for compensation against the Government of the United States having been lodged by the Telegraph Company. Under the above arrangement, the Company's own staff worked direct with the Manila public, instead of through the medium of Spanish officials.

* * * * *

Owing to their geographical position, none of the Philippine ports are places of call for regular lines of vessels *en route* elsewhere, hence, unlike Hongkong, Singapore and other Eastern ports, there is little profit to be derived from a floating population.

Due, probably, to the tedious Customs regulations—the obligation of every person to procure, and carry on his person, a document of identity—the requirement of a passport to enter and complicated formalities to recover the passport on leaving the Islands—the absence of railroads and hotels in the interior and the personal insecurity and difficulties of travelling—this Colony, during the Spanish *régime*, was apparently outside the region of tourists and “globe-trotters.”

Indeed the Philippine Archipelago formed an isolated settlement in the Far East which traders or pleasure-seekers rarely visited *en passant* to explore and reveal to the world its natural wealth and beauty. It was a Colony comparatively so little known, that old residents on visiting Singapore and Hongkong were often highly amused by the extravagant notions which prevailed, even there, concerning the Philippines. But the regulations above referred to were an advantage to the respectable resident, for they had the desirable effect of excluding many of those nondescript wanderers and social outcasts who invade other colonies.



CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURE.

IN years gone by, before so many colonies were opened up all over the world, the few who, in the Philippines, had the courage to face the obstacles to agriculture in a primitive country made fairly large fortunes in the main staple products, Sugar and Hemp. Prices were then treble what they have since been—labour was cheaper, because the necessities of the labouring class were fewer, and, owing to the limited demand, buffaloes for tilling were worth one-fifth of what they cost at the present day. Although the amount of trade was vastly less, those natives engaged in it were in sounder positions than the same class generally is now.

Within the last few years, there are hundreds who have embarked in agricultural enterprises with only one-tenth of the capital necessary to make them a success. A man will start planting with only a few hundred dollars and a tract of cleared land, without title deeds, and consequently of no negotiable value. In the first year he inevitably falls into the hands of money-lenders, who reasonably stipulate for a very high rate of interest in view of the want of guarantees. The rates of interest on loans under such circumstances vary as a rule from 12 to 24 per cent. I know a Visayo native who, by way of interest, commission and charges, demanded as much as 30 per cent. I need not refer to the isolated cases which have come to my knowledge of over 100 per cent. being charged. As at the present day, agriculture in the Philippines does not yield 30 per cent. nett profit, it naturally follows that the money-lender at that rate has to attach the estate upon which he has made loans, and finally becomes owner of it. In the meantime, the colonist who has directed the labour of converting a tract of land into a plantation, simply gets a living out of it. Some few are able to disencumber their property by paying, year by year, not only the whole of the nett returns from the plantation, but also the

profits on small traffic in which they may have speculated. It seldom happens, however, that the native planter is sufficiently loyal to his financial supporter to do this; on the contrary, although he may owe thousands of dollars, he will spend money in feasts, and undertake fresh obligations of a most worthless nature. He will buy on credit, to be paid for after the next crop, an amount of paltry jewellery from the first hawker who passes his way, or let the cash slip out of his hands at the cock-pit or the gambling table.

Even the most fortunate seem to make no provision for a bad year, and the consequence was, that in 1887, I think I may safely assert, that if all the Philippine planters had had to liquidate within twelve months, certainly 50% of them would have been insolvent. One of the most hazardous businesses in the Colony is that of advancing to the native planters, unless it be done with the express intention of eventually becoming owner of an estate, which is really often the case.

The value of land suitable for sugar-cane growing varies considerably, being dependent on proximity to a port, or sugar market, and on quality, facilities for drainage, transport, site, boundaries, etc.

In the Province of Bulacan, which adjoins that of Manila, land, which in a great measure is exhausted and yields only an average of 21 tons of cane per acre, is valued, on account of its nearness to the Capital, at \$115 per acre. In Pampanga Province, a little farther north, the average value of land, yielding say 30 tons of cane per acre, is \$75 per acre. Still farther north, in the Province of Nueva Ecija, whence transport to the sugar market is difficult, and can only be economically effected in the wet season by river, land producing an average of 35 tons of cane per acre will hardly fetch more than \$30 per acre. Railroads will no doubt eventually level these values.

In reality, Bulacan land is priced higher than its intrinsic value as ascertained by yield, and economy of produce transport. The natives are, everywhere in the Colony, more or less averse to alienating real estate inherited from their forefathers, and as Bulacan is one of the first provinces where lands were taken up, centuries ago, an attachment to the soil is particularly noticeable. In that province, as a rule, only genuine necessity, or a fancy price far in excess of producing-worth, would induce an owner to sell his land.

Land grants were obtainable from the Spanish Government by proving priority of claim, but the concession was only given after

wearisome delay. Then large capital was requisite to utilize the property, the clearance often costing more than the virgin tract, whilst the eviction of squatters was a most difficult undertaking; "*J'y suis et j'y reste*," thought the squatter, and the grantee had no speedy redress at law. On the other hand, the soil is so wonderfully rich and fertile, that the study of geponics and artificial manuring is never thought essential.

The finest Sugar-cane producing island in the Archipelago is Negros, in the Visaya district, between N. latitudes 9° and 11°. The area of the island is about equal to that of Porto Rico, but for want of capital, is only about one-half opened up. Nevertheless, it sent to the Yloilo market in 1892 over 115,000 tons of raw sugar—the largest crop it has yet produced.¹

The price of uncleared land there, suitable for sugar-cane cultivation, in accessible spots, is say \$35 per acre, and cleared land may be considered worth about \$70 per acre. The yield of sugar-cane may be estimated at 40 tons per acre on the estates opened up within the last ten years, whilst the older estates produce per acre nearer 30 tons of cane, but of a quality which gives such a high-class sugar that it compensates for the decrease in quantity, taking also into account the economy of manipulating and transporting less bulk.

Otaheiti cane is generally planted in Luzon, whilst Java cane is most common in the Southern islands.

The following equivalents of Philippine land measure may be useful, viz. :—

1 Quiñon	- - =	40,000 square varas	=	10,000 square brazas.
		= 5 cabans	=	6·9444 acres = 2·795 hectares.
1 Balita	- - =	4,000 square varas	=	1,000 square brazas.
		= ·69444 acre	=	·2795 hectare.
1 Loan	- - - =	400 square varas	=	100 square brazas.
		= ·06944 acre	=	·02795 hectare.
1 Square Braza	=	3·3611 square English yards.		
		= 4355·98	„	inches.
1 Square Vara	=	·8402	„	yards.
		= 1088·89	„	inches.
1 Acre	- - - =	5760 square varas	=	1·44 balitas.
		= ·72 caban	=	·404671 hectare.

¹ In the year 1850 Negros yielded 625 tons of sugar.

TOTAL EXPORT OF SUGAR FROM THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS DURING 18 YEARS.

	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
MANILA { Dry -	-	-	-	62,004	45,431	47,542	62,594	62,167	63,890
Wet -	-	-	-	33,692	17,777	18,136	21,610	21,302	27,738
Total -	98,824	126,592	71,032	95,696	63,208	65,678	84,204	83,469	91,628
CEBÚ { Dry -	-	-	-	16,807	13,404	23,676	15,190	12,765	13,094
Wet -	-	-	-	5,693	3,870	4,519	2,950	5,050	3,600
Total -	20,098	17,285	23,879	22,500	17,274	28,195	18,140	17,815	16,694
YLOILO { Dry -	-	-	-	80,702	39,841	102,369	81,201	71,722	72,882
Wet -	-	-	-	12,694	1,655	7,240	2,255	6,125	4,115
Total -	62,775	67,169	56,497	93,396	41,496	109,609	83,456	77,847	76,997
Grand Total -	181,697	211,046	151,408	211,592	121,978	203,482	185,800	179,131	185,319

TOTAL EXPORT OF SUGAR from the Philippine Islands during 18 Years—*continued*.

	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
MANILA { Dry -	—	33,233	50,342	51,718	72,007	65,189	81,502	77,676	46,345
Wet -	—	14,838	22,954	16,278	34,996	29,467	25,719	20,029	11,037
Total -	92,856	48,071	73,296	67,996	107,003	94,656	107,221	97,705	57,382
CEBU { Dry -	—	3,145	7,562	17,488	16,712	10,198	13,085	7,484	15,137
Wet -	—	310	1,200	900	250	—	250	217	120
Total -	11,862	3,455	8,762	18,388	16,962	10,198	13,335	7,701	15,257
YLOILO { Dry -	—	87,966	82,515	160,050	135,191	—	—	123,720	129,174
Wet -	—	8,034	2,589	5,357	2,525	—	—	928	1,368
Total -	114,207	96,000	85,104	165,407	137,716	88,533	110,527	124,648	130,542
Grand Total -	218,925	147,526	167,162	251,791	261,681	193,387	231,083	230,054	203,181

NB.—The total export of sugar in the year 1861 was 53,114 tons.

Dry sugar is chiefly exported to the United States in sailing ships, and wet sugar to England in steamers.

The average yield of sugar per acre is approximately as follows,
viz. :—

Pampanga Province, say @ $6\frac{1}{2}$ % extraction -	-	= 1.95 Tons of Sugar.
Other Northern provinces, say @ $5\frac{1}{2}$ % extraction -	= 1.65	„ „ „
Negros Island (with almost exclusively European mills), say @ $7\frac{1}{2}$ % extraction -	-	= 2.75 „ „ „

From Yloilo the sugar is chiefly exported to the United States, where there is a demand for raw material only from the Philippines for the purpose of refining, whilst from Manila a certain quantity of crystal grain sugar is sent, ready for consumption, to Spain. Consequently, in the Island of Luzon, a higher class of machinery is employed. In 1890 there were five private estates, with vacuum pans erected, and one refinery, near Manila (at Malabon). Also in 1885 the Government acquired a sugar machinery plant with vacuum pan for their model estate at San Ramon in the Province of Zamboanga; the sugar turned out at the trial of the plant was equal to 21 D. S. of that year. Convict labour was employed.

It is a rare thing to see others than European mills in the Island of Negros, whilst in every other sugar-producing province roughly made vertical cattle-mills of wood, or stone (wood in the south and stone in the north), as introduced by the Chinese, are still in use. The triple effect refining plant is altogether unknown in this colony.

The sugar estates generally are small. There are not a dozen estates in the whole colony which produce over 1,000 tons of raw sugar each, per season. An estate turning out 500 tons of sugar is considered a large one. I know of one estate which yields 1,500 tons, and another 1,900 tons in a good season. In the Island of Negros there is no port suitable for loading ships of large tonnage, and the crops have to be carried to the Yloilo market, in small schooners, loading from 40 to 100 tons (*vide* page 299). From the estates to the coast there are neither canals nor railroads, and the transport is by buffalo cart. Five-year-old buffaloes, in good condition, are worth in Negros Island about \$30, and labourers' wages are about a dollar-and-a-half per week. In Luzon Island, especially in Camarines and Tayabas, good buffaloes can be purchased for half the above price.

The highest table-lands are used for cane-planting, which imperatively require a good system of drainage. In Luzon Island the

output of Sugar would be far greater if more attention were paid to the seasons. The cane should be cut in December, and the milling should never last over ten weeks. The new cane-point setting should be commenced a fortnight after the milling begins, and the whole operation of manufacture and planting for the new crop should be finished by the middle of March. A deal of sugar is lost by delay in each branch of the field labour.

In the West Indies the planters set the canes out widely, leaving plenty of space for the development of the roots, and the ratoons serve up to from five to twenty years. In the Philippines the setting of cane-points is renewed each year, with few exceptions, and the planting is comparatively close.

Bulacan sugar land, being more exhausted than Pampanga land, will not admit of such close planting, hence Bulacan land can only find nourishment for 14,300 points per acre, whilst Pampanga land takes 17,800 points on average computation.

In Negros, current sugar is raised from new lands (among the best) and from lands which are hardly considered suitable for cane planting. Good lands are called "new" for three crops in Negros, and during that period the planting is close, to choke the cane and prevent its becoming aqueous by too rapid development.

In the Northern Philippines "clayed" sugar is made. The *massecuite*, when drawn from the pans, is turned into earthenware pots containing about 150 lbs. weight. When the mass has set, the pot is placed over a jar into which the molasses drains. In six months, if allowed to remain over the jar, it will drain about 20% of its original weight, but it is usually sold before that time, if prices are favorable.

The molasses is sold to the distilleries for making Alcohol,² whilst there is a certain demand for it for mixing with the drinking water given to horses.

From nine tests which I made with steam machinery, of small capacity, in different places in the Northern provinces, without

¹ Molasses is sold by the *Tinaja*, which is an earthenware jar measuring 19 inches in height and 17½ inches at the maximum diameter; it contains 16 *gantas* (liquid measure) = 48 litres.

² The sale of alcohol was a Government monopoly until the year 1862.

interfering with the customary system of manipulating the cane or the adjustment of the mill rolls, I found the—

Average juice extraction to be	-	-	-	56.37 %
„ Moisture in the megass on leaving the mill	-	-	-	23.27 „
„ Amount of dry megass ¹	-	-	-	20.36 „
				<hr/>
				100.00 %

The average density of juice in the cane worked off as above was $10\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Beaumé.

In Negros the process is very different. The juice is evaporated in the pan battery to a higher point of concentration, so that the molasses becomes incorporated with the saccharine grain. It is then turned out into a wooden trough, about eight feet long by four feet wide, and stirred about with shovels, until it has cooled so far as to be unable to form into a solid mass, or lumps. When quite cold, the few lumps visible are pounded, and the whole is packed in grass bags (*bayones*). Sugar packed in this way is deliverable to shippers, whereas “clayed” sugar can only be sold to the sorters and packers (*farderos*) who sun-dry it on mats and then bag it after making up the colour and quality to exporter’s sample.

The Labour system in the Northern Philippines is quite distinct from that adopted in the South. The plantations in the North are worked on the co-operative principle (*sistema de inquilinos*). The landowner divides his estate into tenements, each tenant being provided with a buffalo and agricultural implements to work up the plot—plant—and attend to the cane growth as if it were his own property. When the cutting season arrives, one tenant at a time brings in his cane to the mill, and when the sugar is worked off, usually one-third, but often as much as one-half of the output, according to arrangement, belongs to the tenant. The tenant provides the hands required for the operations of cane-crushing and sugar-making; the cost of machinery and factory establishment is for the account of the landowner, who also has to take the entire risk of typhoons, inundations, drought, locusts, &c.

¹ British patents for paper-making from sugar-cane fibre were granted to Berry in 1838, Johnson in 1855, Jullion in 1855, Ruck and Touche in 1856, and Hook in 1857.

² Since about the year 1885, a weed has been observed to spontaneously germinate around the roots of the sugar-cane in the Laguna Province. The natives have given it the name of *Bulacac nang tubo* (Sugar-cane flower). It destroys the saccharine properties of the cane. The bitter juice of this weed has been found to be a useful palliative for certain diseases.

During the year, whilst the cane is maturing, the tenants receive advances against their estimated share, some even beyond the full value, so that, in nearly every case, the full crop remains in the hands of the estate owner. In the general working of the plantation hired day labour is not required, the tenants, in fact, being regarded, in every sense, as servants of the owner, who employs them for whatever service he may need. Interest at ten to twelve per cent. per annum is charged upon the advances made in money, rice, stuffs, etc. during the year; and on taking over the tenant's share of output, as against these advances, a rebate on current price of the sugar is often agreed to.

In the South, plantations are worked on the daily wages system, (*sistema de jornal*), and the labourer will frequently exact his pay for several weeks in advance. Great vigilance is requisite, and on estates exceeding certain dimensions, it is often necessary to sub-divide the management, apportioning it off to overseers, or limited partners, called "Axas." Both on European and native owners' estates these *axas* were often Spaniards. The *axas*' interest varies on different properties, but generally speaking, he is either credited with one-third of the product and supplied with necessary capital, or he receives two-thirds of the yield of the land under his care and he finds his own working capital for its tilth, whilst the sunk capital in land, machinery, sheds, stores, etc. is for the account of the owner.

In 1877 a British Company—the "Yengarie"—was started with a large capital for the purpose of acquiring cane juice all over the Colony and extracting from it highly refined sugar. The works, fitted with vacuum pans and all the latest improvements connected with this class of apparatus, were established at Mandaloyan, about three miles from Manila up the Pasig River. From certain parts of Luzon Island the juice was to be conveyed to the factory in tubes, and the promoter, who visited Cebú Island, proposed to send schooners there fitted with tanks, to bring the defecated liquid to Mandaloyan. The project was an entire failure from the beginning (for the ordinary shareholders at least), and in 1880 the machinery plant was being realised and the company wound up.

The classification of the sugar in the South differs from that in the North. In the former market it is ranked as Nos. 0, 1, 2, 3 Superior and Current. For the American market these qualities are blended, to make up what is called "Assorted Sugar," in the proportion of

one-eighth of No. 1, two-eighths of No. 2 and five-eighths of No. 3. In the North the quality is determined on the Dutch standard, and No. 9 D. S. is about equivalent to No. 1 Yloilo. The New York and London markets fix the prices, which are cabled daily to Manila.

The following *pro forma* Estimates (the final result depends on the selling price of the day) may serve for comparison with the nett cost of production in other sugar-yielding Colonies :—

ESTIMATED cost of producing Philippine Sugar,—known in the market as “Yloilo Superior,”—in the Island of Negros.

300 cabans of land (= 420 acres) taken up in the fourth year of clearance, suitable for cane planting, the half of which—150 cabans (= 210 acres) being planted at one time—the other half lying fallow.

Each caban producing an average of 61·60 piculs of sugar = 9240 piculs (@ $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ extraction = 3·85 tons of sugar per caban = 2·75 tons per acre = 577 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons yield from the 210 acres or 150 cabans.—It is customary to plough five times in Negros.

INVESTED CAPITAL.

	\$	cts.
300 cabans of cleared land purchased @ \$98 per caban	-	29,400 00
Machinery for milling cane, sugar pan battery, etc.	-	6,000 00
Machinery shed, and sugar store	-	1,500 00
Manager's residence	-	1,500 00
150 buffaloes @ \$30 each = \$4,500, fencing \$500	-	5,000 00
For making roads, draining dykes and canals \$1,000, two vehicles and six horses \$350	-	1,350 00
For say 20 three feet diameter culverts under roads	-	400 00
Advances to labourers unrecoverable \$500 ; 40 cottages \$800	1,300	00
40 carts @ \$50 = \$2,000 ; 20 oxen and cows @ \$25 = \$500	2,500	00
50 ploughs, 100 spare shares, 60 wood knives, 60 shovels, 100 yokes, 60 pairs steel wire rope traces, spare bolts and nuts, tar, general stores, etc.	-	1,500 00
Small band saw and bench \$150 ; portable forge \$25	-	175 00
Smith's tools \$125, carpenter's tools \$25	-	250 00
General shop for smith and carpenter	-	500 00
Transport by land or by sea of above requirements to the estate from the place of purchase	-	275 00
Total Invested Capital	-	<u>\$51,650 00</u>

WORKING EXPENSES.

	\$	<i>cts.</i>
4 Overseers @ \$6 per month each, the whole year -	288	00
40 Labourers @ \$4 „ „ „ „ „ „ -	1,920	00
1 Machinist @ \$30 „ „ „ „ „ „ -	360	00
1 Assistant Machinist @ \$15 per month for the season of 3 months - - - - -	45	00
100 Labourers @ \$1.50 per week for the season of 3 months - - - - -	1,800	00
Food for labourers during the whole time of service -	2,000	00
20,000 half-picul grass bags (<i>bayones</i>) @ \$4.50 per 100 -	900	00
Wood fuel - - - - -	135	00
Oil, lamps, lime, ladles and divers milling expenses -	632	00
Freight on 9,240 piculs sugar to Yloilo @ 12½ cents per picul - - - - -	1,155	00
Loading, discharging and divers expenses on delivery at Yloilo @ 12½ cents per picul - - - - -	1,155	00
Machinery licence and charges - - - - -	70	00
Animal and vehicle licences - - - - -	20	00
Maintenance of vehicles and horses - - - - -	50	00
Preservation of roads, dykes, canals, fences and machinery -	500	00
To renew live stock and divers petty losses - - - - -	500	00
For general improvements on estate, yearly average, say -	1,000	00
Renovation of ploughs, bohie-knives, shovels, yokes, carts, roofing, &c. - - - - -	1,320	00
Transport from Yloilo or elsewhere of estate requirements :		
Manager journeying to and from Yloilo and up the coast during the year - - - - -	150	00
Manager's salary (or owner's living expenses, if acting as manager) - - - - -	1,500	00
Total Working Capital -	<u>\$15,500</u>	<u>00</u>

RESULT.

Prime cost to the producer of “Yloilo superior” (assorted) raw sugar delivered in the Yloilo market, say \$26.84 per ton, or \$1.67 $\frac{3}{4}$ per picul. The margin of profit between above cost and average Yloilo

selling price in the year of greatest depression in the trade (1885) was say 15% on the total capital employed. With the present data the profit can be easily estimated by comparison with the current quotation of the day; taking “assorted” sugar at say \$3.25 per picul selling price, the profit would be $21\frac{2}{3}\%$. From a series of estimates compiled by me I find that to produce only up to 7,000 piculs, the cost laid down in Yloilo would be say \$2.00 per picul (\$32.00 per ton)—and in like manner, the smaller the output the larger is the prime cost.

Fortunes have been made in this Colony in cane sugar, and until the end of 1883 sugar-planting paid the capitalist and left something to the borrowing planter; now it pays only interest on capital. From the year 1884 the subsidized beet-root sugar manufacturers on the continent of Europe turned out such enormous quantities of this article that the total yield of sugar, at length, far exceeded the world's requirements.

The consequence was that the cane-sugar manufacture declined almost at the same ratio as that of beet-root advanced, as will be seen from the subjoined figures :—

					Tons.
The world's production in 1880, cane sugar	-				3,285,714
“ “ “ “ beet “	-				1,443,349
					<hr/> 4,729,063
					Tons.
The world's production in 1887, cane sugar	-				2,333,004
“ “ “ “ beet “	-				2,492,610
					<hr/> 4,825,614
					Tons.
Beet sugar	-	-	-	- Increase	1,049,261
Cane “	-	-	-	- Decrease	952,710
					<hr/> 96,551
The world's output was only					

by reason of the beet-root sugar competition.

* * * * *

The staple food of the native being Rice, this grain is cultivated more or less largely in every province of the Colony. Its market value fluctuates considerably according to the stocks in hand and the season of the year. It appears to be the only branch of agriculture in which

the lower classes of natives take a visible pleasure and which they understand thoroughly. In 1897 about 80,000 tons were raised.

The natives measure and sell rice and paddy by the caban and its fractions ; the caban dry measure is as follows, viz. :—

4 Apatans = 1 Chupa ; 8 Chupas = 1 Ganta ; 25 Gantas = 1 Caban.

the equivalent of which in English measure is thus, viz. :—

1 Atapan = ·16875 of a pint.

1 Chupa = ·675 of a pint.

1 Ganta = 2 quarts, $1\frac{2}{3}$ pint.

1 Caban = 16 gallons, 3 quarts, 1 pint.

Rice of foreign importation is weighed and quoted by the picul of $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. avoirdupois.

16 Taels = 1 Catty ; 10 Catties = 1 Chinanta ; 10 Chinantas = 1 Picul.

Twenty-five years ago rice was exported from the Philippines, but now not even sufficient is produced for home consumption, hence this commodity is imported in large quantities from Siam, Lower Burmah, and Cochin China to supply the deficiency.¹ Sual, to the north of Pangasinan Province, on the Gulf of Lingayen, was, thirty years ago, a port of importance, whence rice was shipped to China. It has, since that period, declined to the rank of an insignificant village. This falling off of rice production does not, however, imply a loss to the population. Land which, in many provinces, was used for rice-growing, is now turned to better account for raising other crops which pay better in a fairly good market.

The natives everywhere continue to employ the primitive method of treating rice paddy for domestic and local use. The grain is generally husked by them in a large mortar hewn from a block of *molave*, or other hard wood, in which it is beaten by a pestel. Sometimes two or three men or women with wooden pestles work at the same mortar. This mortar is termed, in Tagalog dialect, *Luzon*, the name given to the largest island of the group. However, I have seen in the towns of Candava, Province of Pampanga ; Pagsanjan, Province of La Laguna ; near Calamba in the same Province ; in Naig, Province of Cavite ; in Camarines Province, and a few other places, an attempt to improve upon the current system by employing an ingenious wooden mechanical

¹ In 1897 nearly 65,000 tons of rice were imported.

apparatus worked by buffaloes. It consisted of a vertical shaft on which was keyed a bevel wheel revolving horizontally and geared into a bevel pinion fixed upon a horizontal shaft. In this shaft were adjusted pins, which, at each revolution, caught the corresponding pins in vertical sliding columns. These columns (five or six)—being thereby raised and allowed to fall of their own weight when the raising pins had passed on—acted as pounders, or pestles, in the mortars placed below them. Subsequently, unexampled progress was made in Camarines Province by Spaniards, who, in 1888, employed steam power, whilst in Pagsanjan the animal motive power was substituted by that of steam, the owner having purchased a small engine and accessories from a planter of Santa Cruz de la Laguna. Also near Calamba, water power was eventually employed to advantage. In Negros, near the village of Candaguit, I have seen one small rice machinery plant worked by steam power, it having been brought by a Spaniard from Valencia in Spain. I presume it was not a success, as it remained only a short time in use.

Finally the Manila-Dagupan Railway gave a great stimulus to the rice husking and pearling industry, which was taken up by foreigners. There are now important rice steam power mills established at Calumpit, Gerona, Moncada, Bayambang, and other places along the line from Calumpit towards Dagupan which supply large quantities of cleaned rice to Manila and other provinces, where it is invariably more highly appreciated than the imported article. Also, at Nueva Cáceres (Camarines) in 1896 a large steam-power rice mill was being worked by Don Manuel Pardo, who had a steamer specially constructed in Hongkong for the transport of his output to the provincial markets.

The average yield of cleaned rice from the paddy is 50%, whilst no special use is found for the remaining 50% of paddy bran.

The customary charge for husking and winnowing a caban of paddy is 12½ cents, so that as two cabans of paddy give one caban of rice, the cost of this labour would be 25 cents per caban of rice.

The average amount of rice consumed by a working man per day is estimated at four chupas, or say close upon eight cabans per annum, and taking an average price of \$1 per caban of paddy, equals \$2 per caban of rice, plus 25 cents for cleaning = \$2.25 per caban of clean rice, amounting to \$18 per annum. A native's further necessities are fish, an occasional piece of buffalo, betel-nut, tobacco, six yards of

cotton print-stuff and payment of taxes, all of which (including rice) amounts to say \$50 in the year, so that a man earning 20 cents per day during 300 days, can live in luxury, provided he has no unforeseen misfortunes.

There are, it is said, over twenty different kinds of rice paddy. These are comprised in two common groups—the one is called *Macan* rice (in Spanish, *Arroz de Semillero*) which is raised on alluvial soil on the low lands capable of being flooded conveniently with water, and the other has the general denomination (in Luzon Island) of *Paga* (in Spanish, *Arroz Secano*) and is cultivated on high lands and slopes where inundation is impracticable.

The *Macan*, or low land rice, is much the finer quality, the grain being usually very white, although *Macan* rice is to be found containing up to 25% of red grain. The white grain is that most esteemed. The yield of grain varies according to the quality of the soil. In the north of Bulacan Province the average crop of *Macan* rice may be taken at 80 cabans of grain for one caban of seed. In the south of the same province the return reaches only one-half of that. In the east of Pampanga Province, in the neighbourhood of Arayat, Magalang and Candava villages, the yield is still higher, giving, in a good year, as much as 100 cabans for one of seed. In Negros a return of 50 cabans to one may be taken as a fair average.

Paga rice always shows a large proportion of red grain, and the return is, at the most, half that of *Macan* yield, but whilst rarely more than one crop per annum is obtained from low lands (*Macan* rice)—taking the average in all the islands—in most places up to three crops of *Paga* rice can be got.

Besides the ordinary agricultural risks to which rice cultivation is exposed, a special danger often presents itself. The *Paga* rice is frequently attacked by flies which suck the flower just before seeding. This is called in Tagalog dialect *Alutangia*, and the person in charge of the plantation has to stroll in the evenings and mornings among the setting to whisk off these insects with a bunch of straws on the end of a stick, or catch them with a net to save the grain. Both *Macan* and *Paga* are sometimes damaged by an insect, known in Ilocos Province as *Talibatab*, which eats through the stalk of the plant, causing the head, or flower, to droop over and wither, but this does not happen with regularity every season.

To plant *Macan* rice the grain or seed is sown in the month of June on a piece of land called the “seeding plot,” where, in six weeks, it attains a height of about one foot, and, provided the rains have not failed, it is then pulled up by the roots and transplanted, stem by stem, in the flooded fields. Each field is embanked with earth (in Tagalog *pilápil*) so that the water shall not run off, and just before the setting is commenced, the plough is passed for the last time. Then men, women and children go into the inundated fields with their bundles of rice plant and stick the stalks in the soft mud one by one. It would seem a tedious operation, but the natives are so used to it that they quickly cover a large field. In four months from the transplanting the rice is ripe, but as at the end of November there is still a risk of rain falling, the harvest is usually commenced at the end of December, after the grain has hardened and the dry season has fairly set in. If, at such an abnormal period, the rains were to return (and such a thing has been known), the cropped harvest, which is put in heaps in sheaves for about a month to dry, would be greatly exposed to mildew owing to the damp atmosphere. After the heaping—at the end of January—the paddy, still in the straw, is made into stacks (in Tagalog *Mandalá*). In six weeks more the grain is separated from the straw, and this operation has to be concluded before the next wet season begins—say about the 15th of April. On the Pacific coast (Camarines and Albay), where the seasons are reversed (*vide* page 16), rice is planted out in September and reaped in February.

The separation of the grain is effected in several ways. Some beat it out with their feet, others flail it, whilst in Cavite Province it is a common practice to spread the sheaves in a circular enclosure within which a number of ponies and foals are trotted.

In Negros Island there is what is termed *Ami* rice—a small crop which spontaneously rises in succession to the regular crop after the first ploughing.

It seldom happens that a “seeding plot” is obliged to be allowed to run to seed for want of rain for transplanting, but in such an event it is said to yield at the most ten-fold.

Paddy-planting, commercially considered, is not a lucrative undertaking, and few take it up on a large scale. None of the large millers employing steam power are, at the same time, grain cultivators. There is this advantage about the business, that the grower is less

likely to be confronted with the labour difficulty, for the work of planting out and gathering in the crop is, to the native and his family, a genial occupation.

Rice harvest time is a lively one among the poor tenants, who, as a rule, are practically the landowner's partners working for half the crop, against which they receive advances during the year. Therefore, cost of labour may be taken at 50% plus 10% stolen from the owner's share. After further deducting cost of transport to market and \$750 per annum for manager's (or owner's) living expenses, the nett return on a rice plantation, employing some \$11,000 capital, would be say, 13%, presuming an average yield of fifty-fold @ \$1 per caban of paddy. To compare with sugar-cane planting (which takes a larger amount of invested capital of doubtful realization), it must be remembered that rice producing has maintained its normal state of prosperity, whilst sugar, at the lowest price known here, gave a larger profit on outlay than rice does. The minimum profit on sugar exceeds the maximum profit on rice to the grower.

Nothing in Nature is more lovely than a valley of green half-ripened rice paddy, surrounded by verdant hills.





RICE PLANTING IN TERRACES.



CHAPTER XVII.

MANILA HEMP—(ABACÁ).

HEMP (*Musa textilis*)—referred to by some writers as *M. troglodytarum*—is a wild species of the plantain (*M. paradisaica*), found growing in many parts of the Philippine Islands. It greatly resembles the *M. paradisaica*, which bears the well-known and agreeable fruit—the edible banana.

Only connoisseurs can perceive the difference in the density of colour and size of the green leaves—those of the hemp plant being of a somewhat darker hue, and shorter. The fibre of a number of species of *Musa* is used for weaving, cordage, etc. in tropical countries.

This herbaceous plant seems to thrive best on an inclined plane, for nearly all the wild hemp which I have seen has been found on the slopes of mountains, even far away down the ravines.

The plant, although requiring a considerable amount of moisture, will not thrive in swampy land, and to attain any great height, it must be well shaded by other trees more capable of bearing the sun's rays. A great depth of soil is not indispensable for its development, as it is to be seen flourishing in its natural state on the slopes of volcanic formation. In Albay Province it grows on the declivities of the Mayon Volcano.

The hemp tree in the Philippines reaches an average height of ten feet. It is an endogenous plant, the stem of which is enclosed in layers of half round petioles. The hemp fibre is extracted from these petioles which, when cut down, are separated into strips, five to six inches wide, and drawn under a knife attached at one end by a hinge to a block of wood, whilst the other end is suspended to the extremity of a flexible stick. The bow tends to raise the knife, and a cord, attached to the same end of the knife and a treadle is so arranged, that by a movement of the foot, the operator can bring the knife to work on the hemp petiole with the pressure he chooses.

The bast is drawn through between the knife and the block, the operator twisting the fibre, at each pull, around a stick of wood or his arm, whilst the parenchymatous pulp remains on the other side of the knife. There is no use for the pulp.

The knife should be without teeth or indentations, but nearly everywhere in Cápis Province I have seen it with a slightly serrated edge. The fibre is then spread out to dry, and afterwards tightly packed in bales with iron or rattan hoops for shipment.

A finer fibre than the ordinary hemp is sometimes obtained in small quantities from the specially selected edges of the petiole, and this material is used by the natives for weaving. The quantity procurable is limited, and the difficulty in obtaining it consists in the frequent breakage of the fibre whilst being drawn, due to its comparative fragility. Its commercial value is about double that of ordinary first class cordage hemp. The stuff made from this fine fibre (called in Bicol dialect *Lúpis*), suits admirably for ladies' dresses. Ordinary hemp fibre is used for the manufacture of coarse native stuff, known in Manila as *Sinamay*, much worn by the poorer classes of natives; large quantities of it come from Yloilo. In Panay Island, a kind of texture called *Husi* is made of a mixture of fine hemp (*lúpis*), and pine-leaf fibre. Sometimes this fabric is palmed off on foreigners as pure *piña* stuff, but a connoisseur can easily detect the hemp filament by the touch of the material, there being a certain amount of stiffness, and a tendency to spring back, in the hemp fibre as in horsehair, which, when compressed into a ball in the hand, prevents the stuff from retaining that shape. *Piña* fibre is soft and yielding.

Many attempts have been made to draw the hemp fibre by machinery, but in spite of all strenuous efforts, no one has hitherto succeeded in introducing into the hemp districts a satisfactory mechanical apparatus. If the entire length of fibre in a strip of bast could bear the strain of full tension, instead of having to wind it around a cylinder (which would take the place of the operator's hand and stick under the present system), then a machine could be contrived to accomplish the work. Machines with cylinders to reduce the tension have been constructed, the result being admirable so far as the extraction of the fibre is concerned, but the cylinder upon which the fibre coiled, as it came from under the knife, always discoloured the material. A trial was made with a glass cylinder, but the same

inconvenience was experienced. On another occasion the cylinder was dispensed with, and a reciprocating motion clutch drew the bast, running to and fro the whole length of the fibre frame, the fibre being gripped by a pair of steel parallel bars on its passage in one or two places, as might be necessary, to lessen the tension. These steel bars, however, always left a transversal black line on the filament, and diminished its marketable value.

In Gúbat, Province of Albay, there was a machine in the year 1886 which partially met the special requirement. In the same year the most perfect mechanical contrivance hitherto brought out, was tried in Manila by the inventor, a Spaniard, Don Abelardo Cuesta; it worked to the satisfaction of those who saw it, but the saving of manual labour was so inconsiderable that the greater bulk of hemp shipped is still extracted by the primitive process.

Musa textilis has been planted in British India as an experiment, but the result has not been satisfactory, evidently owing to a want of knowledge of the essential conditions of the fibre extraction. One report¹ says—

“The first trial at extracting the fibre failed on account of our having
 “no proper machine to *bruise* the stems. We extemporized a two-roller
 “mill, but as it had no cog-gearing to cause both rollers to turn together,
 “the only one on which the handle or crank was fixed turned, with the
 “result of grinding the stems to pulp instead of simply *bruising* them.”

In the Philippines one is careful *not* to bruise the stems, as this would weaken the fibre and discolour it.

Another statement from British India shows that Manila hemp requires a very special treatment. It runs thus :—

“The mode of extraction was the same as practised in the locality with
 “*Ambadi* (brown hemp) and *sunni* hemp, with the exception that the stems
 “were, in the first place, passed through a sugar-cane mill which got rid of
 “sap averaging 50 per cent. of the whole. The stems were next rotted in
 “water for ten to twelve days, and afterwards washed by hand and sun-
 “dried. The out-turn of fibre was $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. per 100 lbs. of fresh stem, a per
 “centage considerably higher than the average shown in the Saidápet
 “experiments; it was however of bad colour and defective in strength.”

¹ Extract from a letter dated 29th September, 1885, from H. Strachan, Esq., Superintendent, Government Experimental Farm, Hyderabad, Sindh—and Extract from a letter dated 13th February, 1886, from A. Stormont, Esq., Superintendent, Government Experimental Farm, Khandesh—*vide* “The Tropical Agriculturist,” Colombo, June 1st, 1886, page 876 *et seq.*

If treated in the same manner in the Philippines, a similar bad result would ensue; the pressure of mill rollers would discolour the fibre, and the soaking with 48% of pulp, before being sun-dried, would weaken it.

Dr. Ure, in his "Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines," page 1, thus describes Manila Hemp:—

"A species of fibre obtained in the Philippine Islands in abundance. Some authorities refer these fibres to the palm tree known as the *Abacá* or *Anisa textilis*. There seems indeed to be several well known varieties of fibre included under this name, some so fine that they are used in the most delicate and costly textures, mixed with fibres of the pine-apple, forming *piña* muslins and textures equal to the best muslins of Bengal. Of the coarser fibres, mats, cordage and sail cloth are made. M. Duchesne states that the well-known fibrous manufactures of Manila have led to the manufacture of the fibres themselves, at Paris, into many articles of furniture and dress. Their brilliancy and strength give remarkable fitness for bonnets, tapestry, carpets, network, hammocks, etc. The only manufactured articles exported from the Philippine Islands, enumerated by Thomas de Comyn, Madrid, 1820 (translated by Walton), besides a few tanned buffalo-hides and skins, are 8,000 to 12,000 pieces of light sail cloth and 200,000 lbs. of assorted *Abacá* cordage."

Abacá, or Manila Hemp, is quite a speciality of these Islands." Mr. Craufurd refers to it in his "History of the Eastern Archipelago" as being "known to our traders and navigators under the name of Manila rope and is equally applicable to cables and to standing and running rigging."

Manila hemp rope is very durable, but wanting in flexibility.

Hemp growing, with ample capital, appears to be the most lucrative and least troublesome of all agricultural enterprises in staple export produce in the Colony, whilst it is quite independent of the seasons.

Planted in virgin soil, each shoot occupies, at first, a space of ground thirty-six Spanish square feet. In the course of time, this regularity of distribution disappears as the original plant is felled, and the suckers come up anywhere, spontaneously, from its root.

¹ The extremely fine muslin of delicate texture known in the Philippines as *Piña* is made *exclusively* of pine-apple *leaf* fibre. When those fibres are woven together with the slender filament drawn from the edges of the hemp petiole, the manufactured article is called *Husi*.

² A British patent for paper-making from Manila hemp was granted to Newton in 1852.

The plant requires three years to arrive at cutting maturity, or four years if raised from the seed ; most planters, however, transplant the six-months suckers, instead of the seed, when forming a new plantation. The stem should be cut for fibre-drawing at the flowering maturity ; in no case should it be allowed to bear fruit, as the fibre is thereby weakened, and there is sometimes even a waste of material in the drawing, as the accumulation of fibre with the sap at the knife is greater.

The average weight of dry fibre extracted from one plant equals 10 ounces, or say $2\frac{2}{3}\%$ of the total weight of the stem and petioles, but as in practice there is a certain loss of petioles, by cutting out of maturity, whilst others are allowed to rot through negligence, the average output from a carefully managed estate does not exceed cwts. 3.60 per acre, or say 4 piculs per Caban of land.

The length of the *bast*, ready for manipulation at the knife, averages in Albay 6 feet 6 inches.

The weight of moisture in the wet fibre, immediately it is drawn from the *bast*, averages 56% . To thoroughly sun-dry, an exposure of five hours is necessary.

The first petioles forming the outer covering, and the slender central stem itself around which they cluster, are thrown away. Due to the inefficient method of fibre-drawing, or rather the want of mechanical appliances to effect the same, the waste of fibre probably amounts to as much as 30% of the whole contained in the *bast*.

In Sugar-cane planting, the poorer the soil is the wider the cane is planted, whilst the hemp plant is set out at greater space on virgin land than an old worked land, the reason being that the hemp plant in rich soil throws out a great number of shoots from the same root, which require nourishment and serve for replanting. If space were not left for their development, the main stem would flower before it had reached its full height and circumference, whereas sugar-cane is purposely choked in virgin soil to check its running too high and dispersing the saccharine matter whilst becoming ligneous.

A great advantage to the colonist, in starting hemp-growing in virgin forest land, consists in the clearance requiring to be only partial, whilst newly opened up land is preferable, as, on it, the young plants will sometimes throw up as many as thirty suckers. The largest forest trees are intentionally left to shade the plants and

young shoots, so that only light rooting is imperatively necessary. In cane-planting, quite the reverse is the case.

The great drawback to the beginner, with limited capital, is the impossibility of recouping himself for his labour and recovering profit on outlay before three years at least. After that period the risk is small, drought being the only natural calamity to be feared. The plants are only at rare intervals damaged by hurricanes, from which they are fairly well protected by the density of the forest; being set out on high land, they are extremely seldom inundated; locusts do not attack the foliage, and beetles do very little harm, if any. A conflagration could not spread far amongst green leaves and sappy petioles. There is no special cropping season as there is in the case of sugar-cane, which, if neglected, brings a total loss of crop; the plants naturally do not all mature at precisely the same time, and the fibre extraction can be performed with little precipitation, and more or less all the year round. If, at times, the stage of maturity be overlooked, it only represents a percentage of loss, whilst a whole plantation of ripe sugar-cane must be all cut with the least possible delay. No ploughing is necessary, although the plant thrives better when weeding is carefully attended to; no costly machinery has to be purchased and either left to the mercy of inexperienced hands or be placed under the care of highly paid Europeans, whilst there are few agricultural implements and no live stock to be maintained for field labour.

The hemp fibre, when dry, runs a greater risk of fire than sugar, but upon the whole, after comparing these estimates with those of sugar (*vide* preceding chapter) the advantages of hemp cultivation over sugar-cane planting appear too obvious to need further illustration.

Hemp fibre is classified by the large provincial dealers and Manila firms as of first, second and third qualities. The dealers, or *acopiadores*, in treating with the small native collectors, or their own workpeople, take delivery of hemp under two classes only, viz., first quality (*corriente*) and second quality (*colorada*). The first-class hemp is the whitest, and has a beautiful silky gloss.

The difficulties with which the European hemp cultivator has to contend all centre to the same origin—the indolence of the native; hence there is a continual struggle between capitalist and labourer in the attempt of the former to counterbalance the native's inconstancy and antipathy to honest toil.

Left to himself, the native cuts the plant at any period of its maturity. When he is hard pressed for a dollar or two, he strips a few petioles, leaving them, for days, exposed to the rain and atmosphere to soften and render easier the drawing of the fibre in which putrefaction has commenced. The result is prejudicial to the dealer and the plantation owner, because the fibre discolours. Then he passes the bast under a *toothed* knife, which is easy to work, and goes down to the village with his bundle of discoloured coarse fibre with a certain amount of dried sap on it to increase the weight. He chooses night time for the delivery, firstly, because the *acopiador* may be deceived in the colour upon which depends the selection of quality, and secondly, in order that the fibre, absorbing the dew, may weigh heavier. These are the tricks of the trade well known to the native.

The large dealers and plantation owners use every effort to enforce the use of knives without teeth, so that the fibre may be fine, perfectly clean and white, to come under the first class; the native opposes this on the ground that he loses in weight, whilst he is too dull to appreciate his gain in higher value. For instance, presuming the first quality to be quoted in Manila @ \$8.50 per picul and the third quality @ \$7.25, even though the first class basis price remained firm, the third class price would fall as the percentage of third class quality in the supplies went on increasing.

Here and there are to be found hemp plants which give a whiter fibre than others, whilst some assert that there are three or four kinds of hemp plant, but, in general, all will yield commercial first class hemp (*Abacá corriente*), and if the native could be coerced to cut the plant at maturity—draw the fibre under a toothless knife during the same day of stripping the petioles—lodge the fibre as drawn on a clean place, and sun-dry it on the first opportunity, then (the proprietors and dealers positively assert) the output of third quality need not exceed five to six per cent. of the whole produced. In short, the question of quality in *Abacá* has vastly less relation to the species of the plant than to the care taken in its extraction and manipulation.

I was present in the Government House of Albay in December, 1886, when the complaints against the native hemp-drawers were formally stated to the Governor, whose authority was appealed to, to commission an inspector to travel about the province and put pressure on the natives, in the hope of remedying this state of affairs.

The Chinese very actively collect parcels of hemp from the smallest class of native owners, but they also frequently enter into contracts which bring discredit to the reputation of a province as a hemp-producing district. For a small sum in cash, a Chinaman acquires from a native the right to work his plantation during a short period. Having no proprietary interest at stake, and looking only to his immediate gain, he indiscriminately strips plants, regardless of maturity, and the property reverts to the small owner in a sorely dilapidated condition. The market result is, that although the fibre drawn may be white, it is weak, and dealings with the Chinese require special scrutiny.

Each labourer on an "estate" (called in Albay Province *Latô*) is remunerated by receiving one-half of all the fibre he draws; the other half belongs to the "latô" owner. The share corresponding to the labourer is almost invariably delivered at the same time to the employer, who purchases it at the current local value—often at much less.

In sugar-planting, as no sugar can be hoped for until the fixed grinding season of the year, planters have to advance to their work-people during the whole twelve months. If, after so advancing during six or eight months, he loses half or more of his crop by natural causes, he stands a poor chance of recovering his advances of that year. There is no such risk in the case of hemp; when a man wants money he can work for it, and bring in his bundle of fibre and receive his half-share value.

In Manila the export houses estimate the prices of second and third qualities by a rebate from first class quality price. These rates necessarily fluctuate. When the deliveries of second and third qualities go on increasing in their proportion to the quantity of first class sent to the market, the rebate for lower qualities on the basis price (first class) is consequently augmented. For example, in the subjoined estimate, I have taken the price of \$8.50 per picul for first class, with the rebates of 75 cents for second class and \$1.25 for third class. If the total shipments to Manila began to show an extraordinary large proportionate increase of lower qualities, these differences of prices would be made wider, and in this manner indirect pressure is brought to bear upon the provincial shippers by increasing their interest in using every effort to send as much first class quality as possible.

The labour of young plant-setting in Albay Province may be calculated @ \$3 per 1,000 plants ; the cost of shoots two feet high, for planting out, is from 50 cents to one dollar per 100. However, as proprietors have frequently been cheated by natives who, having accepted to plant out the land, have not dug holes sufficiently deep and have set plants without roots, it is now customary in Luzon to pay \$10 per 100 live plants, to be counted at the time of full growth, or say in three years, in lieu of paying for shoots and labour at the prices stated above. The contractor, of course, lives on the estate.

In virgin soil, 2,500 plants would be set in one *pisoson* of land (*vide* Albay land measure, at page 333), or say 720 to each acre.

A hemp press employing 60 men and boys, with wages varying from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 50 cents per day, should turn out 230 bales per day. Freights by mail steamer to Manila in the year 1890 from Albay ports beyond the San Bernadino Straits, were 50 cents per bale ; from ports west of the Straits, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bale.

In the extraction of the fibre the natives work in couples ; one man strips the bast, whilst his companion draws it under the knife. A fair week's work for a couple, including selection of the mature plants and felling, would be about 300 lbs. However, the labourer is not able to give his entire attention to fibre-drawing, for occasionally a day has to be spent in weeding and brushwood clearance, but his half-share interest covers this duty.

The finest quality of hemp is produced in the Islands of Leyte and Marinduque, and in the districts of Sorsogon and Gúbat of the Province of Albay (Luzon).

The whole Province of Albay yields annually an average of 30,000 tons ; it is the most important hemp district of Luzon Island.

Previous to the year 1825, the quantity of hemp produced in these islands was insignificant ; in 1840 it is said to have exceeded 8,500 tons. The total shipments in 1870 amounted to 30,535 tons ; in 1871 to 28,984 tons, but the export of subsequent years has largely increased, as will be seen by the following figures, viz. :—

TOTAL HEMP SHIPMENTS IN THE YEARS.

1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.
<i>Tons.</i> 53,677	<i>Tons.</i> 52,659	<i>Tons.</i> 58,591	<i>Tons.</i> 52,864	<i>Tons.</i> 59,121	<i>Tons.</i> 39,409	<i>Tons.</i> 41,712	<i>Tons.</i> 40,497	<i>Tons.</i> 49,954

HEMP SHIPMENTS.

SHIP- MENTS IN THE YEAR	From		TOTAL SHIP- MENTS.	SHIP- MENTS IN THE YEAR	From		TOTAL SHIP- MENTS.
	MANILA.	CEBÚ.			MANILA.	CEBÚ.	
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
1881 -	41,535	12,771	54,306	1890 -	56,201	7,068	63,269
1882 -	36,091	8,114	44,205	1891 -	68,256	11,087	79,343
1883 -	40,113	6,567	46,680	1892 -	87,778	11,035	98,813
1884 -	43,260	7,716	50,976	1893 -	70,174	10,010	80,184
1885 -	43,927	8,214	52,141	1894 -	82,693	16,804	99,497
1886 -	39,268	7,192	46,460	1895 -	93,595	10,445	104,040
1887 -	56,709	7,663	64,372	1896 -	83,172	12,564	95,736
1888 -	71,381	11,298	82,679	1897 -	102,721	10,034	112,755
1889 -	59,455	11,616	71,071				

Leyte Island ranks second, if not now equal, to Albay Province in quantity of hemp production. The average yield per annum during the years 1888 to 1897 inclusive, was—in the Province of Camarines Sur 6,500 tons and in Camarines Norte 2,500 tons, the latter being of inferior quality due, it is alleged, to the use of serrated edged knives in the extraction. From Sámar Island hemp is sent in fair quantities to Manila.

From Mindanao Island hemp is forwarded to Cebú for shipment with that grown in Cebú Island itself, and certain deliveries from Leyte; but in recent years the supplies to Cebú of Leyte hemp have (proportionately to the production) fallen off, Manila having superseded Cebú as the market for a good share of Leyte deliveries.

A small quantity of low quality hemp is produced in Cápis Province (Panay Island); collections are also made along the south-east coast of Negros Island from Dumaguete northwards and in the district of Maúban¹ on the Pacific coast of Tayabas Province (Luzon Island).

¹ A large proportion of the product sent from Maúban to Manila as marketable hemp is really a wild hemp-fibre locally known by the name of *Alinsanay*. It is a worthless, brittle filament which has all the external appearance of marketable hemp. A sample of it broke as easily as silk thread between my fingers. Its maximum strength is calculated to be one-fourth of hemp fibre. I saw a letter from Maúban, in which it was stated that the recent deliveries from that place to Manila port probably contained four-fifths of this inferior material.

The highest Manila quotation for first quality hemp (*corriente*) during the years 1882 and 1896 inclusive, was \$17·21½ per picul, and the lowest in the same period \$6·00 per picul (16 piculs = 1 ton; 2 piculs = 1 bale), whilst specially selected lots from Sorsogon and Marinduque fetched a certain advance on these figures.

Manila export firms usually admit up to 5% of low quality hemp in a parcel delivered as first class, and, if the amount of low quality does not exceed 2% in a lot so supplied, a premium is paid for this superior proportion of "*Corriente*."

The subjoined *pro forma* Estimate of an Albay Estate, will give a fair idea of the cost of production and the result of the venture.

Albay Province (local) Land Measure.

1 Topon = 16 square Brazas = 53·776 English square yards.
312½ Topones = 1 Pison = 5,000 square Brazas.
" " = ½ of Quñon = 2½ Cabanes = 3·472 acres.

ESTIMATE of an *Abacá* (Hemp) Plantation in Albay Province.

500 Pisonones = 1,250 Cabanes (= 1,736 acres) of land, over two years planted with shoots and therefore ready to cut in one year from time of purchase. No ploughing. No fallow land.

Each Pison = 2½ Cabanes (= 3·472 acres) producing per annum 10 piculs of *Abacá* (= per acre, cwts. 3·60 = yield from the 1,736 acres, 312½ tons) = total output 5,000 piculs = 2,500 bales in the assumed proportion of—

80% *Corriente*. 10% *Segunda*. 10% *Colorada*.

Shipment by steamer from Tobacco to Manila.

INVESTED CAPITAL.

	\$	cts.
500 Pisonones of land over two years planted @ \$100	-	50,000 00
Store for 5,000 piculs of hemp with ample spare space	-	3,000 00
Bale Press and Shed for pressing 100 bales per day	-	2,500 00
Plot of land for Store and sun-drying ground	-	700 00
2 horses and vehicle	-	300 00
Unrecoverable advances to 100 men @ say \$10	-	1,000 00
<i>Total Invested Capital</i>	-	<u>\$57,500 00</u>

WORKING EXPENSES.

	\$	<i>cts.</i>
4 Plantation Overseers @ \$20 per month each - -	960	00
Salaries :—Manager (or owner's living expenses if acting as Manager) - - - - -	1,800	00
European Office clerk and book-keeper - -	1,500	00
2 Native Storekeepers @ \$30 and \$20 per month respectively - - - - -	600	00
2 Native Messengers @ \$8 per month each -	192	00
Labour—for pressing 2,500 Bales @ 18½ cents (=1½ reales) plus 2 mats per bale (@ \$1.75 per 100) and 14 split rattans per bale (@ \$1.75 per 1,000) - - -	468	75
Waste in shipper's provincial store of hemp, mats, rattans, and divers odd expenses - - - - -	163	50
Stolen by labourers on the plantation, say - - -	200	00
Maintenance or Depreciation of Press value @ 8% per annum - - - - -	200	00
Fire Insurance on Store, Bale Press and Shed, @ 2% on \$5,500 - - - - -	110	00
Keep of 2 horses, per annum - - - - -	96	00
Travelling expenses about the province - - -	200	00
Taxes of all kinds payable to the Government - -	1,000	00
Office expenses, telegrams, postages, stationery, etc. -	150	00
Freight to Manila @ 25 cents per picul - - -	1,250	00
Loading @ 5 cents per bale - - - - -	125	00
Insurance to Manila @ ½% on \$31,200 (Manila selling value, plus say 15%) - - - - -	156	00
Manila Broker's commission, including landing, discharging, etc. @ 2% on sale value - - - - -	541	25
Manila storage @ 3 cents per bale per month, say for half a month - - - - -	37	50
<i>Total Working Capital</i> -	<u>\$9,759</u>	00

SALE :—Half of the above output of 5,000 piculs belongs to the planter ; the other half is purchased from the labourers, therefore, 2,500 piculs sold thus :—

	\$	<i>cts.</i>
2,000 piculs @ \$8.50 ; 250 piculs @ \$7.75 ; 250 piculs @ \$7.25 - - - -		20,750 00
Gain in price on 2,500 piculs (labourers' share) bought @ \$1.50 per picul under Manila market price - -		3,750 00
Manila firms pay \$1 per bale for pressing - -		2,500 00
		\$27,000 00

RESULT.

Sale in Manila	-	-	-	-	-	\$27,000
Deduct Working Expenses	-	-	-	-	-	9,750
						<u>\$17,250</u>

* = 25% on Total Capital.

During the decade prior to the commercial depression of 1884, enormous sums of money were lent by foreign firms and wealthy hemp staplers to the small producers against deliveries to be effected. But experience has proved that the natives have not sufficient sense of honour to endeavour to gradually clear off their debts, for, on delivery of the produce, they expect to be again paid the full value and pass over the sums long due. Hence, capital which might be employed, to the mutual advantage of all concerned, is now partially withheld. The natives complain that there is no money, whilst the collectors find themselves in an embarrassed position, for the native prefers to live in misery rather than work without payment beforehand. Speaking on this subject with several of the largest Albay staplers, one of them said he had no hope whatever of recovering one-half of his loans.

Fortunately for the Philippines, the fibre known as Manila hemp is a speciality of the Colony, and the prospect of over-production, almost annihilating profits to producers—as in the sugar colonies—is at present remote, although the competition with other fibre is severe. In 1881, the *Abacá* plants presented to the Saigon Botanical Gardens

were flourishing during the management of Mons. Coroy, but happily for this Colony the experiment, which was to precede the introduction of "Manila Hemp" into French Cochin China, was abandoned, the plants having been removed by that gentleman's successor. In 1890 "Manila Hemp" was cultivated in British North Borneo by the "Labuk Planting Company, Limited," and the fibre raised on their estates was satisfactorily reported on by the Rope Works in Hongkong.



CHAPTER XVIII.

COFFEE (*COFFEA ARABICA*).

COFFEE-PLANTING was commenced in the Colony early in the present century. A few of the original plants still bear fruit each year. Up to 1889 plantation owners in the province of Batangas assured me that the trees possessed by their grandfathers were still flourishing, whilst it is well known that in many coffee-producing colonies the tree bears profitably only up to the 25th year, and at the 30th year it is quite exhausted. Unless something be done to revive this branch of agriculture it seems as if coffee would soon cease to be an article of export from these islands. In the year 1891 the crops in Luzon began to fall off very considerably, in a small measure due to the trees having lost their vigour, but chiefly owing to the ravages of a worm in the stems. In 1892-93 the best and oldest-established plantations were almost annihilated. Nothing could be done to stop the scourge, and several of the wealthiest coffee-owners, personally known to me, ploughed up their land and started sugar-cane growing in place of coffee.

In 1883 nearly 7,500 tons of coffee were shipped, whilst in 1896 the total export did not reach 90 tons.

The best Philippine Coffee comes from the Provinces of Batangas, La Laguna and Cavite (Luzon Island), and includes a large proportion of *caracolillo*, which is the nearest shape to the Mocha bean and the most esteemed. The Batangas coffee centre is Lipa.

The most inferior Philippine coffee is produced in Mindanao Island, and is sent up to Manila containing a quantity of rotten beans. It consequently always fetches a lower price than Manila (Luzon) coffee, which is highly prized in the market.

*Manila Quotations for the two qualities.**Average Prices throughout the Years*

Per Picul.*	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1890.	1891.
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Manila (Luzon) Coffee -	10 25	12 00	12 68	12 00	12 17	26 14	21 47	31 00	30 50
Mindanao Coffee -	9 30	10 00	12 00	9 87	9 56	19 50 <i>nom.</i>	20 34	25 80	24 40

* 133½ lbs. avoirdupois.

Quotations later than 1891 would serve no practical purpose in the above table of comparison, as, due to the extremely small quantity produced, almost fancy prices ruled since that date. In 1896, for instance, the market price ran up to \$35 per picul, whilst some small parcels exchanged hands at a figure so capriciously high that it cannot be taken as a quotation.

COFFEE SHIPMENTS.

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1856 - - -	437	1888 - - -	6,702
1865 - - -	2,350	1889 - - -	5,841
1871 - - -	3,335	1890 - - -	4,796
1880 - - -	5,059	1891 - - -	2,869
1881 - - -	5,383	1892 - - -	1,326
1882 - - -	5,052	1893 - - -	307
1883 - - -	7,451	1894 - - -	309
1884 - - -	7,252	1895 - - -	194
1885 - - -	5,209	1896 - - -	89
1886 - - -	7,337	1897 - - -	136
1887 - - -	4,998		

I have investigated the system of Coffee growing and trading in all the Luzon districts, and I find it impossible to draw up a correct

general estimate showing the nett cost laid down in Manila market. The manner of acquiring the produce and the conditions of purchase vary so greatly, and are subject to so many peculiar local circumstances, that only an approximate computation can be arrived at.

Some of the provincial collectors have plantations of their own property—others have not, whilst none of them depend entirely upon the produce of their own trees for fulfilling the contracts in the capital. About the month of March, after the crop is got in, they distribute money as advances against the succeeding harvest among the poorer natives who have patches of coffee plantation, and who, like all their race, like to live in anticipation of their means.

The rate per picul of coffee for advances depends chiefly upon the competition amongst the collectors in the same locality. If coffee has just been worth about \$11 per picul in Manila, money for the next crop might be loaned at say \$7 to \$8 per picul, and the provincial dealer has to take his chance. The cost of transport to Manila from the Luzon districts is about 50 cents per picul (\$8 per ton), and he may barely recover his advances when the crop is gathered in December and January following, or he may (unless he has mortgaged or sold his stocks beforehand) make a small fortune, as in the 1886 crop, when Manila coffee reached \$31 per picul and then declined very gradually.

In the case of hemp, it has been shown in the preceding chapter that the business gives about 25% profit to the estate owner and dealer when intelligently managed. Coffee, however, is a much more fluctuating concern, as the purchase rate (although perhaps low) is determined out of season several months before it is seen how the market will stand for the sale of that coffee; in hemp transactions (there being practically no season for hemp) the purchase money need only be paid on delivery of the produce by the labourer at rates proportionate to Manila prices, unless the dealer be simply a speculator, in which case, having contracted in Manila to deliver at a price, he must advance to secure deliveries to fulfil his contract. Therefore, in coffee, a provincial collector may lose something in the total year's transactions or he may make an enormous profit, if he works with his own capital. If he borrows the capital from Manila dealers—middlemen—as is often the case, then he may make a fortune for his Manila friends, or he may lose another year's interest on the borrowed funds which he cannot at once reimburse.

In Cavite Province districts there is another way of negotiating coffee speculations. The dealer, with capital, advances at say \$6 or \$7 per picul "on joint account up to Manila." The plantation owner then binds himself to deliver so many piculs of coffee of the next gathering, and the difference between the advance rate and the sale price in Manila is divided between the two, after the capitalist has deducted the charges for transport, packing, commission in Manila, etc. All the risk is, of course, on the part of the capitalist, for if the crop fails, the small plantation owner has no means of refunding the advance.

On a carefully managed plantation, a caban of land (8,000 square Spanish yards) is calculated to yield 10·40 piculs (= 13 cwt.) of clean coffee, or say 9 cwt. 1 quarter 11 lbs. per acre. The selling value of a plantation, in full growth, is about \$250 per caban, or say \$180 per acre. Since 1896 this land value is nominal.

The trees begin to give marketable coffee in the fourth year of growth, and flourish best in hilly districts and on high lands, where the roots can be kept dry, and where the average temperature does not exceed 70° Fahr. *Caracolillo* is found in greater quantities on the highest declivities facing East, where the morning sun evaporates the superfluous moisture of the previous night's dew.

In the Province of Cavite there appears to be very little system in the culture of the coffee tree. There is little care taken in the selection of shading trees, and pruning is much neglected. Nevertheless, very fine coffee is brought from the neighbourhood of Indan, Silan, Alfonso, and Amadeo. Batangas coffee has the best reputation in Manila, hence the Indan product is sometimes brought to that market and sold as Batangas coffee.

In Batangas the coffee plant is usually shaded by a tree called *Madre Cacao* (*Gliricidia maculata*). On starting a plantation, this tree is placed in rows, each trunk occupying one Spanish yard, and when it has attained two or three feet in height, the coffee shoot is planted at each angle. Between the third and eighth years of growth, every alternate shading tree and coffee plant is removed, as more space for development becomes necessary. The coffee plants are pruned from time to time, and on no account should the branches be allowed to hang over and meet. Around the wealthy town of Lipa, some of the many coffee estates were extremely well kept up, with avenues crossing the plantations in different directions.

At the end of eight years, more or less, according to how the quality of soil and the situation have influenced the development, there would remain say about 2,400 plants in each caban of land, or 1,728 plants per acre. Comparing this with the yield per acre, each tree would therefore give 9·69 ounces of marketable coffee, whilst in Peru, where the coffee tree is planted at an elevation of five to six thousand feet above sea level, each tree is said to yield one pound weight of beans.

In the Philippines, the fresh ripe berries, when thoroughly sun-dried, lose an average weight of 52% moisture.

The sun-dried berries ready for pounding (husking) give an average of 33·70 of their weight in marketable coffee-beans.

For those who intend visiting the coffee districts to purchase for shipment, it may be useful to have the following data in Philippine reckoning :—It takes *eight* cabanes measure (*vide* page 318) of fresh picked ripe berries to turn out *one* picul weight of clean beans.

The cost to the owner of having the plantation looked after and the fruit gathered, is one-half of the produce, which, however, almost invariably becomes his again, for, as a rule, he has advanced against it during the year.

Supposing the average selling price of coffee in Manila to be \$11 per picul, the nett profit to the capitalist *grower* may be taken at about 18% upon his total invested and working capital, allowance being made for the fact that one year in every five gives a short crop, due either to the nature of the plant or to climatic variations, but, in either case, inevitable ; therefore, it pays better to collect coffee from the very small growers rather than sink capital in large estates.

The coffee plant imperatively requires shade and moisture, and over-pruning is prejudicial. If allowed to run to its natural height, it would grow up to 15 to 25 feet high, but it is usually kept at 7 to 10 feet. The leaves are evergreen, very shining, oblong, leathery, and much resemble those of the common laurel. The flowers are small, and cluster in the axils of the leaves. They are somewhat similar to the Spanish jasmine, and being snow-white, the effect of a coffee plantation in bloom is delightful, whilst the odour is fragrant. The fruit, when ripe, is of a dark scarlet colour, and the ordinary coffee berry contains two semi-elliptic seeds of a horny or cartilaginous nature glued together and enveloped in a coriaceous membrane ; when this is removed, each seed is found covered with a silver-grey pellicle.

The *Caracolillo* coffee berry contains only one seed, with a furrow in the direction of the long axis, which gives it the appearance of being a geminous seed, with an inclination to open out on one side.

In Arabia Felix, where coffee was first planted in the 15th century, and its cultivation is still extensive, the collection of the fruit is effected by spreading cloths under the trees, from which, on being violently shaken, the ripe berries fall, and are then placed upon mats to dry, after which, the beans are pressed out under a heavy roller.

In the Philippines, women and children—sometimes men—go into the plantations with baskets, and pick the berries from the trees. The fruit is then heaped, and in a few days, washed, so that a great portion of the pulp is got rid of. Then they are dried and pounded in a mortar until the inner membrane and pellicle are separated, and these are winnowed from the clean bean, which constitutes the coffee of commerce, and is sent in bags to Manila for sale.

The Philippine plantations give only one crop yearly, whilst in the West Indies, beans of unequal ripeness are to be found during eight months of the twelve, and, in Brazil, there are three gatherings annually.

* * * * *

The seed of the TOBACCO plant (*Nicotiana tabacum*), was among the many novelties introduced into the Philippines from Mexico by Spanish missionaries, soon after the possession of the Colony by the Spaniards was an accomplished fact. From this Colony it is said to have been taken in the 16th or 17th century into the South of China, where its use was so much abused, that the sale of this so-called noxious article was, for a long time, prohibited under penalty of death.

During the first two centuries of Spanish dominion, but little direct attention was paid to the Tobacco question by the Government, who only nominally held, but did not assert, the exclusive right of traffic in this article. At length, in the year 1781, during the Governor-Generalship of José Basco y Vargas (a naval officer), the cultivation and sale of tobacco was formally decreed a State monopoly, which lasted up to the end of the year 1882. In the meantime, it became an important item of public revenue. In 1882, the profits on the Tobacco Monopoly amounted to half the Colony's Budget expenditure.

A few years before that date, a foreign Company offered to guarantee the Budget (then about \$15,000,000), in exchange for the Tobacco Monopoly, but the proposal was not entertained, although in that same year the Treasury deficit amounted to \$2,000,000.

By Royal Decree of 1st July, 1844, a contract was entered into with the firm of O'Shea & Co., renting to them the Monopoly, but it was suddenly rescinded. The annual profits from tobacco to the Government at that date were about \$2,500,000.

YEAR.						GOVERNMENT PROFIT ON TOBACCO.
1840	-	-	-	-	-	\$2,123,505
1845	-	-	-	-	-	2,570,679
1850	-	-	-	-	-	3,036,611
1855	-	-	-	-	-	3,721,168
1859	-	-	-	-	-	4,932,463
1860	-	-	-	-	-	over 5,000,000

A bale of tobacco contains 4,000 leaves in 40 bundles (*manos*) of 100 leaves each.

In the financial year 1868-1869, the figures stood thus, viz. :—

Leaf and (Manila) Manufactured Tobacco	-	-	\$6,717,635
25,000 quintals (cwts.) exported to Spain @ \$20	-	-	2,000,000
			<u>\$8,717,635</u>
Less Working Expenses, waste, wrecks, etc.	-	-	3,487,054
			<u>\$5,230,581</u>

The classification of the deliveries depended on the district where the crop was raised and the length of the leaf.

According to Art. 9^o of the “Real Instruccion,” dated 2nd December, 1858, the following tariff was established, viz. :—

DISTRICT.		PER (CWT.) BALE.			
		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.
		\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Cagayan and Isabela	- -	9 00	4 00	1 70	0 60
Nueva Ecija	- - -	6 00	3 45	1 20	0 45
Union, Abra and Cayan	-	7 00	3 70	1 45	0 45

The tobacco trade being also a Government concern in Spain, this Colony was under an obligation to supply the Peninsula State Factories with 90,000 quintals (cwts.) of tobacco leaf per annum.

Government Monopoly was in force in Luzon Island only. The tobacco districts of that island were Cagayan Valley (which comprises La Isabela), La Union, El Abra, Ilocos Sur y Norte and Nueva Ecija. In no other part of Luzon was tobacco planting allowed, except for a short period on the Caraballo range, inhabited by undomesticated mountain tribes, upon whom prohibition would have been difficult to enforce. In 1842 the Igorrotes were allowed to plant, and, in the year 1853, the Government collection from this source amounted to 25,000 bales of excellent quality. The total population of these districts was, in 1882 (the last year of Monopoly), about 785,000.

The Visayas Islands, or South Philippines, were never under the Monopoly system. The natives there were free to raise tobacco or other crops on their land. It was not until 1840 that tobacco planting attracted general attention in Visayas. Government Factories or Collecting Centres were established there for classifying and storing such tobacco as the Visayos cared to bring in for sale to the State, but the Southern planters were at liberty to sell their produce privately or in the public markets. They also disposed of large quantities by contraband to the Luzon Island Provinces.¹

Antique Province never yielded more tobacco than what could be consumed locally, but, in the hope of obtaining higher prices, an enthusiastic Governor, Manuel Iturriaga, encouraged the growers, in 1843, to send a trial parcel to the Government Collectors; it was, however, unclassified and rejected. In 1841 the Antique tobacco crop was valued at \$80,000.

Mindoro, Lucban, and Marinduque Islands produced tobacco half a century ago, and in 1846 the Government established a Collecting Factory in Mindoro, but the abuses and cruelty of the officials towards the natives, to force them to bring in their crops, almost extinguished this class of husbandry.

During the period of Monopoly in the Luzon districts, the production was very carefully regulated by the Home Government, by enactments revised from time to time, called "General Instructions

¹ *Vide* Instructions *re* Contraband from the Treasury Superintendent, Juan Manuel de la Matta, to the "Intendente de Visayas" in 1843.

for the Direction, Administration and Control of the Government Monopolies." Compulsory labour was authorized, and those natives in the northern provinces of Luzon Island who wished to till the land (the property of the State),—for title deeds were almost unknown and never applied for by the natives—were compelled to give preference to tobacco. In fact, no other crops were allowed to be raised. Moreover, they were not permitted to peacefully indulge their indolent nature—to scrape up the earth and plant when and where they liked for a mere subsistence. Each family was coerced into contracting with the Government to raise 4,000 plants per annum, subject to a fine in the event of failure. The planter had to deliver into the State stores all the tobacco of his crop—not a single leaf could he reserve for his private consumption.

Lands left uncultivated could be appropriated by the Government, who put their own nominees to work them, and he who had come to consider himself owner, by mere undisturbed possession, lost the usufruct and all other rights for three years. His right to the land, in fact, was not freehold, but tenure by villein socage.

Emigrants were sent north from the west coast provinces of North and South Ilocos. The first time I went up to Cagayan, about 200 emigrant families were taken on board our vessel at North Ilocos, *en route* for the tobacco districts, and appeared to be as happy as other natives in general. They were well supplied with food and clothing, and comfortably lodged on their arrival at the Port of Aparri.

In the Government Regulations referred to¹ the old law of Charles III., which enacted that a native could not be responsible at law for a debt exceeding \$5, was revived, and those emigrants who had debts were only required to liquidate them out of their earnings in the tobacco district up to that legal maximum value.

As soon as the native growers were settled on their lands, their condition was by no means an enviable one. A Nueva Ecija land owner and tobacco grower, in a letter to *El Liberal* (Madrid) in 1880, depicts the situation in the following terms:—The planter, he says, was only allowed to smoke tobacco of his own crop inside the aerating sheds which were usually erected on the fields under tilth. If he happened to be caught by a carabineer only a few steps outside the

¹ *Instrucción General para la Dirección, Administración y Intervención de las Rentas Estancadas*, 1849.

shed with a cigar in his mouth, he was fined \$2—if a cigarette, 50 cents—and adding to these sums the costs of the conviction, a cigar of his own crop came to cost him $\$7.37\frac{1}{2}$ and a cigarette $\$1.87\frac{1}{2}$. The fines in Nueva Ecija amounted to an annual average of \$7,000 on a population of 170,000. From sunrise to sunset the native grower was subject to domiciliary search for concealed tobacco—his trunks, furniture and every nook and corner of his dwelling were ransacked. He and all his family—wife and daughters—were personally examined: and often an irate husband, father or brother, goaded to indignation by the indecent humiliation of his kinswoman, would lay hands on his bolie-knife and bring matters to a bloody crisis with his wanton persecutors. The leaves were carefully selected, and only such as came under classification were paid for to the grower. The rejected bundles were not returned to him, but burnt—a despairing sacrifice to the toiler! The *Cabezas de Barangay* (*vide* page 245) had, under penalty of arrest and hard labour, to see that the families fulfilled their onerous contract—corporal punishment, imprisonment and amercement resulted—of frequent occurrence were those fearful scenes which culminated in riots such as those of Ilocos in 1807 and 1814, when many Spaniards fell victims to the natives' resentment of their oppression.

Palpable injustice too was imposed by the Government with respect to the payments. The Treasury paid loyally for many years, but as generation succeeded generation, and the native growers' families came to feel themselves attached to the soil they cultivated, the Treasury, reposing on the security of this constancy, no longer kept to the compact. The officials failed to pay, with punctuality, to the growers the contracted value of the deliveries to the State stores. They required exactitude from the native—the Government set the example of remissness. The consequence was appalling. Instead of money, Treasury Notes were given them, and speculators of the lowest type used to scour the tobacco-growing districts to buy up this paper at an enormous discount. The misery of the natives was so distressing, the distrust of the Government so radicate, and the want of means of existence so urgent, that they were wont to yield their claims for an insignificant relative specie value. The speculators held the bonds for realization some day; the total amount due by the Government at one time exceeded \$1,500,000. Once the Treasury was so hard pressed

for funds, that the tobacco ready in Manila for shipment to Spain had to be sold on the spot and the 90,000 quintals could not be sent—hence purchases of Philippine tobacco had to be made by tender in London for the Spanish factories.

At length, during the Government of General Domingo Moriones (1877–1880), it was resolved to listen to the overwhelming complaints from the North, and pay up to date in coin. But, to do this, Spain, always in a state of chronic bankruptcy, had to resort to an abominable measure of disloyalty. The funds of the Deposit Bank (*Caja de Depósitos*) were arbitrarily appropriated, and the deposit notes bearing 8½% interest per annum, held by private persons, most of whom were Government clerks, etc., were dishonoured at due date. This gave rise to great clamour on the part of those individuals whose term of service had ceased (*cesantes*), and who, on their return to Spain, naturally wished to take their accumulated savings with them. The Governor-General had no other recourse open to him but to reinstate them in their old positions, on his own responsibility, pending the financial crisis and the receipt of instructions from the Government at Madrid.

As already stated, the Government Monopoly ceased on the 31st of December, 1882, when the tobacco cultivation and trade were handed over to private enterprise. At that date there were five Government Cigar and Cigarette Factories, viz.:—Malabon, Arroceros, Meisig, El Fortín and Cavite, giving employment to about 20,000 operatives.

For a long time the question of abolishing the Monopoly had been debated, and by Royal Order of 20th May, 1879, a commission was appointed to inquire into the convenience of renting out the tobacco traffic. The natives were firmly opposed to it; they dreaded the prospect of the provinces being overrun by a band of licensed persecutors, and of the two evils they preferred State to private Monopoly. Warm discussions arose for and against it through the medium of the Manila newspapers. The “Consejo de Filipinas,” in Madrid, gave a favourable report dated 12th May, 1879, and published in the Madrid Gazette, 13th July, 1879. The clergy defeated the proposal by the Corporations of Friars jointly presenting a Memorial against it—and it was thenceforth abandoned. The Tobacco Monopoly was the largest source of public revenue, hence the doubt as to the policy of free trade and the delay in granting it. There existed a possibility of the Treasury sustaining an immense and irretrievable loss, for a

return to Monopoly, after free trade had been allowed, could not for a moment be thought of. It was then a safe income to the Government, and it was feared, by many, that the industry, by free labour, would considerably fall off.

Up to within a year of the abolition of Monopoly, a very good smokeable cigar could be purchased in the *estancos*¹ from one half-penny and upwards, but as soon as the free trade project was definitely decided upon, the Government factories, in order to work off their old stocks of inferior leaf, filled the *estancos* with cigars of the worst quality.

The Colonial Treasurer-General at the time of this reform entertained very sanguine hopes respecting the rush which would be made for the Government brands, and the general public were led to believe that a scarcity of manufactured tobacco would, for some months, at least, follow the establishment of free trade in this article. With this idea in view, Government stocks sold at auction aroused competition and fetched unusually high prices at the close of 1882, and the beginning of the following year, in some cases as much as 23/- per cwt. being realized over the upset prices. However, the Treasurer-General was carried too far in his expectations. He was unfortunately induced to hold a large amount of Government manufactured tobacco in anticipation of high offers, the result being an immense loss to the Treasury, as only a part was placed, with difficulty, at low prices, and the remainder shipped to Spain. In January, 1883, the stock of tobacco in Government hands amounted to about 100 tons of 1881 crop, besides the whole crop of 1882. Little by little, throughout the year, the upset prices had to be lowered to draw buyers. On the 29th of December, 1883, a Government sale by auction was announced at 50% reduction on their already low prices, but the demand was still very meagre. Finally, in the course of 1884, the Government got rid of the bulk of their stock, the balance being shipped to the mother country. The colonial authorities continued to pay the ancient Tobacco tribute to Spain, and the first contract, with this object, was made during that year with a private company for the supply of about 2,750 tons.

During the first year of Free Trade, cigar and cigarette factories were rapidly started in Manila and the provinces, but up to 1897 only some eight or ten factories had improved the quality of the manufactured article, whilst prices have risen so considerably that the

¹ Licensed depôts for the sale of monopolized goods.

general public have probably lost by the reform. Cigars, like those sold in the *estancos* in 1881, cannot now be got so good for the same price, but at higher prices much better brands are offered.

A small tax on the cigar and tobacco leaf trade, officially announced in August, 1883, had the beneficial effect of causing the closure of some of the very small manufactories, and reduced the probability of a large over-supply of an almost worthless article.

Export houses continued to make large shipments of leaf tobacco and cigars until the foreign markets were glutted with Philippine tobacco in 1883, and in the following years the export somewhat decreased.

The subjoined table will show the total shipments of this product during and after the period of Monopoly.

TOBACCO AND CIGAR SHIPMENTS.

YEAR.		CIGARS.	LEAF.	YEAR.		CIGARS.	LEAF.
		<i>Thousands.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>			<i>Thousands.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
Under Monopoly.	1880	82,783	8,657	1889	121,674	10,161	
	1881	89,502	7,027	1890	109,636	8,952	
	1882	103,597	6,195	1891	97,740	9,803	
	1883	190,079	7,267	1892	137,059	12,714	
	1884	125,091	7,181	1893	137,458	11,534	
	1885	114,821	6,799	1894	137,877	9,545	
	1886	102,717	6,039	1895	164,430	10,368	
	1887	99,562	4,841	1896	183,667	10,986	
	1888	109,109	10,229	1897	156,916	15,836	

The tobacco shipped during the first six months of the year 1883 was limited to that sold by auction out of the Government stocks, for the Government found themselves in a dilemma with their stores of this article, and the free export only commenced half a year after free production was granted. The figures for the years following 1883 were, to a great extent, influenced by the bad quality of the manufactures.

As to the relative quality of Philippine tobacco, there are very divided opinions. Decidedly the best Manila cigars cannot compare

with those made from the famous leaf of the *Vuelta de Abajo* (Cuba), and in the European markets they have very justly failed to meet with the same favourable reception as the Cuban cigars generally. As to price, Philippine cigars are much cheaper than Cubans, for in Havana I always had to pay twice as much for a cigar equal to the best Manila article. Cuban cigars are not sold in this Colony, and it is not surprising that old enthusiastic Philippine residents should have become so accustomed to their favourite Manila brands as to consider them incomparable.

During my first journey up the Rio Grande de Cagayan, I was told that some years ago the Government made earnest efforts to improve the quality of the plant by the introduction of seed from Cuba, but it was unfortunately mixed up with that usually planted in the Philippine provinces, and the object in view failed completely. On my renewed visit to the tobacco districts, immediately after the abolition of monopoly, the importance of properly manipulating the green leaf did not appear to be thoroughly appreciated. The exact degree of fermentation was not ascertained with the skill and perseverance necessary to turn out a well-prepared article. Some piles which I tested were over-heated (taking the Java system as my standard), whilst larger quantities had been aërated so long in the shed, after cutting, that they had lost their finest aroma.

The best quality of Philippine tobacco is produced in the northern provinces of Luzon Island, the choicest selections coming from Cagayan and La Isabela. Nueva Viscaya, Ilocos Sur y Norte, Nueva Ecija and even Pampanga Provinces yield tobacco.

In the south (Visayas) tobacco is cultivated in Panay Island and on the east coast of Negros Island (district of Escalante) and Cebú Island—also to a limited extent in Mindanao. The Visaya leaf generally is inferior in quality, particularly that of Yloilo Province, some of which, in fact, is such rubbish that it is difficult to understand how a profit can be expected from its cultivation. The Escalante (Negros E. coast) and the Barili (Cebú W. coast) tobacco seemed to me to be the fullest flavoured and most agreeable leaf in all the Visayas.

In 1883 a company, styled The General Philippine Tobacco Company (“*Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas*”), was formed in Spain and established in this Colony with a capital of £3,000,000. It gave great impulse to the trade by soon starting with five factories

and purchasing four estates ("San Antonio," "Santa Isabel," "San Luis," and "La Concepcion"), with buying agents in every tobacco district. Up to 1898 the baled tobacco leaf trade was chiefly in the hands of this Company. Little by little the Company launched out into other branches of produce purchasing, and lost considerable sums of money in the provinces in its unsuccessful attempt to compete with the shrewd British merchants.

Prices and Weights of some of the best Cigars Manufactured in Manila packed in Boxes ready for Use or Shipment.

PER THOUSAND.		IN BOXES OF	PER THOUSAND.		IN BOXES OF
lbs.	\$		lbs.	\$	
25	100	25	17	40	50
24	90	25	16	15	100
23	60	25	15	30	50
22	50	50	14	30	50
20	35	50	12	22	50
18	45	50	10	20	50

Cigars and cigarettes are now offered for sale in every town, village and hamlet of the Islands, and their manufacture for the immense home consumption, and to supply the demand for export, constitutes an important branch of trade. However, for the Philippines to continue to compete with other colonies, there is room for raising the standard of quality, which is still below what may yet be hoped for.



CHAPTER XIX.

SUNDRY FOREST AND FARM PRODUCE.

MAIZE—COCOA—COPRAH, ETC.

IN a limited number of districts, particularly in the south, Maize (“Indian Corn”) forms the staple article of food in lieu of rice, although as a rule, this latter cereal is preferred.

Many agriculturists alternate their crops with that of Maize, which, it is said, does not impoverish the land to any appreciable extent. There is no great demand for this grain, and it is generally cultivated rather as an article for consumption in the grower’s household than for trade. Planted in good land it gives about 200-fold, and two crops in the year = 400-fold per annum, but the setting out of one caban of maize grain occupies five times the surface required for the planting of the same measure of rice grain. An ordinary caban of land is 8,000 square Spanish yards (*vide* “Land Measure,” page 308), and this superficie derives its denomination from the fact that it is the average area occupied by the planting out of one caban measure of rice grain. The maize caban of land is quite a special measure, and is equal to 5 rice cabans. Estimating therefore the average yield of rice paddy to be 50 cabans measure per ordinary caban of land, the same superficie, were it suitable for maize-raising, would give one-fifth of 400-fold per annum = 80 cabans of Maize per rice caban.

The current price of maize, taking the average in several provinces, is rarely above that of paddy for the same measure, whilst it is often lower, according to the demand, which is influenced by the custom of the natives in the vicinity where it is offered for sale.

It is eaten after being pulverized between stone or hard wood slabs with the surfaces set horizontally, the upper one being caused to revolve on the lower one, which is stationary. In many village market places one sees heads of maize roasted and exposed for sale. This is of a special quality, grown in alluvial soil—the interval of rivers which overflow at certain seasons of the year. Three crops per annum are obtained on land of this kind, so that the supply is constant all the year round. The price of the raw maize-heads to the market sellers is about 60 cuartos per 100, which they retail out roasted at one cuarto each ($3\frac{1}{2}$ cuartos equal about one penny); the profit is therefore proportionately large when local festivities create a demand.

* * * * *

The CACAO TREE—*Theobroma Cacao* (or “Food of the gods,” as Linnaeus called it), a native of Central America, flourishes in these Islands in the hot and damp districts.

It is said to have been imported into the Philippines towards the end of the 17th century from Mexico, where it has been in very ancient use. Outside the tropics, the tree will grow in some places, but gives no fruit. The Philippine quality is very good, and compares favourably with that of other countries, the best being produced between latitudes 11° and 12° N.

The cultivation of Cacao is an extremely risky and delicate business, as, often when the planter's hopes are about to be realized, a slight storm will throw down the almost ripened fruit in a day. A disease sometimes attacks the roots and spreads through a plantation. It is natural, therefore, that no one should dedicate his time exclusively to the cultivation of this product at the risk of almost instantaneous ruin. Usually, the Philippine agriculturist rightly regards cacao only as an useful adjunct to his other crops. Small quantities of it are sent to Spain, but the consumption in the Colony, when made into chocolate¹ by adding sugar, vanilla, cinnamon, etc. to counteract the natural bitterness of the bean, is considerable. To make chocolate paste, a large quantity of sugar is added, varying from one-third of its weight to equal parts, whilst one pod of vanilla is sufficient for $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of

¹ The word chocolate is derived from the Mexican word *chocolatl*. The Mexicans, at the time of the conquest, used cacao beans as money. The grandees of the Aztec Court ate chocolate made of the ground bean mixed with Indian corn and honey, *vide* W. H. Prescott's “Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico.”

cacao. As a beverage, it is in great favour with the Spaniards and half-castes and the better class of natives.

The cacao beans or kernels lie in a fruit something like a gherkin, about five inches long and three inches diameter, and of a dark reddish colour when ripe. The fruit contains from 15 to 25 beans, in regular rows, with pulpy divisions between them, like a water-melon. The kernels are about the size, shape and colour of almonds, obtuse at one end, and contain a fatty or oily matter to the extent of one-half their weight. In order to make "soluble cocoa" as sold in Europe, this fatty substance is extracted.

The beans are planted out at short distances in orchards, or in the garden surrounding the owner's dwelling. The tree, in this Colony, does not attain a great height—usually up to 10 feet—whereas in its natural soil it grows up to 30 feet at least. Like coffee, it bears fruit in the fourth year, and reaches maturity in the sixth year. The fair annual yield of a tree, if not damaged by storms or insects, would be about three pints measure of beans, which always find a ready sale.

If all went well, and present prices, more or less, were maintained, large profits might accrue to the cacao planter, but it rarely happens (perhaps never) during the six months of fruit ripening that losses are not sustained by hurricanes, disease in the tree, the depredations of rats and other vermin, etc. Practically speaking, cacao-planting should only be undertaken in this Colony by agriculturists who have spare capital, and can afford to lose a crop one year to make up for it in the next. The venture pays handsomely in fortunate seasons, but it is not the line of planting to be taken up by hand-to-mouth colonists who must seek immediate returns.

In the aspect of a cacao plantation there is nothing specially attractive. The tree itself is not pretty. The natives who grow the fruit, usually make their own chocolate at home by roasting the beans over a slow fire, and after separating them from their husks (like almond skins), they pound them with wet sugar, &c. into a paste, using a kind of rolling-pin on a concave block of wood. The roasted beans should be made into chocolate at once, as by exposure to the air they lose flavour. Chocolate is often adulterated with roasted rice and *Pili* nuts. The roasted *Pili* nut alone has a very agreeable almond taste; the cacao bean itself, in its pure state, is extremely bitter and unpalatable. In

Manila, there is a steam-power manufactory which partly supplies the capital with good chocolate.¹

* * * * *

CASTOR OIL is obtained in a few places from the seeds of the *Palma Christi* or *Ricinus Communis*, but the plant is not cultivated, and the oil has not yet become an article of current trade.

Besides the general land produce already detailed, the cultivation of which is taken up by the large proprietors, a good source of income is open to the tillers of small patches in the minor branches of husbandry, to which I will now briefly allude.

CAMOTE (*Convolvulus batatas*), the sweet potato or Yam, the foliage of which quickly spreads out like a carpet over the soil and forms tubers, like the common potato. It is a favourite article of food among the natives, and in nearly every island it is also found wild. In kitchen gardens it is planted like the potato, the tuber being cut in pieces.

GABI (*Caladium*) is another kind of esculent root, similar to the turnip, and throws up stalks from one to three feet high, at the end of which is an almost round leaf, dark green, from three to five inches diameter at maturity.

POTATOES are grown in Cebú Island, but they are rarely any larger than walnuts. With very special care, a larger size has been raised in Negros Island; also potatoes of excellent flavour and of a pinkish colour are cultivated in the district of Benguet; in Manila there is a certain demand for this last kind.

MANI, the fruit of which is well known in England under the name of "Monkey nut," is a creeping plant, which grows wild in many places. It is much cultivated, however, partly for the sake of the nut or fruit, but principally for the leaves and stalks, which, when dried, serve as an excellent and nutritious fodder for ponies. It contains a large quantity of oil, and in some districts it is preferred to the fresh-cut *zavate* grass, with which the ponies and cattle are fed in Manila.

BUYO (*Piper Betel*) is cultivated with much care in every province, as its leaf, when coated with lime made from oyster-shells and folded up, is used to coil round the areca-nut, the whole forming the *buyo* (betel), which the natives of these Islands, as in British India, are in the habit

¹ Chocolate was first used in Spain in 1520; in Italy in 1606; in England in 1637, and in Germany in 1700.

of chewing. A native can go a great number of hours without food if he has his betel; it is said to be stomachical. After many years of habit in chewing this nut and leaf it becomes almost a necessity, as is the case with opium, and its use cannot, with safety, be suddenly abandoned. To the newly-arrived European, it is very displeasing to have to converse with a native betel-eater, whose teeth and lips appear to be smeared with blood. The *buyo* plant is set out on raised beds and trained (like hops) straight up on sticks, on which it grows to a height of about six feet. The leaf is of a bright green colour, and only slightly pointed. In all market places, including those of Manila, there is a great sale of this leaf, which is brought fresh every day.

Going through the provinces, especially in Manila, one frequently sees the native cottages enclosed on two or three sides by rows of the

ARECA PALM (*Areca Catechu*), the nut of which is used to make up the chewing betel when split into slices about one-eighth of an inch thick. This is one of the most beautiful palms. The nuts cluster on stalks under the tuft of leaves at the top of the tall slender stem. It is said that one tree will produce, according to age, situation and culture, from 200 to 800 nuts yearly. The nut itself is enveloped in a fibrous shell, like the cocoa-nut. In Europe, a favourite dentifrice is prepared from the areca-nut.

COCOA-NUT (*Cocos nucifera*) plantations pay very well, and there is a certain demand for the fruit for export to China, besides the constant local sales in the *tianguis*.¹

Some tap the tree by making an incision in the flowering (or fruit-bearing) stalk, under which a bamboo vessel, called a *bombon*, is hung to receive the sap. This liquid, known as *tuba*, is a favourite beverage amongst the natives. As many as four stalks of the same trunk can be so drained simultaneously without injury to the tree. In the bottom of the *bombon* is placed about as much as a desert spoonful of pulverised *Tōngō* bark (*Rhizophora Longissima*) to give a stronger taste and bright colour to the *tuba*. The incision—renewed each time the *bombon* is replaced,—is made with a very sharp knife, to which a keen edge is given by rubbing it on wood (*Erythrina*) covered with a paste of ashes and oil. The sap drawing of a stalk continues incessantly for about two months, when the stalk ceases to yield and

¹ *Tianguí*, from the Mexican word *Tianguetz*, signifies "small market."

dries up. The *bombons* containing the liquid are removed, empty ones being put in their place every twelve hours, about sunrise and sunset, and the seller hastens round to his clients with the morning and evening draught, concluding his trade at the market place or other known centres of sale. If the *tuba* is allowed to ferment, it is not so palatable, and becomes an intoxicating drink. From the fermented juice the distilleries manufacture a spirituous liquor, known locally as cocoa-wine. The trees set apart for *tuba* extraction do not produce nuts, as the fruit-forming elements are taken away.

The man who gets down the *tuba* has to climb the first tree, on the trunk of which notches are cut to place his toes in. From under the tuft of leaves, two bamboos are fastened, leading to the next nearest tree, and so on around the group which is thus connected. The bottom bamboo serves as a bridge and the top one as a handrail. Occasionally a man falls from the top of a trunk 70 or 80 feet high, and breaks his neck. The occupation of *tuba* drawing is one of the most dangerous.

When the tree is allowed to produce fruit, instead of yielding *tuba*, the nuts are collected about every four months. They are brought down either by a sickle-shaped knife lashed on to the end of a long pole or by climbing the tree with the knife in hand. When they are collected for oil extraction, they are carted on a kind of sleigh,¹ unless there be a river or creek providing a water-way, in which latter case, they are tied together, stalk to stalk, and floated in a compact mass, like a raft, upon which the man in charge stands.

The water or milk found inside a cocoa-nut is very refreshing to the traveller, and has this advantage over fresh water, that it serves to quench the thirst of a person who is perspiring, or whose blood is highly heated, without doing him any harm.

Well-to-do owners of cocoa-nut palm plantations usually farm out to the poorer people the right to extract the *tuba*, allotting to each family a certain number of trees. Others allow the trees to bear fruit, and although the returns are, theoretically, not so good, it pays the owner about the same, as he is less exposed to robbery, being able to more closely watch his own interests. At seven years' growth, the

¹ Span., *Carroza*; Tagalog, *Hiila* or *Parágus*; Visaya, *Cángas* or *Dagandan*.

cocoa-nut palm-tree seldom fails to yield an unvarying crop of a score of large nuts monthly.

In the Provinces of Tayabas, La Laguna, E. Batangas and district of La Infanta, the cocoa-nut palm is extensively cultivated, solely for the purpose of extracting the oil from the nut. The cocoa-nut oil factories are very rough, primitive establishments, usually consisting of eight or ten posts supporting a nipa palm-leaf roof, and closed in at all sides with split bamboos. The nuts are heaped for a while to dry and concentrate the oil in the fruit. Then they are chopped, more or less, in half. A man sits on a board with his feet on a treadle, from which a rope is passed over, and works to and fro a cylindrical block, in the end of which is fixed an iron scraper. He picks up the half-nuts, one at a time, and on applying them to the scraper in motion, the white fruit, or pith, falls out into a vessel underneath. These scrapings are then pressed between huge blocks of wood to express the oil, and the mass is afterwards put into cast-iron cauldrons, of Chinese make, with water, which is allowed to simmer and draw out the remaining fatty particles, which are skimmed off the surface. When cold, it is sent off to market in small, straight-sided kegs, on ponies which carry two kegs—one slung on each side.

Small quantities of Cocoa-nut Oil are shipped from the Philippines, but in the Colony itself it is an important article of consumption. Every dwelling, rich or poor, consumes a certain amount of this oil nightly for lighting. For this purpose, it is poured into a glass half full of water, on which it floats, and a wick, made of pith, called *insin*, introduced by the Chinese, is suspended in the centre of the oil by a strip of tin. As the oil is consumed, the wick is lowered by slightly bending the tin downwards. There is scarcely a single dwelling-house, or hut, without a light of some kind burning during the whole night in expectation of a possible earthquake, and the vast majority use cocoa-nut oil because of the economy.

It is also in use for cooking in some out-of-the-way places, and is not unpalatable when quite fresh. It is largely employed as a lubricant for machinery, for which purpose, however, it is very inferior. Occasionally it finds a medicinal application. In Europe, cocoa-nut oil is a white solid, and is used in the manufacture of soap and candles; in the tropics it is seldom seen otherwise than in a liquid state, as it

fuses a little above 70° Fahr. In 1891 a cocoa-nut oil factory, with modern appliances, was started near Manila.

It is only in the last few years that COPRAH has acquired importance as an article of export.

COPRAH SHIPMENTS.

YEAR.	MANILA.	CEBÚ.	TOTAL.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
1890 - -			4,653
1891 - -			17,875
1892 - -			22,439
1893 - -			11,519
1894 - -			33,265
1895 - -	34,332	2,772	37,104
1896 - -	34,895	3,075	37,970
1897 - -	47,814	2,900	50,714

About 85% of the above was handled by British firms.

Uses are also found for the hard Shell of the nut. In native dwellings they serve the poor for cups and a variety of other useful domestic utensils, whilst by all classes they are converted into ladles with wooden handles. Also, when carbonized, the shell gives a black, used for dyeing straw hats.

Very little use is made of the COIR, or outer fibrous skin, which in other countries serves for the manufacture of cocoa-nut matting, coarse brushes, hawsers, etc. It is said that coir rots in fresh water, whereas salt water strengthens it. It would therefore be unsuitable for running rigging, but for ships' cables it cannot be surpassed in its qualities of lightness and elasticity. As it floats on water, it ought to be of great value on ships, whilst of late years its employment in the manufacture of light ocean telegraph cables has been seriously considered, showing, as it does, an advantage over other materials by taking a convex curve to the water surface—an important condition in cable laying.¹

¹ British patents for paper-making from cocoa-nut fibre were granted to Newton in 1852, and to Holt and Ferster in 1854. A process for making paper from the cocoa-nut kernel was patented by Draper in 1854.

The Philippine name for coir is *Banote*.

According to the *Court Journal* (London) of May, 1888, the French Government were about to build a new man-o'-war, which was to effect a complete revolution in naval architecture. *Cellulose Amorphe*, a product of cocoa-nut fibre, was to form the sides of the ship, and it was calculated that this material, after being riddled by shot, or ripped up by colliding with rocks, would not sink, as the holes would at once close up. In this Colony it often serves for cleaning floors and ships' decks when the nut is cut into two equal parts across the grain of the coir covering, and with it a very high polish can be put on to hard woods.

The stem of the Cocoa-nut palm is attacked by a very large beetle with a single horn at the top of its head. It bores through the bark and slightly injures the tree, but I have never heard that any had died in consequence. In some colonies this insect is described as the rhinoceros beetle, and is said to belong to the family of the *Dynastidæ*.

In the Philippines, the poorest soil seems to give nourishment to the Cocoa-nut palm; indeed, it thrives best on, or near, the sea-shore, as close to the sea as where the beach is fringed by the surf at high tide. The common Cocoa-nut palm attains a height of about sixty feet, but there is also a dwarf palm with the stem sometimes no taller than four feet at full growth, which also bears fruit, although less plentifully.

Sir Emerson Tennent, referring to these trees in Ceylon, is reported to have stated¹ that the Cocoa-nut palm "acts as a conductor in protecting houses from lightning. As many as 500 of these trees were struck in a single *pattoo* near Pattalam during a succession of thunderstorms in April 1859." (*Colombo Observer*.)

NIPA PALM (*Nipa fruticans*) is found in mangrove swamps and flooded marshy lands. It has the appearance of a gigantic fern, and thrives best in those lands which are covered by the sea at high tide. In the same manner as the cocoa-nut palm, the sap is extracted by incision made in the fruit-bearing stalk, and is used for distilling a liquid known as Nipa wine, which, however, should properly be termed a spirit. The leaves, which are very long, and about three to five inches wide, are of immense value in the country for thatched roofs. Nipa is not to be found everywhere; one may go many miles without seeing

¹ Vide "The Tropical Agriculturist," Colombo, August 2nd, 1886.

it, in districts devoid of marshes and swampy low-lands. In El Abra district (Luzon Island) Nipa is said to be unknown. In such places, another material supplies its want for thatching, viz. :—

COGON (*Saccharum Koenigii*), a sort of tall jungle grass with a very sharp edge, plentifully abundant precisely where Nipa cannot be expected to grow. I have ridden through Cogon five feet high, but a fair average would be about three to four feet. It has simply to be cut and sun-dried and is ready for roof thatching.

The COTTON TREE (*Gossypium herbaceum*?) is found growing in an uncultivated state in many islands of the Archipelago. Long staple cotton was formerly extensively cultivated in the Province of Ilocos Norte, whence, many years ago, large quantities of good cotton stuffs were exported. This industry still exists. The cultivation of this staple was, however, discouraged by the local governors, in order to urge the planting of tobacco for the Government supplies. It has since become difficult to revive the cotton production, although an essay, in pamphlet form (for which a prize was awarded in Madrid), was gratuitously distributed over the Colony in 1888 with that object. Nevertheless, cotton spinning and weaving is still carried on, on a reduced scale, in the Ilocos provinces (Luzon W. coast).

Wild Cotton is practically useless for spinning, as the staple is extremely short, but perhaps by hybridisation and careful attention, its culture might become valuable to the Colony.

The pod is elliptical, and the cotton which bursts from it at maturity, is snow-white. It is used for stuffing pillows and mattresses.

It is a common thing to see (wild) cotton trees planted along the high road to serve as telegraph posts; by the time the seed is fully ripe, every leaf has fallen, and nothing but the bursting pods remain hanging to the branches.

The DITÁ TREE, said to be of the family of the *Apocynese* and known to botanists as *Alstonia scholaris*, is possibly a species of cinchona. The pulverized bark has a bitter taste like quinine, and is successfully used by the natives to allay fever. A Manila chemist once extracted from the bark a substance which he called *ditaïne*, the yield of crystallisable alkaloid being two per cent.

PALMA BRAVA (*Coripha minor*) is a species of palm, the trunk of which is of great value in the Philippines. It is immensely strong, and will resist the action of water for years. These trees are employed as

piles for quay and pier making—for bridges, stockades, and in any works where strength, elasticity, and resistance to water are required in combination. When split, a fibrous pith is found in the centre much resembling cocoa-nut coir, but the ligneous shell of the stem still retains its qualities of strength and flexibility, and is used for wheel shafts, coolies' carrying-poles, and a variety of other purposes.

BAMBOO (*Bambusa Arundinacea*) is a graminifolious plant—one of the most charmingly picturesque and useful adornments of nature bestowed exuberantly on the Philippine Islands. It grows in thick tufts in the woods and on the banks of rivers. Its uses are innumerable, and it has not only become one of the articles of primary necessity to the native, but of incalculable value to all in the Colony.

There are many kinds of bamboos, distinct in formation and size. The most common species grows to a height of about 60 feet, with a diameter varying up to eight inches, and is of wonderful strength, due to its round shape and the regularity of its joints. Each joint is strengthened by a web inside. It is singularly flexible, light, elastic, and of matchless floating power. The fibre is tough, but being perfectly straight, it is easy to split. It has a smooth glazed surface, and even when split on any surface, it takes a high polish by simple friction. It has a perfectly straight grain.

Three cuts with the bohie-knife are sufficient to hew down the largest bamboo of this kind, and the green leaves, in case of extreme necessity, serve for horses' fodder.

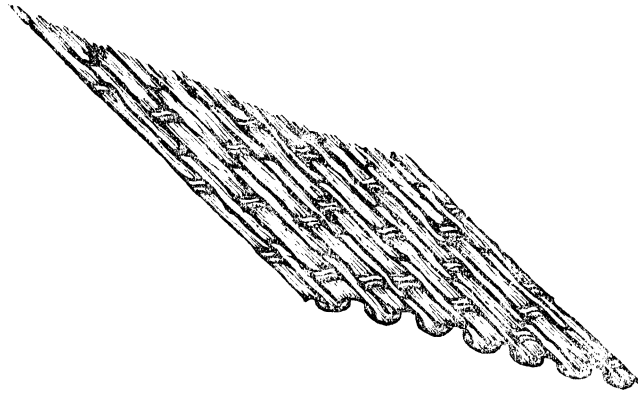
There is another variety also hollow, but not so large as that just described. It is covered with a natural varnish as hard as steel. It is also used for native cabin building and many other purposes.

A third species, seldom found more than five inches in diameter, is much more solid, having no cavity in the centre divided by webs. It cannot be applied to so many purposes as the first, but where great strength is required it is incomparable.

When the bamboo plant is cultivated with the view of rendering it annually productive, the shoots are pruned in the dry season at a height of about seven feet from the ground. In the following wet season, out of the clump germinate a number of young shoots, which, in the course of six or eight months, will have reached their normal height, and will be fit for cutting when required. Bamboo should be felled in the dry season before the sap begins to ascend by capillary

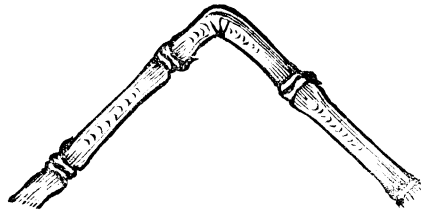
attraction. If cut out of season it is prematurely consumed by grub, but this is not much heeded when wanted in haste.

The native builds his hut entirely of bamboo and nipa palm-leaves or cogon for thatching, whilst in the Province of Yloilo, I have seen hundreds of huts made entirely of bamboo, including the roofing. To make bamboo roofing, the hollow canes are split longitudinally, and, after the webbed joints inside have been cut away, they are laid on the bamboo frame-work, so that the eaves have the following aspect—



If necessary, a rural bungalow can be erected in a week. When Don Manuel Montuno, the late Governor of Morong, with his suite, came to stay at my bungalow for a shooting expedition, I got a wing added in three days, perfectly roofed and finished.

In frame-work, no joiner's skill is needed; two-thirds of the bamboo are notched out on one side, and the other third is bent to rectangle, thus :—



The walls of the cabin are made by splitting the bamboo, and, after removing the webbed joints, each half is beaten out flat. Even in houses of certain pretensions, I have often seen split bamboo flooring, which is highly effective, as it is always clean and takes a beautiful polish when rubbed over a few times with plantain leaves. In the parish church of the village of Las Piñas, near Manila, there still exists an organ made of bamboo, of excellent tone.

Rafts, furniture of all kinds, scaffolding, spoons, carts, baskets, sledges, fishing traps, fleams, water-pipes, hats, dry and liquid measures, cups, fencing, canoe fittings, bridges, carrying-poles for any purpose, pitchforks, and a thousand other articles are made of this unexcelled material. Here it serves all the purposes to which the osier is applied in Europe. It floats in water, and serves for fuel. Ropes made of bamboo are immensely strong. Bamboo salad is prepared from the very young shoots cut as soon as they sprout from the root.

The value of bamboos in Manila is from \$5 to \$12.50 per 100, according to the season of the year and length of the bamboo, the diameter of course being proportionate.

Bojo is another kind of cane, somewhat resembling the bamboo in appearance only. It has very few knots; is brittle—perfectly smooth on the outer and inner surfaces—hollow, and grows to about 25 feet high by two inches diameter, and altogether is not nearly so useful as the bamboo. It is used for making light fences, musical instruments, fishing rods, inner walls of huts, fishing traps, torches, etc.

BEJUCO, or bush-rope, belonging to the *Calamus* family, is commonly found in lengths up to say 100 feet, and a maximum diameter of one inch to one and a quarter. It is of enormous strength and pliancy. The thickest Bejuco is used for raft cables for crossing rivers, stays for bamboo suspension bridges, and a few other purposes. Its uses are more numerous when of a smaller diameter, as when split longitudinally, it takes the place of rope for lashing anything together, being immensely strong. Indeed it is just as useful here and in China as rope is in Europe. When so employed, it must always be bent with the shiny skin outside, otherwise it will infallibly snap. It also serves for furniture and bedstead making. Amongst the natives, split bejuco-rattan supplies the want of nails or bolts. Every joint in the native's hut, his canoe, his fence, his cart, etc. is lashed together with this material. If any woodwork breaks, he binds it together with split

rattan with which he makes fast everything. Hemp bales, sugar bags, parcels of all kinds are tied up with split rattan, of which hats are also made. The ring through a buffalo's nose is made of whole rattan, to which is often attached a split strip for a guiding rein. If a carriage were to break down in the street (whether in Manila or the Provinces), or anything, in short, give way, this same material would be sought for. Therefore the demand for this article is large and constant for many purposes far too numerous to mention.

GUM MASTIC is an article of small importance in the Philippine exports, the supply being very limited. It is said that large quantities exist, but as it is only to be procured in almost inaccessible mountainous and uncivilized districts, first-hand collectors in the Provinces, principally Chinese, have to depend upon the services and goodwill of unsubdued tribes. It is chiefly obtained from them by barter, and is not a trade which can be worked up systematically. The exports of this product fluctuate considerably in consequence.

GUM MASTIC SHIPMENTS.

YEAR.	<i>Tons.</i>	YEAR.	<i>Tons.</i>
1880 - -	431	1889 - -	490
1881 - -	440	1890 - -	188
1882 - -	339	1891 - -	303
1883 - -	235	1892 - -	136
1884 - -	245	1894 - -	189
1885 - -	195	1895 - -	275
1886 - -	205	1896 - -	172
1887 - -	404	1897 - -	223
1888 - -	330		

GUTTA PERCHA was formerly an article of trade here until the Chinese drove it out of the market by adulteration.

WAX and CINNAMON are to be found in much the same way as gum mastic. There is a large consumption of wax in the islands for candles used at the numerous religious feasts. The cinnamon is very inferior in quality. It is abundant in Mindanao Island, but, like gum

mastic, it can only be procured in small quantities, depending on the caprice or necessities of the mountain tribes. Going along the sea shore in Zamboanga Province, on one occasion, I met a mountaineer on his way, with a bundle of cinnamon, to Zamboanga Port—many miles distant—to sell the bark to the Chinese @ \$8 per picul. I bought his load, the half of which I sent to Spain, requesting a friend there to satisfy my curiosity by getting a quotation for the sample in the Barcelona market. He reported that the quality was so low that only a nominal price could be quoted, and that it stood nowhere compared with the carefully cultivated Ceylon product.

EDIBLE BIRD'S NEST (*Collocalia Troglodytes*. *Coll: nodifica esculenta Bonap.*) is an article of trade with the Chinese, who readily purchase it at high prices. It is made by a kind of sea-swallow, and in appearance resembles vermicelli, variegated with blood-coloured spots. The nests are found in high cliffs by the sea, and the natives engaged in their collection, reach them by climbing up ropes (bush-rope) or bamboos with the branch knots left on to support themselves with their toes. It is a very dangerous occupation, as the nests are always built high in almost inaccessible places. In the Philippines the collection begins in December, and the birds deprived of their nests have then to build a second nest for laying their eggs. These second nests are gathered about the end of January and so on up to about the fourth collection. Each successive nest decreases in commercial value, and the last one is hardly worth the risk of taking. Even though there might be venturesome collectors who would dislodge the last nests, the wet season fortunately sets in and becomes an impediment to their being reached, hence the bird is at length able to continue propagation. Bird's nest soup is a delicacy.

These nests are chiefly found in the Calamianes group of islands, particularly in Busuanga Island.

The Sulu Archipelago and Palaúan Island also furnish a small quantity of edible bird's nest.

BALATE is a species of sea-slug, for which the natives find a ready sale to the Chinese at good prices. The fish is preserved by being cooked, dried and smoked, and has a shrimp taste. It is found in greatest quantities off the Calamianes and Palaúan Islands.

SAPAN-WOOD (*Cæsalpina Sapan*) of an inferior quality compared with the Pernambuco wood, is a Philippine product found in most of

the large islands. It is a short, unattractive tree, with epigeous branches spreading out in a straggling manner. The leaves are small and sparse. The wood is hard, heavy, crooked and full of knots. It sinks in water, and is susceptible of a fine polish. It is whitish when fresh cut, but assumes a deep red colour on exposure to the air.

The only valuable portion is the heart of the branch, from which is taken a dye known in the trade as false crimson, to distinguish it from the more permanent cochineal dye. The whole of the colouring matter can be extracted with boiling water. It is usually shipped from Manila and Yloilo as dunnage, a small quantity coming also from Cebú.

SAPAN-WOOD SHIPMENTS.

YEAR.	Tons.	YEAR.	Tons.
1880 - -	5,527	1889 - -	4,592
1881 - -	4,253	1890 - -	2,800
1882 - -	5,003	1891 - -	4,197
1883 - -	2,924	1892 - -	3,841
1884 - -	2,868	1893 - -	4,918
1885 - -	4,011	1894 - -	2,925
1886 - -	4,828	1895 - -	2,313
1887 - -	5,222	1896 - -	3,551
1888 - -	6,603	1897 - -	4,187

The SAPS of certain Philippine trees serve to give a polished coating to the smoothed surface of other woods. The kind which I have experimented with most successfully, is that of the *Ipil* tree. This gives a glazed covering very similar to Japan-ware varnish. It takes better to the wood in a cold climate than in the tropics. I have tried it both in the Philippines and in Europe.

HARD WOODS.—These Islands are remarkably rich in valuable timber trees. For some of the details which I will give of the properties and applicability of the varieties in general demand, I am indebted

to Mr. H. G. Brown (of H. G. Brown & Co. Limited,¹ steam saw-mill proprietors in Tayabas Province), admitted to be the most experienced person in this branch of Philippine trade.

Aranga (Homalium) gives logs up to 75 feet long by 24 inches square. It is specially used for sea piling and all kinds of marine work which is subject to the attacks of sea-worm (*teredo navalis*).

Acle (Mimosa acle) gives logs up to 32 feet by 28 inches square. It is strong, tenacious and durable, whilst it has the speciality of being difficult to burn, and is much used in house building ; it polishes well, and is much prized by the natives. It is supposed to be identical with the *Payengadu* of Burmah.

Anagap (Pithecolobium montanum. Benth.) gives logs up to 18 feet long by 16 inches square. It is sometimes used for house furniture and fittings and for other purposes, where a light durable wood is wanted and not exposed to sun or rain.

Apiton (Dipterocarpus Griffithi. Mig.) gives logs up to 70 feet long by 24 inches square. It contains a gum of which incense is made—is light when seasoned—works well, and will serve for furniture and general joiner's purposes.

Antipolo (Artocarpus incisa) is much esteemed for vessels' outside planking, keels, etc. It is light, very strong, resists sea-worm (*teredo navalis*) entirely and effects of climate. It does not warp when once seasoned, and is a most valuable wood.

Anobing (Artocarpus orata) is said to resist damp as well as *Molave* does, but it is not appreciated as a good hard wood. It is plentiful, especially in the district of Laguna de Bay.

Betis (Azaola. Payena Betis?) gives logs up to 65 feet long by 20 inches square. It is proof against sea-worm—is used for salt or fresh water piling, piers, wharves, etc.—also for keels and many other parts of ship-building and where a first-class wood is necessary. It is somewhat scarce.

¹ This Company was formed in Hongkong and incorporated 16th of May, 1883, with a capital of \$300,000 divided into 6,000 \$50 shares, to take over and work the business of Mr. H. G. Brown, which had paid splendidly for many years. Its prosperity continued under the three years' able management of Mr. Brown. During that period it paid an average yearly dividend of 8½%, and in 1890 its shares were freely dealt in on the Hongkong market at 50% premium. On the retirement of Mr. Brown in March, 1891, the Company gradually dwindled down to a complete wreck in 1894. It is still in liquidation.

Batitanan (*Lagerstræmia batitanan*) gives logs up to 40 feet long by 18 inches square. Is very strong, tough and elastic—generally used for ships' outside planking above water. It stands the climate well when properly seasoned—is a wood of the first quality, and can be used for any purpose, except interment in the ground or exposure to ravages of sea-worm. This wood is very much stronger than Teak, and could be used to advantage in its place for almost all purposes. It makes a good substitute for Black Walnut in furniture.

Banaba (*Munchaustia speciosa*.—*Lagerstremis Speciosa*?)—a strong and useful wood much used in house and ship-building; it is thoroughly reliable when seasoned, otherwise it shrinks and warps considerably.

Bansalague (*Mimusops elengi*. Lin.) gives logs up to 45 feet long by 18 inches square. It seems to be known in Europe as Bullet-tree wood. It can be driven like a bolt, and from this fact and its durability it is frequently used for treenails in ship-building in Manila, etc. It is also used for axe and other tool handles, belaying pins, etc. and on account of its compact close grain, it is admirably adapted for turning purposes—it lasts well in the ground.

Bancal (*Nauclea gluberrima*) gives logs up to 24 feet long by 16 inches square. This wood is of a yellow colour and very easy to work. It is used for general joiner's work in house-building, etc.

Cedar (*Cedrela odorata*), of the same natural order as Mahogany (Lin.), gives logs up to 40 feet long by 35 inches square and is used principally for cigar boxes. In the Colony it is known as *Calantás*. It makes very handsome inside house fittings.

Camagon or *Mabolo* (a variety of *Diospyros philoshantera*) is procured in roughly rounded logs of 9 feet and upwards in length, by up to 12 inches in diameter. It is a close-grained, brittle wood—takes a good polish—its colour is black with yellow streaks, and it is used for furniture making.

*Dángo*n (a variety of *Herculia ambiformis*) grows up to 50 feet long, giving logs up to 20 inches square. It is sometimes called *Iron wood*—is very hard and durable—specially strong in resisting great transverse pressure, or carrying such weight as a heavy roof. It is used for keels on account of its great strength—it does not resist the sea-worm—it is applied to all purposes in Manila where more than

A A

ordinary strength is required when *Molave* cannot be procured in sufficiently great lengths and *Ipil* is unattainable.

Dinglas (*Eugenia Sp.*) gives logs up to 30 feet by 16 inches square, —occasionally even larger sizes. This will also serve as a substitute for Black Walnut—it is very strong, hard and durable.

Ebony (*Diospyros nigra*) is also found in very limited quantities.

Guijo (*Dipterocarpus guijo*) gives logs up to 75 feet long by 24 inches square—is very strong, tough and elastic. In Manila, this wood is invariably used for carriage wheels and shafts. In Hongkong it is used for wharf decks or flooring, amongst other purposes.

Ipil (*Eperma decandria*) gives logs up to 50 feet long by 26 inches square. It has all the good qualities of *Molave*, except resistance to sea-worm (in which respect it is the same as *Teak*) and may be as much relied on for duration under ground—for sleepers it equals *Molave*.

Lanete (*Anuser laneti*) gives logs up to 25 feet long by 18 inches square. It is useful for sculpture, musical instruments, decoration, turning and cabinet purposes.

Lalun (*Dipterocarpus thurifera*) is obtained in sizes the same as Guijo. It is a light, useful wood, and easily worked. It is said that the outside planks of the old Philippine-Mexican galleons were of this wood because it did not split with shot.

Molave (*Vitex geniculata*) gives logs up to 35 feet long by 24 inches square.¹ It resists sea-worm (*Teredo navalis*), white ants (*Termes*), and action of climate, and consequently is specially valuable for work on the surface of or under ground, and generally for all purposes where an extra strong and durable wood is required. Often growing crooked, it is commonly used (where produced and in adjacent countries) for frames of vessels. Owing to its imperviousness to ligniperdous insects and climate, it cannot possibly be surpassed for such purposes as railway sleepers. This wood is practically everlasting, and is deservedly called by the natives, “Queen of the Woods.”

Mr. Thomas Laslett, in his work on timber,² says, in reference to *Molave*, “It can be recommended to notice as being fit to supplement “any of the hard woods in present use for constructive purposes.”

¹ It pays better to sell *Molave* in baulks or logs, rather than sawn to specification, because this tree has the great defect of being subject to heart cup.

² “Timber and Timber Trees,” by Thomas Laslett (Timber Inspector to the Admiralty), London, 1875.

From the same work I have extracted the following record of experiments made by Mr. Laslett with this wood :—

TENSILE EXPERIMENTS.—AVERAGE OF FIVE SPECIMENS.

Dimensions of each piece.	Specific gravity.	Weight the piece broke with.	Direct cohesion one square inch.
2" × 2" × 30"	1021·6	lbs. 31,248	7,812

TRANSVERSE EXPERIMENTS.—AVERAGE OF THREE SPECIMENS.

DEFLECTIONS.			Total weight required to break each piece.	Specific gravity.	Weight reduced to specific gravity 1,000.	Weight required to break one square inch.
With the apparatus weighing 390 lbs.	After the weight was removed.	At the crisis of breaking.				
1·25	·166	5·166	lbs. 1,243·3	1013	1231	lbs. 310·83

N.B.—It breaks on test with a scarf-like fracture.

Mangachapuy (*Dipterocarpus mangachapuy*) gives logs up to 55 feet long by 20 inches square. It is very elastic and withstands the climate, when seasoned, as well as *Teak*. It is used in Manila for masts and decks of vessels and for all work exposed to sun and rain. It is much esteemed by those who know its good qualities.

Macasin can be used for interior house work and floors. It is somewhat inferior to *Banaba*, but supplies its place when *Banaba* is scarce. It can be got in greater length and square than *Banaba*.

Malatapay (a variety of *Diospyros philoshantera*) veined black and red. It resembles *Camagon*.

Mancono is a very hard wood found in Mindanao Island; it is classed as a species of *lignum-vitæ*.

Narra (*Pterocarpus palidus santalinus*) gives logs up to 35 feet long by 26 inches square. It is the Mahogany of the Philippines, and is always employed in Manila in the manufacture of furniture, for notwithstanding its somewhat open grain, it polishes well, and is prettily marked. There is a variety of shades in different logs varying from straw colour to blood red, the former being more common—all are, however, equally esteemed. It is a first-rate wood for general purposes. In the London market it is classed with the *Padouk* of Burmah.

Palo Maria de Playa is greatly appreciated for crooks and curves, but as a rule cannot be found of suitable dimensions for large vessels. It is better than *Molave* for this purpose, for, due to the absence of acrid juices, iron bolts do not corrode in it. It is exceedingly tough and not so heavy as *Molave*.

Supa (*Sindora Wallichii*. *Benth.*) gives logs up to 40 feet long by 28 inches square. It produces an oil, and is a strong wood for general purposes—polishes well and can be used advantageously for house decorations and furniture.

Tindalo (*Eperna rhomboidea*) is about the same as *Acle* in its principal features, but not notable for resisting fire. It is useful for general purposes, and in particular for decorations and furniture. It is somewhat brittle, and takes a high polish.

Yacal (*Dipterocarpus plagatus*) gives logs up to 50 feet long by 22 inches square. It is proof against white ants—has great strength and tenacity, and is much valued in Manila for house-building, etc.

The approximate order of resistance of the best woods, estimated by their practical employment and not by theoretical comparative experiments, would be as follows, viz. :—

HARD WOOD STRAINS.

TENSILE STRAIN.				TRANSVERSE STRAIN.			
1	Dúngon.	8	Acle.	1	Molave.	8	Banaba.
2	Yacal.	9	Narra.	2	Camagon.	9	Yacal.
3	Ipil.	10	Tindalo.	3	Ipil.	10	Mangachapuy.
4	Mangachapuy.	11	Molave.	4	Acle.	11	Laúan.
5	Guijo.	12	Laúan.	5	Dúngon.	12	Guijo.
6	Banaba.	13	Cedar.	6	Tindalo.	13	Cedar.
7	Camagon.	14	Lanete.	7	Narra.	14	Lanete.

The hard woods of the Philippines, suitable for building and trade requirements as described above, are those in general use only. Altogether, about fifty kinds exist, but whilst some are scarce, others do not yield squared logs of sufficient sizes to be of marketable value.

To successfully carry on a timber trade in this Colony, with ability to fulfil contracts, it is necessary to employ large capital. Firstly, to ensure supplies by the cutters, the trader must advance them sums amounting in the total to thousands of dollars, a large per centage of which he can never hope to recover, except by placing them against future profits—secondly, he must own several sailing ships, built on a model suited to this class of business. Several Europeans have lost the little money they had by having to freight unsuitable craft for transport to the place of delivery, and by only advancing to the native fellers just when they wanted logs brought down to the beach, instead of keeping them constantly under advance. With sufficient capital, however, a handsome profit is to be realised in this line of business.

So far Philippine woods have not met in London with the appreciation due to their excellent qualities, possibly because they are not sufficiently well known. In China, however, they are in great demand, in spite of the competition from Borneo (Kúdat and Sandákan) and Australian shippers.

Licence had to be obtained from the Inspection of Mountains and Forests before trees could be felled, and prior to export or employment of the logs, a Government duty had to be paid.

* * * * *

FRUITS.—There are few really choice, luscious fruits in the Philippines, if we compare them with the finest European species. Nothing in this Colony can equal our grape, peach, cherry, or strawberry.

The *Mango*,—*mangifera indica* (*pentandric. Lin.*) ranks first in these Islands. It is oblong—oval shaped—flattened slightly on both sides—about five inches long and of a yellow colour when ripe. It is very luscious, and has a large stone in the centre from which fibres run at angles. To cut it, the knife must be pressed down from the thick end, otherwise it will come in contact with the fibres. Philippine *Mangoes* are considered far superior to those of the Straits Settlements, or perhaps any in the East. The trees are very large and majestic—the leaves are dark green, and the whole appearance strikingly noble. Great care is needed to rear the fruit. The natives cut notches in the

trunk, and from the time the tree begins to flower until the fruit is half matured, they light fires on the ground under its branches, as the smoke is said to hasten the development.

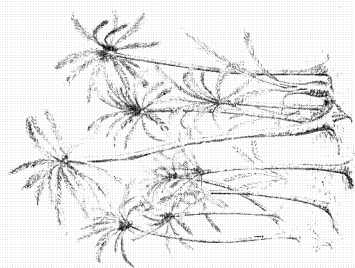
The first *Mangoes* of the season are forced, and even picked before they are ripe, so that they may more quickly turn yellow. They are brought to the Manila market in February, and fetch as much as 12½ cents each. The natural ripening time is from the end of March. In the height of the season they can be bought for one dollar per hundred. Many persons eat as many as ten to a dozen a day, as this fruit is considered harmless. Luzon and Cebú Islands appear to produce more *Mangoes* than the rest of the Archipelago. From my eight mango trees in Morong district I got annually two pickings and one year three pickings from two trees.

The *Banana* (*Musa paradisica*) is plentiful all over the Islands at all seasons. It grows wild, and is also largely cultivated. It is the fruit of an herbaceous endogenous plant of the natural order *musaceæ*. It is said that the specific name *paradisica* is derived, either from a supposition that the plantain was the forbidden fruit of Eden,¹ or from an Arabic legend that Adam and Eve made their first aprons of the leaves of this tree, which grow to a length of five to six feet, with a width of twelve to fourteen inches. Some ten to twelve distinct varieties of bananas are commonly to be seen, whilst it is asserted that there are over fifty sorts differing slightly from each other. The kinds known in Tagalog dialect as *Lacatan* and *Bongulan*—of a golden or orange tinge when the skin is removed and possessing a slight pineapple flavour, are the choicest. The stem of the banana-plantain is cut down after fruiting, and the tree is propagated by suckers.² Renewal of the tree from the seed is only necessary every twelve to eighteen years. The fruit is borne in long clusters on strong stalks which bend over towards the earth. As the suckers do not all rise simultaneously, the stages of growth of the young fruit-bearing trees vary, so that there is a constant supply all the year round. Moreover, it is customary to cut down, and hang up in the house, the stalk sustaining the fruit before it is ripe, so that each fruit can be eaten as

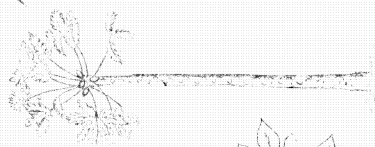
¹ Clavigero's "Storia Antica del Messico."

² British patents for paper-making from banana fibre were granted to Berry in 1838; Lilly in 1854; Jullion in 1855; Burke in 1855; and Hook in 1857. In these Islands a cloth is woven from this fibre.

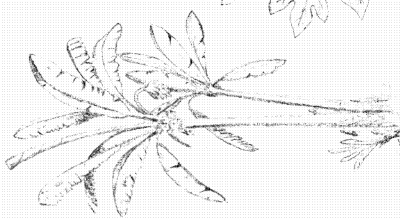
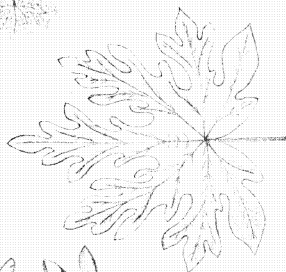




COCONUT PALMS.



PAPAW LEAF AND TREE.



PLANTAIN.

it matures. The glossy leaves of the banana plantain are amongst the most beautiful.

The *Papaw* tree (*Carica papaya*) flourishes wild—is of prolific growth—attains a height of 20 to 25 feet, and is very picturesque. The leaves emerge in a cluster from the top of the stem, and are about 20 to 30 inches long. They can be used as a substitute for soap for washing linen. The foliage has the peculiar property of making meat or poultry tender if hung up in the branches. The fruit is of a rich olive green, and remains so almost to maturity, when it quickly turns yellow. Both in shape and flavour it is something like a melon, but, although more insipid, it is refreshing in this climate. Containing a quantity of pepsine, it is often recommended by doctors as a dessert for persons with weak digestive organs.

Besides these fruits, there are *Pômelo* oranges, about four times the size of the largest European orange; ordinary sized *Oranges* of three sorts; *Citrons*; *Shaddocks*; *Jack fruit*; *Bread fruit*; *Custard apples*; *Lombay* (*Calypttrantes jambolana*—*icosandrie. Lin.*) which looks like a damson; *Santol* (*Sandoricum ternatum*—*decandrie. Lin.*); a species of wild *Strawberry*, very inferior; *Chico* (the *Chico Sapoti* of Mexico), extremely sweet, is the size and colour of a small potato; *Lanzon* (*achas sapota*—*hexandrie. Lin.*) a curious kind of fruit of an agreeable sweet and acid flavour combined. The pericarp is impregnated with a white viscous fluid, which adheres very tenaciously to the fingers. When the inner membrane is removed the edible portion is exhibited in three divisions, each of which envelopes a very bitter stone.

Guavas of very fine quality, from which jelly is made, are found wild in great abundance. They are so plentiful on waste lands that I have never seen them cultivated. *Lemons*¹ of two kinds are grown—sometimes as many as a dozen of the small species, about the size of a walnut, may be seen hanging at one time on a tree only 18 inches high. *Mangosteens*, the delicate fruit of the Straits Settlements, are found in the islands of Mindanao and Sulu. In Mindanao Island, on the neck of land forming the western extremity, the *Durien* thrives. It is about as large as a pine-apple, white inside, and when ripe it opens out in three or four places. It is very delicious eating, but has a fetid

¹ To express juice from the small species of lemon, the fruit should be cut from the stalk end downwards. If cut in the other direction the juice will not flow freely.

smell. The seeds, as large as beans, are good to eat when roasted. The tree bears fruit about every 20 years.

In the Southern Islands *Pine-apples* abound, especially in Panay, Cebú, and Leyte. In the Province of Antique (Panay Island) I have paid 20 cents for 32 pines, including delivery seven miles away from the place of purchase. They are not so fine as the Singapore and Cuban species. This fruit is in little demand in the Philippines, as it is justly considered dangerous to eat much of it. It is cultivated for the sake of the leaves, the delicate fibres of which are used to manufacture the fine costly texture known as *Piña*, already referred to.

Attempts have been made to acclimatize the *Grape* in the Philippines, but with very mediocre results. Cebú seems to be the island most suitable for vine culture, but the specimens of fruit produced can bear no comparison with the European. In Naga (Cebú Island), I have eaten green *Figs* grown in the orchard of the house where I sojourned. There are a great many other kinds of fruits of a comparatively inferior quality, which are chiefly used by the natives to make preserves.

Tamarinds (in Tagalog *Sampaloc*) are never planted; they grow wild in abundance. The fruit resembles a bean. Picked whilst green, it is used by the natives to impart a flavour to certain fish sauces. When the fruit is allowed to fully ripen, the pod takes a light brown colour—is brittle, and cracks all over under a slight pressure of the fingers. The whole of the ripe fruit can then be drawn out by pulling the bean-stalk. The ripe *Tamarind* appears to be little appreciated by any one, and it is extremely seldom seen, even in the form of preserve, in a native dwelling. Containing, as it does, a large quantity of tannin, it is sometimes used by the Manila apothecaries, and I once heard that a small parcel was being collected for shipment to Italy.

The *Mabolo* is a fruit of great external beauty and exquisite aroma. It is about the size of a large peach, the skin being of a fine red colour, but it is not very good eating. CHILLIES, GINGER, and VANILLA are found in a wild state. SAGO is produced in small quantities in Mindoro Island, where the sago palm flourishes. The pith is cut out, washed, sun-dried, and then pounded. The demand for this nutritious article is very limited.

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It is a remarkable fact that there are very few specimens of sweet-smelling *Flowers*. Among the few is the *SAMPAGUITA* (probably a

corruption of the Spanish name *Santa Paquita*), which is sold in Manila made up in necklet form on cotton.

A fine perfume is distilled from the flowers of the YLANG-YLANG tree and an oil thoroughly effective in healing wounds is extracted from the root and branches of a plant called TAGULAY.

Many varieties of flowering ORCHIDS and other parasites are to be found in great profusion on the trunks of the highest forest trees where the sun-rays hardly penetrate. There are usually two or three professional orchid collectors rambling about the islands for the account of European nurserymen.

MEDICINAL HERBS, roots and leaves abound everywhere. The *curanderos* (native doctors) commonly find vegetable anticachectics, aphrodisiaes, antiaphrodisiaes, pyretics and cures provided by Nature for dysenteric, strumatic, scorbutic and many other diseases.



CHAPTER XX.

MINERAL PRODUCTS.

COAL.—GOLD.—IRON.—COPPER.—SULPHUR, ETC.

Owing to the scarcity of manufacturing industries in this Colony, the consumption of Coal is very limited, and up to 1889 it hardly exceeded 25,000 tons per annum. In 1892 nearly double that quantity found a market here. In 1896 the coal imported from Newcastle (New South Wales) alone amounted to 65,782 tons; in 1897 to 89,798 tons. A small proportion of this is employed in the forges and foundries and a few factories using steam-power, most of them situated around Manila, but by far the greater demand is for coaling steam-ships. Wood fuel is still so abundant in rural districts that coal will probably not be in general request for the steam sugar mills for a century to come.

Australia, Great Britain and Japan supply coal to this Colony; in 1892 Borneo traders sent several cargoes of inferior coal up to Manila in the s.s. *Viner*; nevertheless, local capital has been expended from time to time in endeavours to work up the home deposits.

The Island of Cebú contains large beds of coal, which, since 1869, was free of duty on export. The mines of Compostela are estimated very rich in quantity and of medium quality. They were owned by the late Isaac Conui, who, for want of capital, was unable to fully open them out. The means of transport by buffalo carts from the mines to the coast were very deficient and costly. The late owner was frequently my guest in Manila in 1883, when he unsuccessfully sought to raise capital for constructing a line of railway from the collieries to Compostela village (E. coast). They were then taken up by a Spaniard, with whom the Spanish Government made contracts for coaling the gunboats. A tram line to the pits was laid down, but

there was a great lack of promptitude in deliveries, and I have heard of ships lying off the coaling wharf for several hours waiting to *start* coaling. The enterprise has by no means given an adequate return for the over \$100,000 invested in it up to the year 1897. The coal mine of Danao, on the same coast, was hardly more prosperous when I was there in 1896. The *Revista Minera* (a mining journal of Madrid), 1886, refers to the coal of the Alpacó mountain, in the district of Naga in Cebú, as being pure, dry, of easy combustion, carrying a strong flame, and almost free from sulphur pyrites. Cebú coal is said to be of better quality and cleaner than the Labuan and Australian products, but its heating powers are less, and it therefore does not serve so well for long sea voyages.

Anthracite has been found in some parts of Cebú,¹ and satisfactory trials have been made with it, mixed with British bituminous coal. Perhaps volcanic action may account for the volatile bituminous oils and gases having been driven off the original deposits. The first coal pits were sunk in Cebú in the Valle de Masanga, but the poor commercial results led to their abandonment about the year 1860. There are also extensive unworked coal deposits, a few miles from the W. coast village of Asturias, which I visited in 1896 with a planter friend, Eugenio Alonso, who was endeavouring to form a coal-mining syndicate.

In the Province of Albay, the Súgod Collieries were started by a company formed in the year 1874. There were some fifteen partners, each of whom subscribed a capital of \$14,300. One of these partners, Mr. C. de A——, told me, that for a while the result was so good, that a Manila banking firm offered to take over the concern from the shareholders at a premium of 20% upon the original capital. About 4,000 tons of coal were extracted, most of which was given away as samples, in the hope of large contracts resulting from the trials, although it is said that the consumption was too rapid, and that it had to be mixed with Cardiff coal. Seven pits were sunk, and the concern lingered on until the year 1881, when its working was relinquished.

The failure is attributed to the shallowness of the pits, which were only 30 metres deep, whilst it is supposed that if the excavation had

¹ For more ample details *vide* "Rápida descripción de la Isla de Cebú," by Enrique Abella y Casariega, pub. by Royal Order in Madrid, 1886.

been continued before these pits were flooded, shale and limestone strata could have been removed, which would have exposed a still more valuable seam, in which case it might have been worth while providing pumping machinery. So far as the extraction was proceeded with the estimated cost price of the coal delivered on the coast was 75 cents of a dollar per ton, whilst "Cardiff" coal in Manila was worth about eight dollars per ton, and the Australian product ranged usually at one to one-and-a-half dollars below that figure, port tax unpaid.

In January 1898 "The Philippine Mining and Development Co., Ltd." was formed in Hongkong with a capital of \$1,600,000 in 160,000 \$10 shares for the development of Philippine coal deposits and other industries, under the management of Mr. Niel Macleod, a Scotch merchant of long standing and good repute in Manila. The Spanish-American conflict which arose four months later has impeded active operations by the Company.

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From the earliest period of the Spanish occupation of these Islands, attention has been given to Gold-seeking.

It is recorded that in the year 1572, Captain Juan Salcedo went to inspect the mines of Paracale, in the Province of Camarines; and in the same district the village of Mambulao has long enjoyed fame for the gold-washings in its vicinity.

In the time of Pedro Manuel Arandia (1754-1759), a certain Francisco Estorgo obtained licence to work these Paracale mines, and five veins are said to have been struck. The first was in the Lipa mountain, where the mine was called "San Nicolás de Tolentino;" the second, in the Dobójan mountain, was called "Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de Puerta Vaga;" the third, in Lipara, was named "Mina de las Animas;" the fourth, in the territory of San Antonio, took the name of "San Francisco," and the fifth, in the Minapa mountains was named "Nuestra Señora de los Dolores," all in the district of Paracale, near the village of Mambulao.

The conditions of Estorgo's licence were, that one-fifth (*real quinto*) of the output should belong to the King—that Estorgo was authorised to construct, arm and garrison a fort for his own defence against anticipated attacks from Mussulmans, and that he should have the title of Castellano, or guardian of the fort.

It was found necessary to establish the smelting works in

Mambulao, so he obtained a licence to erect another fort there on the same conditions, and this fort was named "San Carlos." In a short time the whole enterprise came to grief. Estorgo's neighbours, instigated by native legal pettifoggers in Manila, raised endless law-suits against him—his means were exhausted, and apparatus was wanted to work the mines, so he abandoned them.

About the same time, the Gold mines of Pangotcotan, near Benguet, were worked to advantage by Mexicans.

During the Government of Alonso Fajardo (1618–1624) it came to the knowledge of the Spaniards that half-caste Igorrote-Chinese in the north of Luzon peacefully worked gold deposits and traded in the product. Therefore Francisco Carreño de Valdés, a military officer commanding the provinces of Pangasinan and Ilocos, obtained permission from the Governor to make a raid upon these Igorrote-Chinese, and appropriate their treasure-yielding territory. After a seven days' march, the Spanish gold-seekers and troops arrived at the deposits, where they took up their quarters without resistance. The natives held aloof whilst mutual offers of peace were made. When the Spaniards thought they were in secure possession of the neighbourhood, the natives attacked and slaughtered a number of them. The commander of the district and the leader of the native troops were among the slain. Then they removed the camp to a safer place, but provisions ran short, and the wet season set in, so the survivors marched back to the coast with the resolution to renew their attempt to possess the spoil in the following year. In the ensuing dry season they returned and erected a fort, whence detachments of soldiers scoured the neighbourhood to disperse the Igorrote-Chinese, but the prospectors do not appear to have procured much gold.

Many years ago a Spanish Company was formed to work a gold mine near the mountain of Malaguit, in the Province of Camarines Norte, but it proved unsuccessful.

At the beginning of this century, a Company was founded under the auspices of the late Queen Christina of Spain (great-grandmother of the present King Alfonso XIII.) which was also an utter failure. It has been recited to me how the company had spacious offices established in Manila whence occasionally the employés went up to the mines, situated near the Caraballo mountain, as if they were going to a picnic. When they arrived there, all denoted activity—for the feast,

but the mining work they did was quite insignificant compared with the squandered funds, hence the disaster of the concern.

The coast of Surigao (N. E. extremity of Mindanao Island) has been known for centuries to have gold deposits. A few years ago it was found in sufficiently large quantities near the surface to attract the attention of capitalists. A sample of the washings was given to me, but gold extraction was never taken up in an organized way in that district. A friend of mine, a French merchant in Manila, told me in 1886, that for a long time he received monthly remittances of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of alluvial gold from the Surigao coast, extracted by the natives on their own account. In the same district a Spaniard attempted to organize labour for gold-washing on systematic principles, but he met with such opposition from the friars, who influenced the natives, that he could only have continued his project at the risk of his life, so he gave it up.

In an independent way, the natives obtain gold from earth-washings in many districts, particularly in the unsubdued regions of Luzon Island, where it is quite a common occupation. The product is bartered on the spot to the Chinese ambulant traders for other commodities. Several times, whilst deer-stalking near the river, a few miles past Montalban (Manila Province), I have fallen in with natives washing the sand from the river bed in search of gold, and they have shown me some of their findings, which they preserve in quills.

In other places in Luzon Island it is procured in very small quantities by washing the earth from the bottom of pits dug from 20 to 25 feet deep and three feet wide.

The extraction of gold from auriferous rock is also known to the natives. The rock is broken by a stone on an anvil of the same material. Then the broken pieces are crushed between roughly hewn stone rollers put in motion by buffaloes, the pulverized ore being washed to separate the particles of the precious metal. I should hardly think the yield was of much account, as the people engaged in its extraction seemed to be miserably poor.

Gold probably exists in all the largest islands of the Archipelago, but in a dispersed form; for the fact is, that after centuries of search, large pockets of it have never been traced to defined localities, and, so far as discoveries up to the present demonstrate, this Colony cannot be considered rich in auriferous deposits.

In 1887 a Belgian correspondent wrote to me inquiring about a company which, he stated, had been formed for working a Philippine mine of Argentiferous Lead. His letter read thus :—

“It is estimated that there are 500 tons of Argentiferous Lead ore, to obtain which, no other working expenses would be incurred than those for collecting the mineral. It is alleged to be worth 250 francs per ton c. i. f. in Antwerp, against a cost of 100 francs per ton delivered, thus yielding a nett profit of 150 francs per ton.” Then he naturally goes on to inquire—why is it necessary to come to Belgium to raise capital for working such an apparently splendid affair? On investigation I learnt that the mines referred to were situated at Aesúbing, near the village of Consolacion, and at Panoypoy, close to the village of Talamban in Cebú Island. They became the property of a Frenchman¹ about the beginning of 1885, and so far no shipment had been made, although the samples sent to Europe were said to have yielded an almost incredibly enormous amount of gold, (!) besides being rich in galena (sulphide of lead) and silver. I went down to Cebú Island in June, 1887, and called on the owner in Mandaue with the object of visiting these extraordinary mines, but they were not being worked because the financial arrangements of the company he was forming, or had formed, were unsatisfactory, and he left for Europe the same year, the enterprise being finally abandoned.

In 1893 “The Philippines Mineral Syndicate” was formed in London to scientifically work the Mambulao Gold Mines already referred to. £1 shares were offered in these Islands and subscribed to by all classes, from the British Consul at that time down to native commercial clerks. Mr. James Hilton, a mining engineer, had reported favourably on the prospects. After the usual gold mining period of disappointment had passed away an eccentric old gentleman was sent out as an expert to revive the whole concern and set it up on a prosperous basis. I had many conversations with him in Manila before he went down to Mambulao, where he soon died. Heavy machinery came out from Europe, and a well-known Manila resident, not a mining engineer, but an all-round smart man, was sent to Mambulao, and due

¹ Monsieur Jean Labedan, who had been the original proprietor of the “Restaurant de Paris” in La Escolta, Manila.

to his ability, active operations commenced. This most recent venture in Philippine gold mining has not, however, so far proved to be a Golconda to the shareholders.

As a general rule, failure in most Philippine mining speculations no doubt was due to the unwillingness of the native to co-operate with European capitalists, and in this they found encouragement from the friars, who were averse to innovation of any kind. The native, too, in rural districts, would not submit to constant organized and methodical labour at a daily wage, to be paid periodically when he had finished his work. The class of natives whom one had to employ in the neighbourhood of the mines was nomadic and half-subjected, whilst there was no legislation whatsoever in operation, regulating the relations between workers and capitalists. Indeed, the latter were quite at the mercy of the former, whose indolence entirely overcame their cupidity, so long as their immediate necessities were satisfied. Some suggested the employment of Chinese, but apart from the consideration of the cost of passage money from China to the site of operations, there were greater obstacles which have been pointed out in Chapter VIII. Again, the wretched means of communication provided by the Spanish Government obliged the few enterprising capitalists to spend their money on the construction of roads which had been paid for in taxes.

It is calculated that in the working of mines in the Philippines, as much as \$1,300,000 was spent from the beginning of the century up to 1876, without the least satisfactory result.

A Spanish writer¹ asserts that on the coasts of Taal and Bauan, in the Province of Batangas, there were many traces of old gold mines, and remarks: "We are already scared in this enlightened century at the number who have spent their silver and their health in excavating mines in the Philippines, only to undeceive themselves, and find their miserable greed punished."

IRON mines, situated a few miles from Manila, were worked in the middle of the last century by Government, but the result being disastrous, a concession of the right of extracting the mineral was put up to public auction. A Spaniard named Francisco Salgado took up the concession, engaging to pay annually to the State \$20,500 in gold,

¹ "Hist. de la Provincia de Batangas," por D. Pedro Andrés de Castro y Amadés, 1790. Inedited MS. in the archives of Bauan Convent, Batangas Province.

and 125 tons of iron. The concern was an entire failure, chiefly on account of the cost and difficulty of transport to the Capital. Salgado afterwards discovered an iron mine in a place called Santa Inés, near Bosoboso, in the district of Móriong, and obtained a concession to work it. The ore is said to have yielded 75% of pure metal. The greatest obstacle which Salgado had to contend with was the indolence of the natives, but eventually this was overcome by employing Chinese in their stead. All went well for a time, until the success which attended the undertaking awoke envy in the capital. Salgado found it desirable to erect his smelting furnaces on the banks of the Bosoboso River to obtain a good water supply. For this, a special permission had to be solicited of the Governor-General, so the opportunity was taken to induce this authority to put a stop to the whole concern on the ground that the Chinese workmen were not Christians! Salgado was ordered to send these Chinese to the Alcayceria, in Binondo (Manila), and ship them thence to China at his own expense. Moreover, on the pretext that the iron supplied to the Royal Stores had been worked by infidels, the Government refused to pay for the deliveries, and Salgado became a ruined victim of religious fanaticism.

The old parish priest of Angat, in Bulacan Province, once gave me the whole history of the rich iron mines existing a few miles from that village. It appears that at about the beginning of this century, two Englishmen made vain efforts to work these mines. They erected expensive machinery (which has since disappeared piece by piece), and engaged all the headmen around, at fixed salaries, to perform the simple duty of guaranteeing a certain number of men each to work there daily. They were very smart at receiving their pay, some of them having the audacity to ask for it in advance, yet the number of miners diminished, little by little, and no reasonable terms could induce them to resume work. The priest related that, after the Englishmen had spent a fortune of about £40,000, and seeing no result, in despair they hired a canoe, telling the native in charge to paddle out to sea, where each one blew his own brains out with pistols.

Afterwards a Spaniard, who had made money during years of office as Chief Judge and Governor of the Bulacan Province, thought he could, by virtue of the influence of his late position, command the services of all the labourers he might require to work the mine. It was a vain hope; he lost all his savings, and became so reduced in

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circumstances, that for a long time he was a pauper, accepting charity in the parish convents of the province.

The Angat iron mines undoubtedly yield a very rich ore—it is stated up to 85% of metal, which is more than that of the famous Campanil ore, found near Somorrostro, in the north of Spain.

They are still worked on a small scale. In 1885, at the foot of these ferruginous hills, I saw a rough kind of smelting furnace and foundry in a dilapidated shed, where the points of ploughshares were being made. These were delivered at a fixed minimum price to a Chinaman who went to Binondo (commercial quarter of Manila) to sell them to the Chinese ironmongers. In the village of Malolos I met one of the partners in this little business—a Spanish half-caste—who told me that it paid well in proportion to the trifling outlay of capital. If the natives chose to bring in mineral they were paid for it; when they did not arrive, the works and expenses were stopped meanwhile.

In the village of Baliuag, a few miles from Angat, where I have stayed a score of times, I observed, at the threshold of several houses, slabs of iron about eight feet long by two feet wide and five inches thick. I inquired about the origin of this novelty, and several respectable natives, whom I have known for years, could only inform me that their elders had told them about the foreigners who worked the Angat mines, and that the iron in question came from there. Appearing to belong to no one in particular, the slabs had been appropriated.

Both the nomades of the North and the Mussulmans of the South extract small quantities of COPPER with which they manufacture utensils for their own use. From the North, half-worked copper is obtained from the Igorrotes, but the attempt of a company to work the copper deposits in Mancayan, in the district of Lepanto, has hardly been more successful than all other mining speculations undertaken on a large scale in this Colony.

It is well known that large beds of MARBLE occur in the Province of Bataan, which forms the west coast to the Bay of Manila, and also in the Island of Romblon, but, under the circumstances explained, no one cared to risk capital in opening quarries. In 1888, surface marble **was** being cut near Montalban (Manila Province) under contract with the Corporation of Dominican Friars to supply them with it for their church in Manila. It was of a motley whitish colour, polished well,

and I sent a sample of it to a marble importer in London, who reported on it very favourably.

GRANITE is not found in these Islands, and there is a general want of hard stone for building purposes. Some is procurable at Angono, up the Lake of Bay, and it is from here that the stone was brought for the Manila Port Works. Granite is brought over from Hongkong for works of any importance, such as the new Government House in Manila City, in course of construction when the Spaniards evacuated the Islands. For ordinary building operations there is a material—a kind of *Stone* called *Adobe*, so soft when quarried that it can be cut out in small blocks with a hand-saw, but it hardens considerably by exposure to the air.

In a small island opposite to the village of Culasi (Antique Province) on the west coast of Panay, called Marilisan, there are deposits of GYPSUM. The superincumbent marl has been removed in several places where regular workings were carried on for years by natives, and shiploads of it were sent to Manila until the Government prohibited its free extraction and export.

SULPHUR exists in many islands, sometimes pure, in unlimited quantities, and often mixed with copper, iron and arsenic. The crater of the Volcano in the Bómbon Lake, near Taal, opened out in 1745, and from that date, until the eruption of 1749, sulphur was extracted by the natives. These deposits were again worked in 1780, and during a few years following. Bowring states¹ that a well-known naturalist once offered a good sum of money for the monopoly of working the Sulphur mines in the Taal district.

Some five years ago MINERAL OIL was discovered in the mountains of Cebú Island, a few miles from the W. coast village of Toledo, near the sugar estate of Calumampao. A drill boring was made and I was shown a sample of the crude *Oil*. An Irishman was then conducting the experimental works. Subsequently a British engineer visited the place and reported favourably on the prospects. In 1896 I was again up at the borings. Some small machinery had been erected for working the drills. A Dutch mining engineer was in charge of the work which was being financed by a small British syndicate, but so far a continuous flow had not been obtained, and it was still doubtful

¹ "A Visit to the Philippine Islands," by Sir John Bowring, Spanish translation, p. 67, Manila, 1876.

whether a well had been struck or not. The Dutchman was succeeded by an American engineer who, when the Spanish-American war was on the point of breaking out, had to quit the place and the enterprise has since remained in suspense.

There is a tendency, in most new and unexplored countries, to see visionary wealth in unpenetrated regions—to cast the eye of imagination into the forest depths and the bowels of the earth and become fascinated with the belief that nature has laid vast treasures therein ; and the veil of mystery constitutes a tradition until rent by scientific investigation.



CHAPTER XXI.

DOMESTIC LIVE STOCK.—PONIES, BUFFALOES, etc.

THE Philippine PONY is not an indigenous animal. It is said to have originated from the small Andalusian horse and the Chinese mare. I have ridden more than 500 Philippine ponies, and, in general, I have found them swift, strong, and elegant animals when well cared for. Highways being so deficient in this Colony, it is fortunate that ponies are plentiful and purchaseable at a low figure. Fancy prices are sometimes demanded, but the value ranges from \$25 to \$150 for a sound animal. Geldings are rarely met with.

The importation of Spanish and Australian horses has resulted in failure, as they cannot endure the climate. Enthusiasts have, from time to time, urged the authorities to interest themselves in the improvement of the breed, and during the acting-Governorship of Señor Moltó in 1888, his son was sent with a commission to British India to purchase breeding horses and mares. A number of fine animals was brought to Manila by the commissioners, but the newly-appointed Governor-General—Wenceslao Weyler—disapproved of the measure, and the stock was sold to the public. A Lipa friend of mine bought two stallions and two mares for \$2,600, the prices of the others ranging about \$700 each.

Pony races took place at Santa Mesa, near Manila, every spring. They were organized by “the Manila Jockey Club,” usually patronized by the Governor-General of the day, and the great meet lasted three days, when prizes were awarded to the winners. Ponies which had won races in Manila fetched from \$300 to \$1,000.

In Cebú also there were pony races every autumn on the racecourse facing the *Cotta* and the Government House.

The ordinary native has no notion of the proper treatment of

ponies, his idea being, generally, that this highly nervous animal can be managed by brute force and the infliction of heavy punishment. Sights, as painful as they are ridiculous, often present themselves of a native avenging himself of his pony because the poor beast cannot guess the will and pleasure of the rider, or driver, who does not know how to teach him. Unfortunately, the lower class native feels little attachment to any animal but the BUFFALO, or *Carabao*, as it is called here and the family pig.

At six years old a buffalo is considered in the prime of life for beginning work, and will continue at hard labour, when well pastured and bathed, for another six years. At 12 years of age a carefully worked buffalo will still serve for light labour for about five years. It is an amphibious animal, and if left to itself it would pass quite one-third of its life in water or mud, whilst it is indispensable to allow it to bathe every day. When grazing near flooded land, it will roam into the water up to its neck, and immerse its head for two minutes at a time, searching for vegetable food below the surface. Whilst undisturbed in the field it is usually accompanied by five or six white herons, which follow in its trail in perfect security, and feed on the worms and insects brought to the surface by its foot-prints. It seems also to enjoy the attentions of a small black bird, which hops about on its back and head to cleanse its skin and ears of vermin. I have often watched this bird flying towards the buffalo, which raises its head to receive it.

The rustic and the buffalo are familiar companions, and seem to understand each other perfectly well. There is a certain connaturalness between them in many ways. When a peasant is owner of the animal he works, he treats it almost like one of the family. It is very powerful, docile, slow in its movements, and easy to train. Many times I have seen a buffalo ridden and guided by a piece of split rattan attached to a string in its nostril by a child three years of age. It knows the voices of the family to which it belongs, and will approach or stand still when called by any one of them. It is not of great endurance, and cannot support hard work in the sun for more than a couple of hours without rest and bathing, if water be near.

Europeans cannot manage buffaloes, and very few attempt it; it requires the patience, the voice, and the peculiar movement of the native to handle this animal.

It is subject to a disease called *garrotillo*, or affection of the bronchial tubes; it rarely recovers from a serious sprain, and more rarely from a broken leg.

In 1887–1888, an epidemic disease, previously unknown, appeared amongst the cattle, and several thousands of them died. From the autopsy of some diseased buffaloes, it was seen that the inside had become converted into blood. Agriculturists suffered great losses. In the poor neighbourhood of Antipolo alone, 1,410 head of cattle died within four months, according to a report which the Governor of Mórongo showed to me. An old acquaintance of mine in Bulacan Province lost 85% of his live stock in the season, whilst the remainder were more or less affected.

The value of a buffalo varies in different districts. In Albay, for instance, where hemp is the chief agricultural product, and ploughing is seldom necessary, a buffalo can be got as cheap as \$10, whilst in the sugar-yielding Island of Negros \$30 would be considered a very low price for an average trained animal.

Wild buffaloes are met with, and, when young, they are easily tamed. Buffalo-hunting, as a sport, is a very dangerous diversion, and rarely indulged in, as death or victory must come to the infuriated beast or the chaser. A good hunting-ground is Nueva Ecija.

Altogether this animal may be considered the most useful in the Philippines. It serves for carting, ploughing, carrying loads on its back, and almost all labour of the kind where great strength is required for a short time. A peasant possessed of a bohie-knife, a buffalo, and good health, need not seek far to make an independent living. I owe a certain gratitude to buffaloes, for more than once they have pulled my carriage out of the mud in the provinces, where horses could get along no farther. Finally, buffalo meat is an acceptable article of food when nothing better can be got; by natives it is much relished. Its flesh, like that of deer and oxen, is sometimes cut into thin slices and sun-dried, to make what is called in the Philippines *Tapu* and in Cuba *Tasajo*.

In the Visayas Islands, oxen are used as draught-animals as frequently as buffaloes,—sometimes even for carriages.

In all my travels in this Colony, I have seen only five DONKEYS, and they were imported simply as curiosities.

SHEEP do not thrive in this climate. They are often brought from

Shanghai, and, as a rule, they languish and die in a few months. Oxen, goats, dogs, cats, pigs, monkeys, fowls, ducks, turkeys, and geese are among the ordinary domestic live stock. Both the dogs and the cats are of very poor species, and the European breeds are eagerly sought for. The better class of natives have learned to appreciate the nobler qualities and higher instincts of the European dog. Many Chinese dogs with long, straight hair, pointed noses, small eyes, and black tongues are brought over from Hongkong. All thoroughbred Philippine cats have a twist in their tails, and are not nearly so fine as the European race.

Natives do not particularly relish mutton or goat's flesh, which they say is heating to the blood. I have found stewed monkey very good food, but the natives only eat it on very rare occasions, solely as a cure for cutaneous diseases. No flesh, fish or poultry has the same flavour here as in Europe; sometimes indeed the meat of oxen sold in Manila has a repulsive taste when the animal has been quickly fattened for the market on a particular herb, which it eats readily. Neither can it be procured so tender as in a cold climate. If kept in an ice-chest it loses flavour; if hung up in cool air it becomes flabby and decomposes.

The seas are teeming with fish, and there are swarms of sharks, whose victims are numerous, whilst crocodiles are found in most of the deep rivers and large swamps in uncultivated tracts.

The only beast of prey known in the Philippines is the wild cat, and the only wild animal to be feared is the buffalo.

Both the jungles and the villages abound with insects and reptilia, such as lizards, snakes, iguanas, frogs, and other batrachian species, land-crabs, centipedes,¹ tarantulas, scorpions, huge spiders, hornets, common beetles, queen beetles (*elator noctilucus*) and others of the vaginopenous order, red ants (*formica smaragdina*), etc. Ants are the most common nuisance, and food cannot be left on the table a couple of hours without a hundred or so of them coming to feed. There are many species of ants, from the size of a pin's head to half an inch long. On the forest trees a bag of a thin whitish membrane, full of young ants, is sometimes seen hanging, and the traveller, for his own comfort, should be careful not to disturb it.

¹ An effective cure for a centipede bite is a plaster of garlic smashed until the juice flows. The plaster must be renewed every hour.

BOA CONSTRICTORS are also found, but they are rare, and I have never seen one in freedom. They are the most harmless of all snakes in the Philippines. Sometimes the natives keep them in their houses, in cages, as pets. Small PYTHONS are common. The snakes most to be dreaded are called by the natives *Alupong* and *Daghong-palay* (Tagalog dialect). Their bite is fatal if not cauterized at once. The latter is met with in the deep mud of rice fields and amongst the tall rice blades, hence its name. Stagnant waters are nearly everywhere infested with LEECHES. In the trees in dense forests there is also a diminutive species of leech which jumps into one's eyes.

In the houses and huts in Manila, and a few of the large low-lying villages, mosquitos are troublesome, but thanks to a kind of lizard with a disproportionately big ugly head called the *chacon*, and the small house newt, one is tolerably free from crawling insects. NEWTS are quite harmless to persons and are rather encouraged than otherwise. If one attempts to catch a newt by its tail it shakes it off and runs away leaving it behind. Rats and mice are numerous. There are myriads of cockroaches ; but happily fleas, house flies, and bugs are scarce.

In the dry season evenings certain trees are illuminated by swarms of fire-flies, which assemble and flicker around the foliage as do moths around the flame of a candle. The effect of their darting in and out like so many bright sparks between the branches is very pretty.

There are many very beautiful MOTHS and BUTTERFLIES. In 1897 I brought home about 300 specimens of Philippine butterflies for the Hon. Walter Rothschild.

The WHITE ANT (*termes*), known here as *Anay*, is by far the most formidable insect in its destructive powers. It is also common in China. Here it eats through most woods (there are some rare exceptions, such as Molave, Ipil, Yacal, etc.), and indeed some persons assert, although I am unable to confirm it, that even the surface of iron is affected by these insects if left long enough where they are. If white ants earnestly take possession of the wood-work of a building not constructed of the finest timber, it is a hopeless case. I have seen deal-wood packing cases, which have come from Europe, eaten away so far that they could not be lifted without falling to pieces.

Merchants' warehouses have had to be pulled down and rebuilt owing to the depredations of this insect, as, even if the building itself

were not in danger, no one would care to risk the storage of goods inside. The destruction caused by *anay* is possibly exaggerated, but there is no doubt that many traders have lost considerable sums through having had to realize, at any price, wares into which this insect had penetrated.

Very large BATS are seen in this colony, measuring up to five feet from tip to tip of their wings. They are caught for the value of their beautiful soft skins, which generally find a sale to Europeans returning home. Bat shooting is a good pastime, and a novelty to Europeans. Small bats frequently fly into the houses in the evening.

DEER and WILD BOARS are plentiful, and afford good sport to the huntsman. In Mórong district—in Negros Island—and in Manila Province, on and in the vicinity of the estate which I purchased—I have had some good runs. Monkeys, too, abound in many of the forests. In all the islands there is enjoyment awaiting the sportsman. Pheasants, snipe, a dozen varieties of wild pigeons, woodcocks, wild ducks, water-fowl, etc. are common, whilst there are also turtle-doves, *calaos* (*bucceros hydrocorax*), hawks, cranes, herons, crows, parrots, cockatoos, kingfishers, parroquets, and many others peculiar to the Archipelago which I will leave to ornithologists to describe.¹ One curious species of pigeon (*calanas nicobarina*) is called in Spanish *Paloma de puñalada* because of the crimson feathers on its breast, which look exactly as if they were blood-stained from a dagger stab.² In 1898 I saw some specimens of this pigeon in the Hamburg Zoological Gardens.

It is a curious fact that these Islands have no singing birds.

In 1851, the Government imported some MARTINS from China with the hope of exterminating the locusts. When the birds arrived in the port of Manila, they were right royally received by a body of troops—a band of music accompanied them with great ceremony to Santa Mesa, where they were set at liberty, and the public were forbidden to destroy them under severe penalties. At that date there were countless millions of locusts among the crops. The LOCUST PLAGUE is one of the great

¹ A good dish can be made of the rice-birds known locally as *Maya* (*Munia oryzivora*, Bonap.; *Estrela amandara*, Gray) and the *Bato-Bató* and *Punay* pigeons (*Ptilinopus roseicollis*, Gray).

² According to Edouard Verreux, cited by Paul de la Gironnière in his "Aventures d'un gentilhomme Breton aux Iles Philippines," p. 394, Paris 1857, there were at that date 172 classified birds in this Archipelago.

risks the planter has to run. These winged insects come in swarms of millions at a time, and how to exterminate them is a problem. I have seen a mass of locusts so thick that a row of large trees the other side of them could not be distinguished. Sailing along the Antique coast one evening, I observed, on the fertile shore, a large brown-coloured plateau. For the moment I thought it was a tract of land which had been cleared by fire, but on nearing it I noticed that myriads of locusts had settled on several fields. We put in quite close to them, and I fired off a revolver, the noise of which caused them to move off slowly in a cloud. Whenever locusts settle on cultivated lands, miles of crops are frequently ruined in a night by the foliage being consumed, and at daybreak only fields of stalks are to be seen. In the day time, when the locusts are about to attack a planted field, the natives rush out with their tin cans, which serve as drums, bamboo clappers, red flags, etc., to scare them off, whilst others light fires in open spaces with damp fuel to raise smoke. One of the most effective methods to drive them farther away is to fire off small mortars, such as the natives use at feasts, as these insects are sensitive to the least noise.

The body of a locust is similar in appearance to a large grasshopper. The females are of a dark brown colour, and the males of a light reddish-brown. The female extends the extremity of her body in the form of an augur, with which she pierces the earth to the depth of an inch, there to deposit her eggs. In two or three weeks the eggs hatch. Every few days the females lay eggs, if allowed to settle. The newly-born insects, having no wings until they are about ten days old, cannot be driven off, and, in the meantime they make great havoc among the crops, where it is difficult to extinguish them. The method employed to get rid of them, is to place a barrier, such as sheets of corrugated iron roofing, at one side of a field—dig a pit in front of the barrier, and get a number of men to beat round the three sides of the field until the young locusts jump in heaps into the pit. I have heard planters say that they have succeeded, in this way, in destroying as much as 20 tons of locusts in one season. I do not know the maximum distance that locusts can fly in one continuous journey, but they have been known to travel as much as 60 miles across the sea. Millions of unwinged locusts have been seen floating down river streams, whilst, however, the winged insect cannot resist the heavy rains which accompany a hurricane.

It is said that the food passes through the body of a locust as fast as it eats, and that its natural death is due, either to want of nourishment, or to a small worm which forms in the body and consumes it. It is also supposed that the female dies after laying a certain number of eggs. Excepting the damage to vegetation, locusts are perfectly harmless insects, and native children catch them to play with; also, when fried, they serve as food for the poorest classes—in fact, I was assured, on good authority, that in a certain village in Tayabas Province, where the peasants considered locusts a dainty dish, payment was offered to the parish priest for him to say mass and pray for the continuance of the luxury. In former times, before there were so many agriculturists interested in their destruction, these insects have been known to devastate the Colony during six consecutive years.

In the mud of stagnant waters, a kind of beetle, called in Visaya dialect *Tañga*, is found, and much relished as an article of food. In the dry season, as much as fifty cents a dozen is paid for them in Molo (near Yloilo) by well-to-do natives. There are many other insects, highly repugnant to the European, which are a *bonne bouche* for the natives.

In all the rice-paddy fields, small fish (*Ophiocephalus vagus*) are caught by the natives, for food, with cane nets, or rod and line, when the fields are flooded. Where this piscatorial phenomenon exists in the dry season no one has been able to satisfactorily explain.



CHAPTER XXII.

MANILA UNDER SPANISH RULE.

MANILA, the Capital of the Philippines, is situated in the Island of Luzon at the mouth, and on the left (south) bank of the River Pasig, at N. lat. $14^{\circ} 36'$ by E. long. $120^{\circ} 57'$. It is a fortified city, being encircled by bastioned and battlement walls, which were built in the time of Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, about the year 1590. It is said that the labour employed was Chinese. These walls measure about two miles and a quarter long, and bear mounted old-fashioned cannon. The fortifications are of stone, and their solid construction may rank as a *chef d'œuvre* of the 16th century. The earthquake of 1880 caused an arch of one of the entrances to fall in, and elsewhere cracks are perceptible. These defects were never made good. The city is surrounded by water—to the N. the Pasig River, to the W. the sea and the moats all around. These moats are paved at the bottom, and sluices—perhaps not in good working order at the present day—are provided for filling them with water from the river.

The demolition of the walls and moats has frequently been debated by commissions specially appointed—the last in October, 1887. It is said that a commission once recommended the cleansing of the moats, which were half full of mud, stagnant water, and vegetable putrid matter, but the authorities hesitated to disturb the deposit, which might have emitted fetid odours, producing fever or other endemic disease.

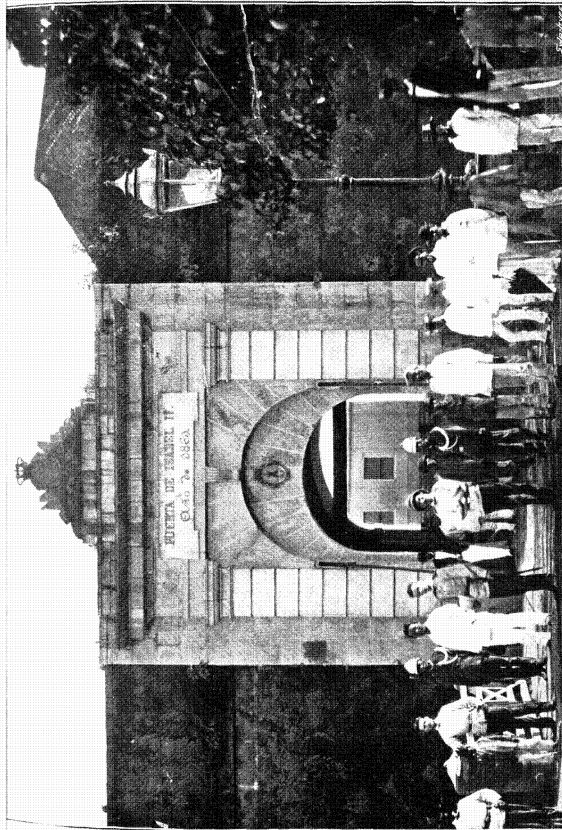
These city defences, although quite useless in modern warfare with a foreign Power, might any day be serviceable as a refuge for Europeans in the event of a serious revolt of the natives or Chinese. The garrison consisted of one European and several native regiments.

There are eight drawbridge entrances to the Citadel¹ wherein were some Government Offices, branch Post and Telegraph Offices, the Custom House (temporarily removed to Binondo since May 4th, 1887, during the construction of the new harbour), Colleges, Convents, a Meteorological Observatory, of which the Director was a Jesuit priest, Artillery Depôt, a Cathedral and eleven churches. The little trade done in the city was exclusively retail. In the month of April or May, 1603, a great fire destroyed one-third of the city, the property consumed being valued at one million dollars.

Manila city is a dull capital, with narrow streets, bearing a heavy, sombre, monastic appearance. It had no popular cafés, no opera-house or theatre, indeed absolutely no place of recreation. Only the numerous religious processions relieved the monotony of city life. The whole (walled) city and its environment seems to have been built solely with a view to self-defence. Since the year 1887, it had been somewhat embellished by gardens in the public squares.

The great trading centre is the Island of Binondo, on the right (north) bank of the Pasig River, and here the foreign houses are established. On the city side of the river, where there was scarcely any commerce and no export or import trade whatever, a harbour was in course of construction, without the least hope of its ever being completed by the Spaniards. All the sea wall visible of these works was carried away by a typhoon on the 29th September, 1890. To defray the cost of making this harbour, a special duty (not included in the Budget) of one per cent. on exports, two per cent. on imports, ten cents per ton on vessels (besides the usual tonnage dues of eight cents per register ton), and a fishing craft tax were collected since June 1880. Sixteen years' dues collection of several millions of dollars served only to fill the pockets of engineers and contractors, for the scrap of sea wall

¹ The City Walls were undoubtedly a great safeguard for the Spaniards against the frequent threats of the Mindanao and Sulu pirates who ventured into the Bay of Manila up to within 50 years ago. Also, for more than a century, they were any day subject to hostilities from the Portuguese, whilst the aggressive foreign policy of the Mother Country during the 17th century exposed them to reprisals by the Dutch fleets, which in 1643 threatened the City of Manila. Formerly, the drawbridges were raised, and the city was closed and under sentinels from eleven o'clock at night until four o'clock in the morning. It continued so until 1852, when, in consequence of the earthquake of that year, it was decreed that the city should thenceforth remain open night and day.



THE OLD CITY WALLS, MANILA. GATEWAY RESTORED IN 1861.



to be seen in 1896 was of no use to trade or anyone. In 1882 fourteen huge iron barges for the transport of stone from Angono were constructed by an English engineer, Mr. W. S. Richardson, under contract with the Port Works, for \$82,000.

The Port of Manila was officially held to extend for 27 miles westward from the mouth of the Pasig River.

The anchorage of the port is in the bay two to two-and-a-half miles S.W. from the red light, at the entrance of the river, in about six fathoms. There was no special locality reserved for war ships.

Ships at the anchorage communicate with the shore by their own boats or steam launch, and the loading and discharging of vessels is chiefly effected in the bay, one to three miles off the river mouth, by means of lighters.

Manila Bay has a circumference of 120 nautical miles, and is far too large to afford adequate protection to ships.

On the 20th October, 1882, a typhoon drove 11 ships and one steamer ashore from their anchorage, besides dismasting another, and causing three more to collide.

The entrance to the bay is divided into two passages by the small Island of Corregidor, on which was a lighthouse showing a revolving bright light, visible 20 miles off. Here was also a signal station, communicating by a semaphore with a telegraph station on the opposite Luzon coast, and thence by wire with Manila.

The entrance to the Pasig River is between two moles, which run out westward respectively from the citadel on the S. bank and from the business suburb of Binondo on the N. bank. At the outer extremity of the northern mole was a lighthouse, showing a fixed red light, visible eight miles.

Vessels drawing up to 13 feet can enter the river. In the middle of 1887, a few electric lights were established along the quays from the river mouth to the first bridge, and one light also on that bridge, so that steamers can enter the river after sunset if desirable. The wharfage is wholly occupied by steamers and sailing craft trading within the Archipelago. The tides are very irregular. The rise and fall at springs may be taken to be 5 feet.

Up to 1887, ships requiring repairs had to go to Hongkong, but now there is a patent slip at Cañacao Bay, near Cavite, seven miles

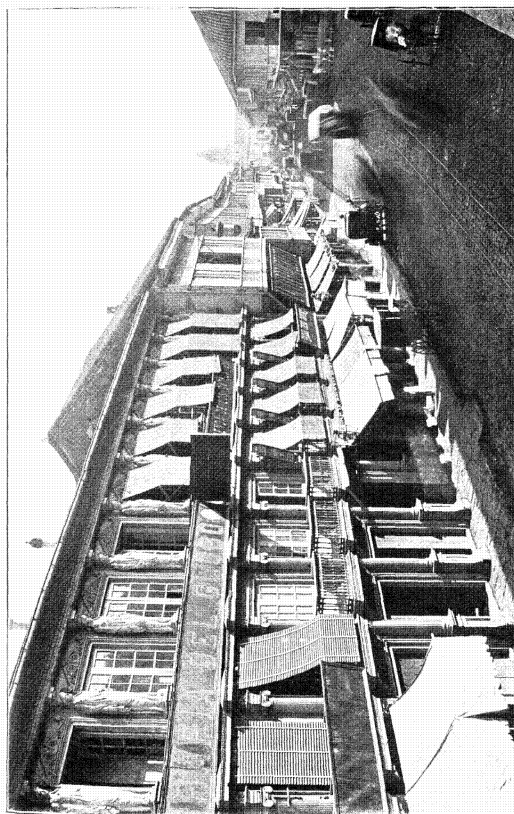
southward from the Manila Bay anchorage. The working capacity of the hydraulic hauling power of the slip is 2,000 tons.

At Cavite, close by Cañacao, there was a Government Arsenal and a small slip, having a hauling power of about 500 tons.

Up to the year 1893 the streets of Manila City and suburbs were badly lighted—petroleum lamps, and sometimes cocoa-nut oil, being used. (The paving was perhaps more defective than the lighting.) In 1892 an Electric Light Co. was formed, with a share capital of \$500,000 (\$350,000 paid up) for illuminating the city and suburbs and private lighting. Under the contract with the Municipality the Company received a grant of \$60,000. The concern was in full working order the following year. The poorest working class of Manila—fishermen, canoemen, day labourers, etc.—live principally in the Ward of Tondo, where dwellings with thatched roofs were allowed to be constructed. In the wet season the part of this ward nearest to the city was simply a mass of pollution. The only drainage was a ditch cut around each square wherein the huts were erected. Many of these huts had pools of stagnant water under them for months, hence it was there that the mortality from fever was at its maximum ratio in the dry season, when evaporation commenced.

Binondo presents an aspect of great activity during the day. The import and export trade is largely in the hands of British merchants, and the retail traffic is, to a great extent, monopolized by the Chinese. Their tiny shops, grouped together in rows, form bazaars. At each counter sits a Chinaman, casting up accounts, with the ancient *abacus*¹ still serving him for practical reckoning. Another is ready at the counter to strike the bargain, whilst a third lounges about the entrance to tout for custom. Sometimes a whole bazaar of ten to twelve shops has only one owner. In such a case, if a purchaser is not satisfied, after haggling over the price of an article, he fares no better by passing on to the next seller. The discarded Chinaman at the first counter runs by a back way to the adjoining opening, and, in his own language, advises the counterman there of his lowest offer. Hence the purchaser, wearied of going from one to another, and finding

¹ The Abacus consists of a frame with a number of parallel wires on which counting-beads are strung. It is in common use in China.



LA ESCULTA—THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN THE COMMERCIAL QUARTER OF MANILA.

all quote alike, closes the bargain, protesting against the obduracy of the crafty Celestial.

There is not a street without Chinese dealers, but their principal centre is the *Rosario*, whilst the finest European shops, owned generally by Spaniards, are to be found in the *Escolta*.

In 1881 a great fire occurred in the *Escolta*, and since then the class of property in that important thoroughfare has been much improved. In October, 1885, a second serious fire took place in this street, and on the site of the ruins there now stands a fine block of buildings occupied by the Central Post Office and Telegraph Station, and a row of good shops in European style.

During the working hours are to be seen hundreds of smart Chinese coolies, half naked, running in all directions with loads, or driving carts, whilst the natives dreamily propel themselves along the streets, following their numerous occupations with enviable tranquillity. In the doorways here and there are native women squatting on the flag-stones, picking vermin from each other's heads, and serving a purchaser between-times with cigars, betel-nut, and food, when occasion offers.

Certain small handicrafts are almost exclusively taken up by the Chinese, such as boot-making, furniture-making, small smith's work and casting, tin-working, tanning, dyeing, etc., whilst the natives are occupied as silversmiths, engravers, saddlers, water-colour painters, furniture polishers, bookbinders, etc. A few years ago, the apothecaries were almost exclusively Germans; now the profession is shared with natives and half-castes.

The thoroughfares are crowded with carriages during the whole day drawn by pretty native ponies. The public conveyance regulations were excellent. The rates for hiring were very moderate, and were calculated by the time engaged. Incivility of drivers was a thing almost unknown. Their patience was astonishing. They would, if required, wait for the fare for hours together in a drenching rain without a murmur. Having engaged a vehicle (in Manila or provincial towns) it is usual to guide the driver, by calling out to him each turn he has to take. Thus, if he be required to go to the right—*mano* (hand) is the word used; if to the left—*silla* (saddle) is shouted. This custom originated in the days before natives were intrusted to drive, when a postilion rode the left (saddle) pony and guided his right (hand) animal with a short rein.

C C

Through the City and suburbs run lines of tramway with cars drawn by ponies, and from Binondo (since the 20th October 1888) the cars are carried on by steam power to the village of Malabon.

Fortunately, Easter week brought two days of rest every year for the ponies, namely, Holy Thursday and Good Friday. As in Spain also, with certain exceptions, such as doctors, urgent Government service, etc., vehicles were not permitted in the streets and highways on those days. Soldiers, passing through the streets on service, carried their guns with the muzzles pointing to the ground. The church bells were tolled with muffled hammers, hence, the vibration of the metal being checked, the peal sounded like the beating of so many tin cans. The shops were closed, and, so far as was practicable, every outward appearance of care for worldly concerns was extinguished, whilst it was customary for the large majority of the population—natives as well as Europeans—who went through the streets to be attired in black. On Good Friday afternoon there was an imposing religious procession through the city and suburbs. On the following Saturday morning (*Sábado de Gloria*) there was a lively scene after the celebration of Mass. In a hundred portals and alleys, public conveyances and private vehicles were awaiting the peal of the unmuffled church bells. When this was heard, in an instant there was a rush in all directions—the clanking of a thousand ponies' feet; the rumbling sound of hundreds of vehicles; the shouts of the natives and the Chinese coolies together, showed with what abated anxiety and forced subjection material interest and the affairs of this life had been held in check and made subservient to higher thoughts.

It was computed on official returns in the year 1885, that the average number of vehicles which passed through the main street of the city (*Calle Real*) *per day*, amounted to 950; through the *Escolta*, the principal street of Binondo, 5,000; and across the bridge, connecting Binondo with Manila City (where the river is 350 feet wide), 6,000.

Sir John Bowring, in the account of his short visit to Manila in 1858, says, that he was informed on good authority that the average number of vehicles passing per day at that date through the *Escolta*, amounted to 915; across the bridge, between Binondo and Manila, 1,256; so that in 27 years the number of vehicles in use appears to have increased by about five to one.

The River Pasig is navigable by steam launches, and specially constructed steamers with flat bottoms of light draught and proportionately great beam, which go up the whole distance into the Laguna de Bay. The river is crossed at Manila and suburbs by three bridges, one of which is of stone and iron, and sadly in want of repair.¹

In the suburbs there are four Theatres, in none of which a dramatic company of any note would consent to perform. In one, the performance could be partly seen from the street (the *Teatro Filipino*); the other (the *Teatro de Tondo*) was situated in a dirty thoroughfare in a low quarter; the third (the *Teatro del Principe*) usually gave an entertainment in dialect for the amusement of the natives; and the fourth, located in the Calle de Bilibid, was constructed to serve as theatre or circus without the least regard to its acoustic properties, hence only one-third of the audience could hear the dialogue. There was permanently a Spanish Comedy Company, and occasionally a troupe of foreign strolling players, a circus, a concert or an Italian Opera Company came to Manila to entertain the public for a few weeks.

In 1880 there used to be a kind of tent theatre, called the *Carrillo*, where performances were given without any regard to histrionic art or stage regulations. The scenes were highly ridiculous, and the gravest spectator could not suppress laughter at the exaggerated attitudes and comic display of the native performers. The public were permitted full licence to call to the actors and criticize them in loud voices *séance tenante*—often to join in the choruses, and make themselves quite at home during the whole spectacle.

About a year afterwards, the *Carrillo* was suppressed by the authorities.

In the suburb of Paco there was a bull ring, which did not generally attract the *élite*, as a bull fight there was simply a burlesque upon this national sport as seen in Spain. I have witnessed a Manila *espada* hang on to the tail of his victim, and a *banderillero* meet the rush of the bull with a vault over his head, amidst hoots from the shady class of audience who formed the *habitués* of the Manila ring.

¹ On the site of this last bridge the *Puente de Barcas* (Pontoon Bridge) existed from 1632 to 1863, when it was destroyed by the great earthquake of that year. The new stone bridge was opened to traffic in 1875, and called the *Puente de España*.

The Civil Governor of the Province had full arbitrary power to enforce the regulations relating to public performances, but it was seldom he imposed a fine. The programme had to be sanctioned by authority before it was published, and it could neither be added to nor any part of it omitted, without special licence. The performance was given under the censorship of the Corregidor or his delegate, whose duty it was to guard the interests of the public, and to see that the spectacle did not outrage morality.

At every annual feast all over the Colony, the basis of the public rejoicing was the attendance at High Mass, and the view of the religious procession, which was intended to impress on the minds of the faithful the virtue of the Saints by ocular demonstration. Vast sums of money were expended from time to time in adornment of the images, the adoration of which seemed to be tinged with pantheistic feeling, as if these symbols were part of the Divine essence.

Each village, and indeed each suburb, both of the Capital and the villages, is supposed to be specially cared for by its patron Saint, even though the proof be lacking that the Saint has accepted the patronage. Among the suburban feasts of Manila, that of Binondo was particularly striking. It took place in the month of October. An imposing illuminated procession, headed by the clergy, guarded by troops, and followed up by hundreds of native men, women and children carrying candles, promenaded the principal streets of the vicinity. It might indeed have commanded the inward respect of all religionists, were it not for one ridiculous feature—the mob of native men who accompanied the *cortège*, dressed in gowns and head wreaths, in representation of the Jews who persecuted Our Saviour. The sight of these fellows rushing about the streets in tawdry attire before and after the ceremony in such apparent ignorance and carelessness of the real intention, annulled the sublimity of the whole affair.

All Saints' Day—the 1st of November—brought a large income to the priests in the most frequented parish churches. This is one of the days on which souls can be got out of Purgatory. The faithful flocked in mobs to the popular shrines, where a struggle was made to place a lighted wax candle at the foot of the altar, and on bended knee to invoke the Saints' aid in benefit of their departed relatives and friends. But the crowd was so great, that the pious were not permitted this consolation for more than two or three minutes.

Sacristans made them move on, to leave room for new comers, and their candles were then extinguished and collected in heaps, Chinese infidel coolies being sometimes employed to carry away the spoil to the parish priest's store. The wax was afterwards sold to dealers. One church is said to have collected on the 1st November, 1887, as much as 40 cwts., valued at \$37 per cwt. This day was a public holiday, and in the afternoon and evening it was the custom to visit the last resting places, to leave a token of remembrance on the tombs of the lamented.

The Asylum for Lepers, at Dalumbayan, in the Ward of Santa Cruz, was also visited the same day, and whilst many naturally went there to see their afflicted relations and friends, others, of morbid tastes satisfied their curiosity. This Asylum, subsidized by Government to the extent of \$500 per annum, was, in the time of the Spaniards, under the care of Franciscan friars.

In January or February the Chinese celebrate their New Year, and suspend work during a week or ten days. The authorities did not permit them to revel in fun to the extent they would have done in their own country, nevertheless, Chinese music, gongs and crackers were indulged in, in the quarters most thickly populated by this race.

The natives generally have an unbounded passion for cock-fighting, and in the year 1779, it occurred to the Government that a profitable source of revenue might be derived from a tax on this sport. From that date, therefore, it was only permitted under a long code of regulations on Sundays and feast days, and in places officially designated for the "meet" of the combatants. In Manila alone the permission to meet was extended to Thursdays. The cock-pit is called the *Gallera*, and the tax was rented out to the highest bidding contractor, who bound himself to pay a fixed sum per annum to the Government, and make the best he could for himself out of the excess gross proceeds from entrance fees and sub-letting rents over that amount. In like manner the Government farmed out the taxes on horses, vehicles, sale of opium, slaughter of animals for consumption, bridge tolls, etc., and, until 1888, the market dues. Gambling licences also brought a good revenue, but it would have been as impossible to suppress cock-fighting in the Islands as gambling in England.¹

¹ The favourite game of the Tagálogs is *Panguingui*—of the Chinese *Chapdiki*.

The Spanish laws relating to the cock-pit were very strict, and were specially decreed on the 21st of March, 1861. It was enacted that the maximum amount to be staked by one person on one contest should be \$50. That each cock should wear only one metal spur. That the fight should be held to be terminated on the death of one or both cocks, or when one of them retreated. However, the decree contained in all a hundred clauses, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Cock-fighting is discussed among the natives with the same enthusiasm which horse-racing calls forth in England. The majority of men rear cocks for several years, bestowing upon them as much tender care as a mother would on her infant. When the hope of the connoisseur has arrived at the age of discretion and valour, it is put forward in open combat, perhaps to perish in the first encounter. And the patient native goes on training others.

Within twenty minutes' drive from Manila, at Nagtájan, on the right bank of the Pasig River, there is a good European club, of which the majority of members are English-speaking people employed in commercial houses. The entrance fee is \$30; the monthly subscription is \$5, and \$1 per month extra for the use of a fairly good library.

The principal hotel—the “Hotel de Oriente”—was opened in Binondo in January 1889. It is a large two-storied building, with 83 rooms for the public service, and stabling for 25 horses. It is the first building specially erected in the Colony for an hotel. The accommodation and board are good. It ranks with the best hotels in the East. The “Hotel Inglés” is also pretty good.

In Manila City and Binondo there are several other Spanish hotels where the board is tolerable, but the lodging and service are abominable. There is a telephone system established throughout the city and environs.

The press was represented by five dailies—“*El Diario de Manila*,” “*La Occania Española*,” three evening papers, “*El Comercio*,” “*La Voz de España*,” and (since March 3rd, 1889) “*La Correspondencia de Manila*”—also a bi-weekly, “*La Opinion*.” Some good articles appeared at times in the three dailies first mentioned, but as newspapers strictly so-called, the information in all was remarkably scant, due to the strict censorship exercised jointly by a priest and a layman. However, if we review the attainments of the mother country in

this branch, it is doubtful whether much was lost to the public by this censorship.

In Manila there was also a purely official organ—the “*Gaceta de Manila*.” Newspapers from Spain were not publicly exposed for sale ; those which were seen came by private subscription, whilst many were proscribed as inculcating ideas dangerously liberal.

The first news-sheet published in Manila appears to have been the “*Filántropo*,” in the year 1822, and existed only a few years. Others followed and failed in a short time. The first Manila daily paper was the “*Estrella*,” which started in 1846 and lasted three years. Since then several dailies have seen the light for a brief period. The “*Diario de Manila*,” started in 1848, was the oldest newspaper of those existing at the end of the Spanish régime.

In Spain journalism began in the 17th century by the publication of sheets called “*Relaciones*,” which appeared at irregular intervals, and contained accounts of important incidents. The first Spanish newspaper, correctly speaking, was established only last century. Seventy years ago there was only one regular periodical journal in Madrid. After the Peninsula War, a step was made towards political journalism. This led to such an abuse of the pen that in 1824 all, except the “*Gaceta de Madrid*,” “*Gaceta de Bayona*,” the “*Diario*,” and a few non-political papers were suppressed.

Madrid has now about fifty newspapers, of which half-a-dozen are very readable. The “*Correspondencia de España*,” founded by the late Marqués de Santa Ana as a Montpensier organ, used to afford me great amusement in Madrid. It appeared in the evening, and scores of newsboys cried it about the streets. It contained columns of most extraordinary events in short paragraphs (*gacetillas*), and became highly popular, hundreds of persons waiting with eagerness to secure a copy. In a subsequent issue, a few days afterwards, many of the paragraphs in the same columns were merely corrections of the statements previously published, but so ingeniously interposed that the hoax took the public for a long time.

There is a botanical garden, rather neglected, although it cost the Colony about \$8,600 per annum. The stock of specimens was scanty, and the grounds were deserted by the general public. It was at least of general utility in one sense,—that bouquets were supplied at once to purchasers at cheap rates, from 25 cents and upwards.

In the environs of Manila there are several pleasant drives and promenades, the most popular one being the "Luneta," where a military band frequently played after sunset. The Governor-General's palace¹ and the residences of the foreign European population and well-to-do natives and Spaniards were in the suburbs of the city and of the commercial quarter. Some of these private villas were extremely attractive, and commodiously designed for the climate, but little attention was paid until quite recently to architectural beauty.

The risks of house property tenure were very great on account of the earthquakes and typhoons, whilst the laws relating to ownership were so peculiarly onerous in practice that rents were fixed at a high compensatory figure.

Very few of the best private residences have more than one storey above the ground floor. The ground floor is either uninhabited or used for lodging the native servants, or as a coach-house, on account of the damp. The upper floor, which constitutes the house proper, where the family resides, is usually divided into a spacious hall (*Caida*), leading from the staircase to the dining and reception rooms; on one or two sides of these apartments are the dormitories and other private rooms. The kitchen is often a separate building, connected with the house by a roofed passage; and by side of the kitchen, on the same level, is a yard called the *azotea*—here the bath-room is erected. The most modern houses have corrugated iron roofs. The ground floor exterior walls are of stone or brick, and the whole of the upper storey is of wood, with sliding windows all around.

Instead of glass, opaque oyster shells are employed to admit the light whilst obstructing the sun's rays. Formerly the walls up to the roof were of stone, but since the last great earthquake of 1880 the use of wood from the first storey upwards was rigorously enforced in the capital and suburbs for public safety. Iron roofs are very hot, and there are still some comfortable, spacious, and cool residences in the environs, with the primitive cogon grass or nipa palm-leaf thatching, very conducive to comfort although more exposed to fire.

¹ The Government House, located in the city, which was thrown down in the earthquake of 1863, was never rebuilt by the Spaniards. Its reconstruction was only commenced by them in 1895. The Governor-General therefore has resided since 1863 at his suburban palace at Malacañan, on the river side.

The main entrance of a dwelling-house is invariably left open until the family retires for the night. Mosquitos abound in Manila, coming from the numerous malarious creeks which traverse the wards, and few persons can sleep without a curtain. To be at one's ease, a daily bath is indispensable. The heat from twelve to four p.m. is oppressive from March to June, and most persons who have no afternoon occupation, sleep the *siesta* from one to three o'clock. The conventional lunch hour all over the Colony is noon precisely, and dinner at about eight o'clock. The visiting hours are from five to seven in the evening, and *réunions* and musical *soirées* from nine.

The different social classes were far less divided here than in the British-Asiatic Colonies. There was not the same rigid line drawn as in British India on account of one's birth, origin, or position. Spaniards of the best families in the capital endeavoured in vain to Europeanize the people of the country, and many of them exchanged visits with half-breeds, and in some cases with wealthy pure natives. Hospitality amongst Spaniards in the Philippines was far more marked than in Europe, and educated foreigners were generally received with great courtesy.

Since the year 1884 the city and suburbs are well supplied with good drinking water, which is one of the most praiseworthy improvements undertaken by the Spanish Government within the last few years. To ensure this beneficial work being carried out, a Spanish philanthropist, named Carriedo—a late commander of an Acapulco galleon—left a sum of money last century, in order that the capital and accumulated interest might one day defray the expense. The water supply (which comes from Santólan, on the Pasig River), being more than sufficient for general requirements, the city and suburbs were, little by little, adorned with several public fountains. Although Manila lies low the climate is healthy, and during several years of personal observation I have found the maximum and minimum temperatures at noon in the shade to be 98° and 75° Fahr. respectively. The climate of Manila may be generally summed up as follows, viz., December, January, and February, a delightful spring—March, April, and May, an oppressive heat—June, July, August, and September, heavy rains—October and November, doubtful; sometimes very wet, sometimes fairly dry. Briefly, as to climate, it is a pleasant place to reside in.

In 1593 Manila already had a coat-of-arms, with the title of “*May Insigne y siempre leal Ciudad*,” and in the beginning of the 17th century King Philip III. conferred upon it the title of “*La muy noble Ciudad*” (the very noble city), hence it was latterly styled “*La muy noble y siempre leal Ciudad*” (the very noble and always loyal city).

According to Gironnière,¹ the civilized population of this Colony in 1845 was as follows, namely :—

Europeans (including 500 Friars)	-	-	-	-	4,050
Spanish-native half-breeds	-	-	-	-	8,584
Spanish-native-Chinese half-breeds	-	-	-	-	180,000
Chinese	-	-	-	-	9,901
Pure natives	-	-	-	-	3,304,742
Total civilized population					3,507,277

In the last census, which was taken in 1876, the total number of inhabitants, including Europeans and Chinese, was shown to be a little under 6,200,000, but a fixed figure cannot be accepted because it is impossible to estimate exactly the number of unsubdued savages and mountaineers, who pay no taxes. The increase of native population was rated at about two per cent. per annum, except in the Negrito or Aeta tribes, which are known to be decreasing.

In Manila City and Wards it is calculated there were in 1896 about 340,000 inhabitants, of which the ratio of classes was approximately the following, namely :—

	PER CENT.
Pure natives	68·00
Chinese half-breeds	16·65
Chinese	12·25
Spaniards and creoles	1·65
Spanish half-breeds	1·30
Foreigners (other than Chinese)	0·15
	100·00

¹ “Aventures d'un gentilhomme Breton aux Iles Philippines,” par Paul de la Gironnière, Paris, 1857.

The City alone contained a population of about 16,000 souls.

Typhoons affect Manila more or less severely about once a year, nearly always between April and middle of December, and sometimes cause immense destruction to property. Roofs of houses are carried away—the wooden upper-storey frontages are blown out—ships are torn from their moorings—small craft laden with merchandise are wrecked, and the inhabitants flee from the streets to make fast their premises, and await in intense anxiety the conclusion of the tempest. A hurricane of this description desolated Manila in October 1882, and, at the same time, the wind was accompanied by torrents of rain, which did great damage to the interior of the residences, warehouses and offices. A small house, entirely made of wood, was blown completely over, and the natives who had taken refuge on the ground floor were left, without a moment's notice, with the sky for a roof. Two Chinamen, who thought to take advantage of the occasion and economically possess themselves of galvanized iron roofing, had their heads nearly severed by sheets of this material flying through the air, and their dead bodies were picked up in the Rosario the next morning. I was busy all that day in my house, with the servants, in the vain attempt to fasten the windows and doors, but I was overcome by superior forces. Part of the kitchen was carried away—water came in everywhere, and I had to patiently wait, with an umbrella over me, until the storm ceased.

Manila is also in constant danger of destruction from earthquakes. The most serious one within this century occurred in June, 1863. The shock lasted half a minute, and the falling *débris* of the upheaved buildings caused 400 deaths, whilst 2,000 persons were wounded. The total loss of property on that occasion was estimated at \$8,000,000.

Official returns show, that 46 public edifices were thrown down; 28 were nearly destroyed; 570 private buildings were wrecked, and 528 were almost demolished. Simultaneously, an earthquake occurred in Cavite—the Port and Arsenal at the S. point of Manila Bay—destroying several public buildings. Many of the ruins caused by this earthquake are still left undisturbed within the City of Manila. At that time, the best buildings had heavy tiled roofs, and many continued so, in spite of the severe lesson, until after the shock of the year 1880, when galvanized corrugated iron came into general use for roofing, and, in fact, no one in Manila or Binondo now builds a house without it.

In 1880 no lives were lost, but the damage to house property was considerable. The only person who suffered physically from this calamity, was an Englishman, Mr. Parker, whose arm was so severely injured that it was found necessary to amputate it.

Prior to 1863, the most serious earthquakes recorded, happened in November 1610; November 1645; August 1658; in 1675; in 1699; in 1796 and in 1852. Consequent on the shock of 1645, all but one monastery and two churches, of the public buildings, were destroyed, 600 persons were killed, and the Governor-General was extricated from the ruins of his Palace.

¹According to the Jesuit Father Faura, Director of the Manila Observatory, the following slight quakes occurred in 1881, viz. :—3 in July—7 in August—10 in September, and 3 in October. Earthquakes, almost imperceptible, are so frequent in these islands, that one hardly heeds them after a few months' residence.

In a cosmopolitan city like Manila and its surroundings, where so many races of humanity assemble, it is interesting to observe the varied costumes and modes of attire in vogue. The majority of the Spaniards wear the European costume; the British generally dress in white drill, with the coat buttoned up to the neck, and finished off with a narrow collar of the same material. The Chinese preserve their own peculiar national dress—the most logical of all—with the pig-tail coiled into a chignon. The pure natives and many half-breeds wear the shirt outside the trousers. It is usually white, with a long stiff front, and cut European fashion, but often it is made of an extremely fine yellow tinted expensive material, called *piña*—a texture manufactured from pine-leaf fibre. Some few of the native *jeunesse dorée* of Manila don the European dress, much to their apparent discomfort. The official attire of the headman of a Manila ward and his subordinates, was a shirt with the tail outside the trousers, like other natives or half-breeds, but over which was worn the official distinction of a short Eton jacket, reaching to the hips.

A native woman wears a flowing skirt of gay colours—bright red, green, and white being the common choice. The length of train, and whether the garment be of cotton, silk, or satin, depends on her means. Corsets are not yet the fashion, but a chemisette, which just covers her

¹ "Terremotos de Nueva Vizcaya en 1881," by Enrique Abella y Casariego, pub. Madrid.





A HALF-CASTE MANILA BELLE.

breast, and a starched neckcloth (*pañuelo*) of *piña*, or *jusi* (pine and hemp filament mixed) are in common use. The *pañuelo* is square, and, being folded triangularly, it hangs in a point down the back, stands very high up at the back of the neck, in 17th century style, whilst the other two points are brooched where they meet at the top of the chemisette *décolletée*. To this chemisette are added immensely wide short sleeves. Her hair is brushed back from the forehead, without a parting, and coiled into a tight, flat chignon. In her hand she carries a fan, without which she would feel lost. Native women have an extravagant desire to possess jewellery—even those who never wear it. The head is covered with a white mantle of very thin material, sometimes figured, but more often this and the neckcloth are embroidered. Native women are very clever at embroidering. Finally, the toes of her naked feet are partly enveloped in *chinelas*—a kind of slipper, flat like a shoe sole with no heel, but just enough upper in front to put two or three toes inside.

Altogether, the appearance of a Philippine woman of well-to-do family dressed on a gala-day is curious, but by no means engaging, whilst her slouching gait is a severe contrast to that *air gracieux* which distinguishes the majority of Spanish ladies.

On the other hand, there is something picturesque and typical in the simple costume of a peasant woman going to market. She has no flowing gown, but a short skirt, which is enveloped in a *tápis*, generally of cotton. It is simply a rectangular piece of stuff; as a rule, all blue, red or black. It is tucked in at the waist, drawn very tightly around the loins, and hangs over the skirt a little below the knees. The figure of a peasant woman is erect and stately, due to her habit from infancy of carrying jars of water, baskets of orchard produce, etc. on her head with a pad of coiled cloth.

At times the better class wear the more becoming short skirt and *tápis* of silk or satin, with gold-lace embroidered *chinelas*. This dress is pretty.

The Visaya woman wears the *patallon*—a robe like the Javanese *sarong*,—which is kept in place by being drawn tightly around and tucked in at the waist. It just reaches her feet. At times she will put the *tápis* over this. On feast days and special occasions, the dusky Venuses of high degree sport the gaudy-flowing gown of silk or satin, known as the *saya suelta*.

A "first class" Manila funeral was a whimsical display of pompous ignorance worth seeing once. There was a hideous bier with rude relics of savagism in the shape of paltry adornments. A native driver, with a tall "chimney pot" hat, full of salaried mournfulness, drove the white team. The bier was headed by a band of music playing a lively march, and followed by a line of carriages containing the relations and friends of the deceased. The burial was almost invariably within twenty-four hours of the decease—sometimes within six hours.

There is nothing in Manila which at once impresses one as strikingly national, whether it be in artistic handicraft, music, painting, sculpture or even diversions. The peculiar traditional customs of an Eastern people, their native dress, their characteristic habits, constitute, by their originality and variation, the only charm to the ordinary European traveller. The Manila native, in particular, possesses none of this ; he is but a vivid contrast to his vivacious Spanish model ; an expressionless, immobile being ; a striking caricature of both his own picturesque aboriginal state, from which he has departed, and of his Western master, whose grace and easy manners he unsuccessfully assumes. In short, he is neither one thing nor the other in its true representation, whilst the genial, genuine, unalloyed and natural type is to be found in the provinces.



CHAPTER XXIII.

TOURING IN LUZON ISLAND.

THE charm of Manila consists in the picturesqueness of its suburbs, where Nature plays so great a part, and in the town proper, where native customs contrast so strangely with Spanish *façon de faire*. There, for eleven years, spreading over a period of seventeen, I had my home—nominally, however, for my programme was to go everywhere in the Colony, and in hundreds of journeys I carried it out, excepting only a portion of the northern Pacific coast of Luzon and east coast of Sámar.

With the least luggage possible, I drove off in a carriage to catch the little steamer which, every morning, went up the Pasig River into the Laguna de Bay.

It was just one minute to seven when I reached the Ayala bridge. I could see the smoke from the steamer's chimney; a blast of her whistle had just warned me to hurry on, and still my driver walked the pair of ponies at an exasperatingly slow pace, seeming not to care one iota whether I arrived in time or not. I menaced him and entreated him, but he was inexorable. At last he explained something in incomprehensible Castilian, and turned off the bridge down to the steamer side at full gallop. We were in time. In an instant my servant Nicomedis had placed my belongings in the cabin, and I ascended a tiny ladder to the hurricane-deck to join the skipper in the look-out. The skipper was a half-caste, somewhat advanced in years, with a round head, his white hair clipped all over as short as scissors would permit, and his face clean shaven.

We exchanged a mutual "good morning," and stood gazing in silence at the commotion alongside the steamer. It was market day in a Laguna town. Scores of natives were crowding in with baskets of

wares—women squatting to re-arrange their goods—porters shouting and scuffling on board with their loads, whilst a line of *carromatas* was perceptible on the bridge, coming at a walking pace, but evidently bound for the steamer. It was a quarter past seven.

“At what time does the steamer leave?” I inquired of the captain, thinking I had mistaken the hour.

“At seven o’clock every morning,” was the reply.

“But it is already a quarter past seven,” I rejoined.

“Yes, but I see carromata-loads of passengers still arriving from the bridge.”

“Well, they don’t seem at all in a hurry,” I remarked.

“Of course they can’t hurry; it would be against the regulations even to trot a pony on the bridge. Don’t you know that there is a sentinel posted there to see that they go *al paso*?”

This dialogue explained everything. My driver was no longer the obstinate fellow I thought him, but a law-abiding citizen; time was not money in this colony, I cogitated, and the hour of departure was only nominal.

I went below; the main deck was crowded with natives going to the Santa Cruz market. They covered every available space, sitting on liliputian bamboo stools, and in the centre of the group was the *tiangui*, or buffet, presided over by a fat woman, who, half reclining, served out hard-boiled eggs, boiled rice folded up in plantain leaves (*súman* and *poto*), rice sticks (*poto seco*), betel-nut (*bugo*), sweet-stuff (*matamis*) cakes, bananas, etc.

It was 7.30 when we weighed anchor, leaving a throng of empty vehicles and native carriers on the quay. To our left we passed the Convalescent Hospital and Mad-House, the residences of the Admiral and the Governor-General, the European Club and a number of private villas; on our right the villages of Pandácan, Santa Ana, Guadalupe, of historic interest in the Chinese riots, etc.

The morning sun was already oppressive, so the captain offered me a chair beside his under an awning which served for a wheel-house on the hurricane-deck. I thought I was the only cabin passenger, but, as

¹ The *carromata* is a two-wheeled spring vehicle with a light roof to keep off the sun and rain. It is commonly used by the natives in Manila and by all classes in the provinces. Though wanting in comfort, it is a light, strong and useful conveyance.

we were seated, up came a Chinese half-caste, a man apparently verging on sixty, who took a chair near us. The stranger turned out to be a partner in one of the richest native merchant houses in Manila.

"This is the sort of navigation I should like were I a captain," I observed. "At least there can be none of those heartrending scenes one experiences at sea."

The captain, Don Bruno, took me up at once.

"Don't you believe it is so easy; it requires all one's skill to get the vessel through this tortuous river. And then the chance of running high and dry! Why, in the dry season I have had to"

But the conversation was interrupted.

"Tic-in! Tic-in!" shouted the captain, and half-a-dozen natives rushed to the port side of the steamer to push her off from the right bank with long bamboos, iron-spiked at the tip, to ease her round a bend in the river. The current was running very strongly against us. We were still in the wet season, and the streams feeding the lake had been converted into torrents by the recent heavy rains.

"Where are you going?" inquired the Chinese half-caste.

"To Calamba or Viñan; it's all the same to me."

"To sell jewellery, I suppose?"

"No," I rejoined, "I neither sell it nor wear it."

"Well, if you don't know anyone in Calamba, you can accompany me if you like."

"Thanks very much, I will," and thus an acquaintanceship was struck up which lasted for years.

We had got safely round the first bend, thanks to good old Don Bruno's provision of *tic-ins*, and the sailors were still hanging about in expectation of having to push off at the point called *Malápat-na-batô*, an immense boulder jutting out into the river,¹ on the left bank, which greatly obstructed navigation. But we cleared it well, and just in time to save a collision with a large 25-ton cargo-boat—a kind of Noah's Ark with matting sails set, taking advantage of the light breeze and current.

Don Bruno was on his legs, and always on the look-out. He blew the steam-whistle, and the cargo-boat men, by the use of their bamboos, got their craft near the bank to let us proceed. We passed by the

¹ It has since been cut away.

Mariquina affluent, and then slowed down and whistled as we neared Pasig. Passengers were waiting there in canoes ready to come up alongside and embark as the steamer kept slowly on her course. Then we went full speed again—quite three miles an hour against the current—and Don Bruno seemed once more at his ease.

“We have passed Pasig, so I suppose you can take a rest now, captain,” I remarked.

“*No Señor*,” rejoined the old man, “one never knows what may happen—but, I forgot to ask if either of you would take anything. You, *Señor Inglés*,” addressing himself to me in particular, “a glass of beer? Yes, I know Englishmen like beer. *Oy bate!* a glass of beer for the *Señor Inglés*,” and up came his boy—the *bata*, with a half-bottle of German lager.

“Well, here I am, my dear sir, always looking out for those wretched canoe-men,” continued Don Bruno. “They hear the whistle and don’t budge until one has slowed down and shouted one’s self hoarse. I really think” but the rest of the sentence was cut short by the deafening sound of the whistle. A raft of cocoa-nuts from the lake had just turned a bend, and was in imminent danger of being cut through by our stem. It just shaved past our paddle-box by a hair’s breadth, amidst the vociferations of our sailors, who had been standing ready to pole off the floating mass.

Here and there was a canoe made fast in the stream to receive river-bed sand brought up, by native divers, in baskets. There is a great demand for it in Manila for making mortar. All along the banks we saw men, women, children and cattle bathing together—women washing clothes and men fishing with large hand nets.

When we got near Pinagbuhátan, at the mouth of the Santa river, I thought we were about to enter the lake, so I congratulated Don Bruno on having got out of his trouble for that journey.

“Ca!” ejaculated the old mariner, “this is just where the trouble would begin for one who did not know every inch of the route as I do. This is a flood. The river course is lost to view. Come again in the dry season and you will see how different it is.”

We appeared at least to be crossing a lake, but, in effect, it was only a fluvial inundation due to the late rains in the mountain district.

“Do you see that steam-launch belonging to Señor ——? well, it draws only two feet of water and is not in the river at all; it is now

crossing swamped rice paddy fields to make a short cut and save the turns."

But Don Bruno did not deviate from the track he knew so well. It seemed strange to me for the first time to be gliding along between rows of huts and clusters of bamboos emerging from the water. Being almost an annual occurrence, the natives become quite accustomed to it, and not in the least alarmed. The communication between the huts was by canoe, although a few low-built shanties had been abandoned where the water had reached the top storey.

To get to the steamer by seven o'clock in the morning, we had taken coffee so early that we felt it was eleven o'clock without looking at our watches. We had crossed the Barra de Napindan, and were in the Laguna de Bay when breakfast was announced.

After my half-caste friend had discussed sugar crops with the captain, the conversation became more general. Our worthy host, the genial Don Bruno, could not have been more complaisant or attentive. The wind was freshening from the north, the steamer tilted to one side, and Don Bruno, like a veritable old salt, told us how lives had been lost in the lake, which was not exempt from the fury of typhoons.

There is nothing grand in the view of the lake from the regular steamer, because to call at Viñan and Calamba we ran down the west coast with a vast plain always before us. The contrast to the beautiful Pasig was unfavorable. To the east, on the Mórong side, are low mountain ranges, of which one sees only the outlines, whilst before us were high peaks in the distance.

At 1.30 we cast anchor between an islet and the shore of Calamba, and, after bidding farewell to good old Don Bruno, I got into a prahu which was being washed and bumped up against the steamer side. My half-caste friend followed, and we filled up with a crowd of natives, baskets and luggage. Off went the steamer to Santa Cruz, whilst we were paddled and poled to within fifty yards of the shore, where we grounded. Then the water came rolling in at the stern, until we and our portmanteaux were fished out by natives, almost naked, whose shoulders we mounted, as if they were horses, to get to the beach. We were not at Calamba yet, but at a fishing village some twenty minutes' drive from the town. *Carromatas* were waiting for us, and away we drove to the convent—the half-caste and I with our servants. There

I made the acquaintance of the native parish priest, Father Leoncio Lopez, who, it appeared, was related by marriage to my half-caste friend. Father Leoncio was the most intelligent native priest whom I have ever met. He was really a man of learning and practical knowledge, one of the exceptions of his race. How little did I then think that we were destined to become intimate friends, and that it would be my lot to comfort him on his death-bed at the house of his wealthy relation who had introduced me to him !

Calamba is a very dreary town. The Town Hall was merely a sugar shed ; the streets are always either muddy or dusty. There are three or four large houses of well-built exterior. The market, held on Fridays, is of considerable local importance, natives coming there from great distances. The market-place is, however, always dirty and disorderly. Nearly all the landed property within the jurisdiction of Calamba, and as far as the town of Los Baños, belonged to the Dominican Corporation, whose administrators resided in the *casa hacienda*, or estate-house, in the town. The land was rented out to native planters, chiefly for rice and sugar crops. In the vicinity there are several European steam and cattle power sugar-mills, and many of the inhabitants are comparatively well off. Calamba is situated at the foot of the Maquiling mountain, once an active volcano.

Following the lake shore in a *carromata* in an easterly direction, with the lake on the left and cultivated plains on the right, I arrived in an hour along a pretty road at the town of Los Baños, or the Baths. The town owes its origin to the hot springs flowing from the Maquiling mountain, which have been known to the natives from time immemorial when the place was called Maynit, which signifies "hot."

At the close of the 16th century, these mineral waters attracted the attention of Fray Pedro Bautista (one of the martyrs of Japan), who sent a brother of his order to establish an hospital for the natives. The brother went there, but shortly returned to Manila and died. So the matter remained, and nothing further was done for years. Afterwards a certain Fray Diego de Santa Maria, an expert in medicine and the healing art, was sent there to test the waters. He found they contained properties which rendered them highly beneficial in curing rheumatism and certain other maladies, so since then many natives and Spaniards went there to seek bodily relief. But there was no convenient abode for the visitors ; no arrangements for taking the baths. The

Government did nothing. A Franciscan friar was sent there as chaplain to the sick visitors, but his residence was very incommodious and inadequate for the lodging of patients. The priest declared the project of establishing an hospital impracticable for want of funds, and returned to Manila. In 1604, the Governor-General, Pedro de Acuña, gave his attention to this place, and consented to the establishment of an hospital, church and convent. The hospital was constructed of bamboo and straw, and dedicated to Our Lady of Holy Waters.

Fray Diego de Santa Maria was appointed to the vicarage and the charge of the hospital. The whole was supported by gifts from the many sick persons who went there, but the greatest difficulty was to procure food. Several natives made donations of lands, with the produce of which the hospital was to be maintained. These gifts, however, proved insufficient. The priests then solicited permission from the inhabitants of the village of Pila (on the lake shore near Santa Cruz) to pasture cattle on the tongue of land on the opposite coast called Jalajala, and which belonged to them. Their consent was given, and a cattle ranche was established there; subsequently, a building was erected, and the place was in time known as the *Estancia de Jalajala*. Then the permission was asked for and obtained from the Pila natives to plant cocoa-nut palms, fruit trees, and vegetables. Later on, the Austin and Franciscan friars quarrelled about the right of dominion over the place and district called Maynit, but in the end the former gave way and ceded their alleged rights in perpetuity to the Franciscans.

In 1640 Los Baños (formerly a dependency of Bay, under the Austin friars) was constituted a "town." The Franciscans continued to beg one concession after another, until at length, in 1671, stone buildings were commenced—a church, convent, hospital, bathing-pond, vapour-house, etc. being constructed. Natives and Europeans flocked in numbers to these baths, and it is said that people even came from India to be cured.

The property lent and belonging to the establishment, the accumulated funds, and the live stock had all increased so much in value, that the Government appointed an administrator. Henceforth the place declined; its popularity vanished; the administrator managed matters so particularly for his own benefit, that food again became scarce, and the priest was paid only \$10 per month as salary. In

Jalajala a large house was built; the land was put under regular cultivation; tenants were admitted; but when the property was declared a Royal demesne, the Pila inhabitants protested, and nominally regained possession of the lent property. But the administrators re-opened and contested the question in the law-courts, and, pending these proceedings, they rented Jalajala from the Government. During this long process of legal entanglements, the property had, several times, been transferred to one and another until the last holder regarded it as his private estate.

The Bathing Establishment was gradually falling to decay, until its complete ruin was brought about by a fire, which left only the remnant of walls. The priest continued there as nominal chaplain of The Baths, with his salary of \$10 per month and an allowance of rice. The establishment was not restored until the Government of Domingo Moriones (1877-80). A vapour-bath-house and residence were built, but the hospital was left unfinished, so that in November, 1888, it was still rotting away from neglect.

Three hours' journey from Los Baños, on the river Malauin, 1,000 feet above sea-level, there is a boiling lake called Natungos. In the Laguna de Bay, about 1,800 yards from Los Baños shore, there is a small island in which is an oval-shaped lake 4,000 feet across at the widest part, called "crocodile lake" (*Laguna de caimanes*)—depth unknown, but ascertained to be over 200 feet.

The portion of the Hospital of Los Baños which is intact, and the house attached, which the natives call "the palace," still serve to accommodate invalids who go to take the hot baths. These baths should only be taken in the dry season—December to May.

Besides the convent and church, the town simply consists of a row of dingy bungalows on either side of the high road, with a group of the same on the mountain side. On subsequent occasions I have had some good wild duck shooting on the lake between Calamba and Los Baños. The lake here forms a kind of bay, in which thousands of aquatic plants, like cabbages—called *quiapos*—drifting about the lake, collect and cover this inlet, giving it the appearance of a floating lawn. Leaving Calamba in a canoe about 5 o'clock in the morning, one can paddle up to the vegetable mass, and pole into it by sunrise. Then one must be ready with the gun, for the ducks are very shy, and raise their heads from under the *quiapos* only for an instant. There is only sport

to be gained in this. As to the food to be got from them, they are so bony, that half-a-dozen barely make a scanty meal. After 8 o'clock scarcely a duck will be seen, and, in order not to weary himself, the sportsman should pole through the *quiapos* into the swamp amongst the tall trees, where he will find plenty of native birds—*bato-bató* pigeons, *bac-bac* and *tic-lin*,¹ all very fleshy and excellent eating.

From Los Baños I continued my journey in a *carromata* as far as Santa Cruz, the modern capital of the Laguna Province, the old provincial centre being Pagsanjan. It is comparatively a large town—the principal port of the lake. There is a bamboo jetty when a hurricane has not blown it away. It is an important local centre—the meeting-place for all the neighbouring cocoa-nut, nut-oil, and live stock dealers. The Town Hall is well built. The principal thoroughfare is called the *Escolta*, named after that of Manila. On market days there is no town more lively within 50 miles of Manila. The church is a very large stone building, which suffered severely from the earthquake of 1880, quite half of it having been reduced to ruins.

At that date chief judges were Governors of provinces. I took with me a letter of introduction to H. E. Don Francisco de Yriarte, the Alcalde-Governor, whom I found at home in the Government House. Due to the refined taste of His Excellency, the official residence was a very fine building, the façade elegantly adorned, and the whole edifice, inside and outside, as imposing as an earthquake country under a tropical sun would permit.

Had I been a prince, Don Francisco could not have welcomed me more cordially. He had that easy grace and noble bearing typical of the Spanish cavalier of the old school. He showed me over the Government House, which contained spacious saloons furnished in the most modern style: a very fine round table, the top of which was one solid piece of wood 21 feet in circumference; native-carved chairs from Paete, and several paintings, especially one of the Madonna and Child—extremely beautiful. The sleeping rooms were all elegantly fitted out—one of them entirely in Japanese style. The stables, although far from perfect according to British ideas, were comparatively excellent for this Colony.

“You have taken possession of your house,” said His Excellency, using the customary Spanish compliment, “and now I leave you, whilst

¹ *Rallus torquatus*. Lin.

I despatch business in my bureau. The carriage is at your disposal and waiting at the door, so, till presently ; we lunch at noon you know—the conventional hour.”

I drove off to the house of a notary and sugar-cane planter and presented my letter of introduction. I wished to see his estate. He told me I was welcome to go out there, twenty minutes drive from town, but he could not accompany me until the afternoon, so we appointed 3 o'clock. Then I called on the petty-governor,—and having sent back the Governor's carriage, we went out together in a *carromata* to his plantation. Just off the high-road was his mill with vertical stone rollers and molave wood teeth to gear one into the other. It was of the most primitive kind, such as the Chinese made for the natives centuries ago. The mill was being driven by two buffaloes, part of the expressed juice running through a bamboo conduit to Chinese boiling-pans for concentration, and the residue going off with the crushed cane to waste. The old man listened to my suggestions that he should use at least an European cattle-power mill, if not a steam-mill. I pointed out to him the great saving it would bring, but he yielded nothing to my arguments. “I have no capital,” he said, “and then if the iron mill broke, what should I do? Take it to Manila to be mended whilst my cane is being parched in the fields? No, our old style may be wasteful, but it costs less, and we have our remedies against breakages on the spot.”

The mill was sheltered by a nipa palm-leaf thatching, on bamboo supports. The cattle, abreast, trudged round at a very slow pace, making now and again a sudden spurt as the *bata*, a little six-year old rascal, switched them with a rattan. Each jerk brought a great strain on the mill, but fortunately the roll-gearing held out. The battery of Chinese pans was in a line, in a pit, where the half-naked stoker was constantly feeding the pan-furnace underneath with sun-dried megass. Alongside of this pristine sugar factory was the bungalow, the ground floor of which served as a temporary store for the sugar, as it was turned into burnt clay-pots (*pilonas*). There they drained on the *ollas* until some Chinese broker, making his rounds from one estate to another, would buy the sugar.

I kept my appointment with the notary, and then returned to the Government House, where I took chocolate at about half-past four o'clock with the Governor. A cool breeze was coming across the river

as we sat smoking and chatting, to kill time, until the sun was sufficiently low to venture out in an open carriage. Between five and six we drove through the *Escolta*, down to the lake, and back through the principal thoroughfares. It was near sunset; the *siestas* were over; everybody was up and about; the children were gambolling in the roads. The little shanty stores presented a scene of activity; women and children were making their small purchases for the evening meal, and the young men were generally loafing or arranging their gambling-tables and cards for the licensed *panguingui*. Old men and women, who had been resting all the sunny hours of the day, were taking their legs out for a trial trot. Wherever we passed, the men politely doffed their head-gear—hats or cloths—whilst the women sullenly stared without making salute or curtesy.

We stopped once before a group of natives who had come out of their dwellings to kiss the hand of the parish priest as he took his evening stroll. His Reverence did not seem the least bit concerned at their devotion—he was too used to it—his natural right of course—so he went on mechanically dispensing his benedictions on the faithful as he chatted with us. “Adios padre!” we exclaimed—“Adios Señores!” and we returned to the Government House, where we dined at 8 o’clock.

There were several invited to dinner; the notary, the administrator and other officials came. All seemed bent on making themselves as agreeable as possible to the foreign visitor. I was to go duck-shooting; I was to hunt deer at the foot of the Monte San Cristóbal; I was to visit the Cascade of Botócan—but for all these pleasures in store, I was begged to wait a few days. A few days in Santa Cruz! Not I. It is hardly a place to spend days in. It is amusing for a twenty-four hours’ visit, so I frustrated all their plans by asserting the imperative necessity of continuing the route I had planned out, but I would return another day. The next morning I took myself off to Pagsanjan in the Governor’s carriage. It is a forty minutes’ drive from Santa Cruz through groves of cocoa-nut palms. The approach to the old provincial capital is guarded by a massive stone entrance through which one enters into the town. Pagsanjan has the appearance of a once flourishing and important centre. And so it was. At a time when much of the present Manila-Chinese trade was in the hands of half-castes—when all one side of the Rosario was occupied by *mestizo*

sellers of stuffs—Pagsanjan was their home, the repository of their trade earnings. They formed a clique; they had little competition to fear outside their own circle, and their conservative system of mutual protection founded their fortunes. The houses of the main thoroughfare—the High Street—are built in the old style of stone with tile roofs, and here and there a modern wooden innovation. One side of the town is on a slope, and, from a rising ground still farther back, one can get a fine *coup d'œil* of the country around—extensive valleys, once sylvan wilds, but now artificial forests of cocoa-nut palms. There were two Town Halls, one for half-caste and another for pure native affairs, each with its petty-governor and contingent of officials.

I alighted at the native Town Hall. I knew no one in the town, but strolling about I happened to drop into a little store where European canned meats and preserves and bottled refreshments were sold. There I lunched. The owner, a young half-caste, was very obliging, and I accepted his offer to take me to his house on the rising ground. His family were fairly well to-do. His father was a clerk in one of the Government Offices in Santa Cruz; they had also a few plots of cultivated land, whilst the store served as a profitable amusement.

“If you like to stay here to-night, I can offer you a couch, and to-morrow morning we will shoot down the river as far as Lúmbang. Then after sending our guns and game to the house, we will turn back up the river and visit the cascade.”

I accepted, so at five the next morning we were in our canoe with two paddles, a *bata*, provisions, guns, ammunition, and a net. The river was thickly wooded down to the banks on either side, and from sunrise until half-past seven there was no lack of birds and *iguanas* (a kind of lizard from one to four feet long). We took our breakfast afloat, and then sent the *bata* to the house with the net full of our victims, the guns, etc., whilst we proceeded up stream.

We passed by a small cocoa-nut oil factory—a rough shed with rougher apparatus, where almost as much oil was lost as was gained.

The current was becoming stronger and the river more shallow, until at length our men had to wade it, to lighten the canoe and pull it over the boulders.

On either side were gigantic rocky cliffs, computed to be over a thousand feet to the top, and in an hour-and-a-half we were at the

cascade. It was not a clear sheet of water, but an irregular fall from boulder to boulder. At the bottom of this deep chasm we sat contemplating it for half an hour. The marvellous grandeur of the locality—the powerful rush of water, and the immensity of the ravine made me feel my own relative insignificance.

We returned to town, having taken a bath on the way. From the Town Hall I got saddle and pack ponies to go on to Majayjay, *viâ* Magdalena, but whenever I saw a cocoa-nut oil factory, or the chimney of a sugar-boiling house, I went off the route to visit it, so that we did not arrive at Majayjay until the evening. Majayjay is one of the most picturesque villages in the Colony. It is crossed and re-crossed by deep clefts, the sides of which are covered with foliage, and are connected by massive stone bridges. There is one street, properly so called, the others being short rows of bungalows with a wooden, or wood and stone, cottage here and there. In the centre of this group of dwellings stands the church and convent—a fine noble old edifice, reminding one of the ancient English abbeys; the church, with its lofty tower and belfry which the priest kindly allowed me to ascend.

Majayjay stands on high ground. In three hours the traveller has passed from the flat—often swamped—banks of the Laguna de Bay, the waters of which can just be discovered, to 600 feet above the sea-level, whilst, on the other side, the eye is carried still farther to the profile of comparatively colossal mountain peaks—the Banájao and the San Cristóbal. The view from the church is superb. All the surrounding villages can be descried like specks in the midst of a thickly matted palm forest—an endless profusion of verdure.

I had lunched with the amiable parish priest, and our ponies were ready for the journey to the Cascade of Botócan and thence to Lúgbang. The road on the mountain ridges is covered all the way with roundish stones about the size of one's head. The ponies are used to it, but have to pick out a stepping very carefully to avoid breaking their legs. My poor little animal floundered about so much, that I expected any minute he would come on his knees, but experience had made him cautious.

Nowhere was there a couple of hundred yards of straight road before us, so that we seemed to be constantly descending and ascending into a mass of lovely foliage. On either side there was a luxuriant vegetation: gigantic ferns, tall *buri* palms, the fibres of whose leaves

serve for plaiting a hundred useful articles ; here and there palms of other species ; wild strawberries in abundance ; a rich undergrowth, and graceful festoons of leafage on the slopes down the deep ravine at our sides, with dense forest on the mountain heights, forming a charming background. Everything around us denoted an exuberant fertility which gave a dazzling splendour to the spectacle. There were perhaps a dozen streams on our way, three or four of which were rustically bridged over with bamboos. At each rivulet there was an exquisite landscape—the rippling currents beating over smooth boulders between two high beds of tropical plants to find their outlet under our feet down the ghyll. Who could gaze on such beauties of Nature without emotions of rapture ?

I left my little nag to himself. I found he was more capable of guiding me than I him. We turned sharp off to the left, and up the steep mountain path leading to Botócan. In ten minutes we could hear the distant murmur of the torrent forming the cascade. We were nearing a little hut, where some *huri* cutters lived. The women rushed out to ask for money. In ten minutes more we were beholding the famous Waterfall of Botócan. The fall is computed to be about 600 feet in an almost unbroken sheet of water, some 60 feet wide. It was grandly fascinating. One could sit unwearied for hours to watch the never-ceasing silvery stream. At Niágara Falls I did so, but here there was no shelter from the sun, so in half-an-hour we turned back to our stony path and continued the journey to Lúgbang.

About a mile this side of the town the road was good—muddy certainly, but we were able to get our ponies into a trot. The land was just flat enough for cultivation. Terraced fields of rice were planted out on either side. We could see the whole of the town before us, for Lúgbang is some 800 feet higher than Majayjay. We arrived at the Town Hall, a large well-built stone edifice, with a spacious saloon and private rooms, to accommodate travellers. Lúgbang is a very clean town, with concrete canals on both sides of the streets, bridged over at every crossing. The main street, where the native shops are, is very tidy. There are scores of good houses, and the large stone church and convent stand in the centre of the *plaza* or square.

At the Town Hall I met some foreigners who had arrived from the south, and were going the road I had come. They were to leave the next morning very early in hammocks, so the *Alguacil*, the official

who attended to travellers' wants, had the twenty-four hammock-bearers locked up below, otherwise they would not have been forthcoming at the hour of starting. I called at the convent to see the priest, a very jolly Biscayan, and yielded to his persuasion to pass the night there. Having lived for years in his native province, we got along admirably well, and he gave me a very hearty welcome. The next day I hired ponies and a guide, who accompanied me, to visit the plantations.

Cocoa-nut oil seems to be the chief trade, and my guide took me to several factories. We did not return till the evening, for my day's peregrinations took me some distance up the Banájao mountain, whence I obtained a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

With fresh ponies we left Lúgbang for Tayabas and Pagbilao. Tayabas is the capital of the province of that name, which we entered on leaving Majayjay. It differs very little from Lúgbang. It has some good houses and a large church and convent on high ground. Streams of clear water from the Banájao run through the street canals. At night, heavy dews fall here, and after sunset it is imprudent to be in the open air without extra clothing or an umbrella, for fever seizes the incautious.

I called on the provincial governor, whose acquaintance I had made long before in Bulacan. He invited me to dinner and to accompany him, his wife and two charming daughters to the annual feast of Sariaya. He and his family went in their carriage, and a dozen of us—all Europeans—formed a cavalcade, each having his clean suit in the coachman's box. We were a merry party until the rain fell in torrents. The carriage stuck in the mud, from which it was at last lifted out with bamboos. We entered the village of Sariaya grimy and drenched to the skin. The rain ceased; every house was open to receive the *Señor Gobernador* and his party. Our boys washed our clothes and we went dry to the ball, which lasted till the early hours. Then I bid *adieu* to my friends and trotted down to Pagbilao. I alighted at a wretched hovel, which served as a Town Hall, and was making my arrangements for a prahu to convey me the next day to Laguimanoc when the parish priest—a Franciscan friar—who was taking his evening walk—called in and kindly invited me to his convent, where I supped and stayed the night.

There is nothing remarkable in the dreary village of Pagbilao, which stands about a mile up the river. The next morning I embarked

in the prahu with two paddlers and a pilot. We descended the river, bordered on both sides with mangrove swamp¹ to the open sea, where we set sail, and after a pleasant three hours' run through the channel to the north of Pagbilao Island, we landed at Laguimanoc, which is a ward of Atimonan town. The village is on a promontory, very prettily situated in front of Capulúan Island. It consists of one street, formed by two rows of wretched huts, with a wooden cottage dotted here and there down the slope. There was also the office, house, timber-yard and establishment of Mr. Henry Brown, an Englishman², who had been many years resident in this out-of-the-way corner, and was liked by everybody. Laguimanoc has a very good harbour, and was a port of call for the subsidized mail steamers. The only trade here is building timber and firewood, by far the greater part being then in the hands of Mr. Brown. I was his guest, and he generously lent me a sailing-boat for my excursions around. I went over to a small islet and brought down a few birds, and then, returning to the mainland, a little north of the village, I went ashore and succeeded in shooting a couple of monkeys. Laguimanoc is hardly a spot an European would choose for a long residence, unless it were to make money. Upon this peak there is literally no space to ride or drive, and a walk is only obtainable under difficulties. The road to the town of Atimonan, of which Laguimanoc is a dependency, is abominable at all seasons, so I freighted a prahu with five men and arranged to leave for San Juan de Boeboe at midnight, to have the advantage of the moon and the early morning breeze.

I got down to our craft, and Nicomedis, my servant, stowed the baggage in the little cabin, which was just large enough for it and me, but only one man was on board; the others were about in all directions. The lieutenant of the village made a search for them, and, one by one, they were secured. We had just started, two hours late, when I perceived that one of the fellows was drunk (a rare occurrence by the way), so I had to put back and send him ashore in exchange for another.

¹ There are three kinds of swamp tree—*Tangil*, useful for fencing, roof framing, etc.—*Bacauan*, the best kind of firewood,—and *Langary*, an inferior kind of firewood.

² His business was subsequently taken over by a Limited Liability Company incorporated in Hongkong 16th May, 1889.

At 3 a.m. we were fairly on the run, but the wind only favoured us by little intermittent gusts, so that we were twelve hours sailing along the S.E. coast of Tayabas.

In front of San Juan de Bocbob the sea is very shallow ; we were constantly running aground, and passed half an hour, in vain, trying to find the channel. At last we gave it up as a bad job. Nicomedis got into the water and waded through with my saddle-bags on his head whilst I—straddled on the shoulders of a native—rode to shore. From the beach we took a path in the direction of San Juan, but as our progress was soon interrupted by a large morass, I waited whilst Nicomedis went back to hail the other men. One remained in charge of the prahu, whilst the others came to our assistance.

We formed a single line procession of six, one in advance to discover the route for the march through the black pestiferous slime—two carrying respectively my saddle and leather saddle-bags and wallet—one for me to ride—and another behind as his relay. Now and again we could hear the dull thump of the bohie-knife on the mangrove trees which were being felled around us for fuel. We halted, but no one could be seen. Then my biped called upon his relay to relieve him and after a deal of fumbling, in which I nearly took a header into the mire, I was transferred to the reserve carrier. His collar-bone was sharper than the other man's, and I felt how little dignified would be my entry into San Juan if we had to continue in this fashion. However, we were soon out of it, coming on to an open green plot whence a good road, with a broken bridge, led to the town. San Juan lies very low—in a hole in fact—and it has several times been so completely inundated, that the inhabitants have had to get from house to house on rafts. The country all around is planted with sugar-cane. There are half-a-dozen substantial houses in the town besides bungalows of wood, bamboos and palm-leaf. The church looked like a barn, with a dilapidated convent of wooden boards and thatched roof. Not knowing a soul in the place, I took up my quarters in a tumble-down wooden building which was pointed out to me as the Town Hall. Some question of local interest was being discussed by the headmen when I entered ; but they all turned their attention to the *Castila* as I was called. After the usual questions—"Where did I come from, where was I going, and what was my business?"—I was invited, out of pity undoubtedly, to shift my

lodging to a private house. My host happened to be the son of the richest planter here, and he took me to the best house in the town, built of stone and fine timber and covered with an iron roof.

The next day my host had to visit his sugar estate.—“Would you like to go?” he inquired—“Certainly;” and we were provided with splendid ponies for the excursion. We reached his plantation, lunched at the bungalow, and, with a man he lent me as guide, I scoured the country around, from estate to estate, for two days more. The owners were there; and they were all very hospitable, and satisfied all my numerous inquiries. On Saturdays they usually go to San Juan to hear mass the next day and return on the Monday to their labours. I got back to San Juan in the afternoon, three days after I had set out. My host conjectured I was lost.—“What is there to be seen about here?” I asked; “Very little,” he replied, “but if you are not too tired, we will look round the village and then visit the salt fields.” So we called at several headmen’s houses, where I was courteously offered cigars, beer, or sugar and water; then we went to the public billiard-room—a rough-and-tumble shed with a wooden table, which served to amuse the rusties after mass on Sundays. The salt fields are close by. They are terraced flats into which sea-water is conducted, and from which the salt is obtained by evaporation in the heat of the sun. When once full, they are securely banked up until the dry product is ready to be taken off the surface.

It was past sunset when we were crossing the square of the town. The angelus-bell had announced vespers. The villagers, wherever they might be, stood, facing the church. We stopped too, until a continuous peal from the belfry burst forth to tell us that another day had closed. My host and I looked at each other simultaneously—saluted with a “*buenas noches*,”—“good night,” and as we passed the townspeople on our way the same greeting in native dialect met us—*gabi-pó*; *gabi-pó naman* we both replied.

The priest was watching us from the window of his convent—“*Buenas noches, padre*,” I exclaimed,—“*Buenas noches*.” “Shall we go up?” I said in a low voice to my host. “Oh, you go alone, I’ll see you at home presently.” The priest, perceiving our hesitation, called out: “Won’t you come up?” “Yes, Father, thanks”; so my host went his way—why not with me? I reflected, as I mounted the convent steps. The holy friar’s reception was very cordial, and when

we had settled into chairs—lighted our cigars and he had invited me to take chocolate, conversation turned on all sorts of subjects. He seemed really pleased to have an European to talk to. We touched on everything and discussed nothing earnestly, until he disclosed to me his hobby. He had made up his mind to remove the town of San Juan to another place, on high land, where it would be free from floods. The townspeople—the house and landed proprietors rather—had formed a clique to oppose him. They urged that their interests would greatly suffer by such a reform, but what were these compared with the interests of the Church and the health of the pastor? So the shepherd and his flock were at variance, and my host was not of the priest's way of thinking. We sat chatting until the supper was on the table, and the kind *padre* would not let me go. No, he would send a message to my lodging to say that I was going to sup at the convent. We were at table, when down came the rain in torrents, beating with fury against the oyster-shell window panes.

“A nice journey you will have to-morrow to Rosario,” remarked the *padre*, “but there! we are in the wet season; to-morrow and the next day may be the same, but you are welcome to stay here as long as you please. At least you can't go through this rain to your lodging; stay here, I will send a message to let them know.”

The hospitality was so genuine—the good father so solicitous of my comfort, that I willingly yielded. As we smoked we talked of local affairs, politics, crops and religion until the ten o'clock bell reminded us that each had better go his way for the night.

The next morning the father had said mass; we had taken our chocolate, and I went to see my planter friend to say good-bye and thank him.

The ponies, hired for the journey, I sent to the convent door with my luggage. It was 7 o'clock; the day was bright, but the effect of the heavy rains was only too visible. “*Adios, padre*,” I exclaimed. —“*Adios, Don Juan*, and a pleasant journey to you.”

We were on the way to Rosario. Nicomedis took the saddle-bags on his pony, and the guide threw my waterproof wallet across his, whilst my nag followed in the rear. We trotted for five minutes to the river, which we had to wade up to the ponies' bellies, so I strung my shoes and socks around my pony's neck, and put on my sandals.

E E

We went on for about five miles, and then our troubles began. The route was no longer a road—it was a mud track. Our ponies were up to their knees in mud, struggling as best they could, one after the other in Indian file. But they kept on their legs and advanced; that was the main point. A couple of miles more were covered, when we came to a slight descent. At the bottom was a large pool of mud obstructing our passage altogether. The guide was in the middle of it, and I halted to see the result. It was a “toss up of a sapenny” whether he would get out of it on the pony. It came down on its haunches, then wavered to and fro, and I calculated it was sinking, but the native flapped his legs, shouted, and urged it, until, by a desperate effort, it landed on the other side. I hung my revolver to my neck and tried a new place, but was not long in doubt about my luck. My poor little steed had walked clean into the deepest part, and forthwith took a mud bath. It was a regular dip, and he was completely submerged; so, to liberate myself from his plunging, I made a jump into the pool and scrambled along somehow. I looked around, and just saw my pony’s head—such a pitiable object! I had only got up to my waist in mud. My pony cast a longing glance behind as if he would willingly return to his stable, but Nicomedis kept him off the idea, and there he stuck.

The guide tied up his animal, although there was no fear that he would bolt, and felt his way to the other side again to fetch my saddle-bags. So far the luggage was safe; how Nicomedis was going to cross was, as yet, problematical.

As we were reflecting on what should be done—for my pony seemed destined to become a fixture—a native woman, apparently a well-to-do peasant, came along in a tall sledge—a *parágus*—drawn by a couple of splendid buffaloes. She accosted me, and seemed very much concerned about my predicament. She addressed me as Don Juan, and evidently had seen me before. It turned out that she was the mother of my native planter friend in San Juan, and that the day previous, before the heavy rain fell, she had left the house to visit some fields in this direction which she was having drained. She seemed really very anxious about me, and had one of her buffaloes taken out of the sledge and yoked to my pony, which was hauled out by force. Whilst this was going on, one of her rustics arrived on a hack. “Are you really going on to Rosario?” she asked. “It is

ten leagues from San Juan." "Yes," I said, "I never like to turn back." "But there are brigands on the way ; sixteen of them have just turned off the high road towards the plantations, and they will see you. I will send my man back to tell six of my people to accompany you on ponies as far as the estate-house of Don Juan" (a proprietor in Lipa). I thanked her and mounted her man's pony, whilst he led my animal, which was in too indecent a condition for riding, to a bungalow close by. Nicomedis' pony was attached by a piece of bush-rope to the buffalo, so that, by hook or by crook, he had to get through the pool. At the hut, we—the ponies and I—had a wash down, the natives kindly throwing cocoa-nut shells full of water over us. Then, following the good old woman's orders, six of her men, mounted on tiny nags, escorted me to the estate-house of Don Juan, where I rested for an hour and lunched.

"This is really awful," said Don Juan's nephew, a young Basque ; "I have to be day and night on the *qui vive* for the bandits roaming about here. I have made up my mind to return to Lipa until the country is safer, so I'll trouble you to take a letter to my uncle telling him so."

Fortunately there was a *parágus* sledge going to Rosario, and I hired it for the journey. The ponies were completely used up for that day. The sledge, drawn by a buffalo, moved at about three miles an hour, and we reached Rosario towards five o'clock in the afternoon. The Town Hall is very good. I went there to order a *carromata* and bullock to take me to Lipa, where I arrived in an hour.

Lipa¹ is the centre of the Batangas province coffee trade. It is a rich town, perhaps the wealthiest in the Colony, excepting the ports open to foreign trade. In 1888 it was raised from a *pueblo* to a *villa*, and ranked between a town and a city. The general aspect of Lipa is quite unique, many of the houses having two storeys above the ground-floor. The temperature there is exceptionally cool, the town lying very high above the sea-level, but residents say it is not a healthy site, on account of the damp attracted by the coffee plantations

¹ The first town of Lipa was formed in 1605, on the shore of the Bómbon Lake. In 1754, it was destroyed by the eruption of the Taal Volcano. The second town was established in a place called Paninsinguin, but the scarcity of water obliged the inhabitants to move on to its present site, which is about 17 miles from Batangas. The population of Lipa in 1886 was about 40,600 souls.

around. The church and convent together form an immense structure. There is a deep ravine at the north entrance to the town, crossed by a massive stone viaduct. The finest ponies and a few horses are to be seen in Lipa, but it is not a good market for purchasing them. The wealthy inhabitants will pay more than others to secure handsome, sound animals, but they will reluctantly part with them even at exorbitant prices.

The two-storied houses are (with two or three exceptions) badly designed inside. There was a little sugar-cane grown on the estates belonging to Lipa, but the land was chiefly occupied by coffee plantations, which extended for several miles around. Now it is the reverse, due to the worm in the coffee plants (*vide* page 337). Up to the year 1760, large quantities of wheat were produced in this neighbourhood. The cultivation of this cereal seems to have quite fallen into disuse in the Colony.

I had met a Lipa coffee-planter in Calamba, and now took advantage of his invitation to call upon him on my arrival. It was seven o'clock in the evening. He seemed delighted at my visit, and wished me to stay several days.

"At least we count upon you for to-morrow; we have a great day before us. I have a new nephew; and the feast of the baptism will take place at my brother-in-law's." Then he went on talking about his son, the hope of the family—how much he should like to send him to Hongkong to learn English. He was only wasting money in Manila in dress, ponies and amusements, and learning nothing but Manila semi-European manners, which were ill-suited for his becoming a coffee-planter or dealer. Later on, in a quiet corner, he poured forth his troubles to me. He was of the "spotted ones" by the parish priest, to whom he might, any day, fall a victim. He pointed to a high wall just outside a house which the friar had had built to shut the family off from the sight of the church door. How long his personal liberty would last was doubtful.

"Put yourself *al fresco*, Don Juan; make yourself comfortable," he said, for it was a sultry evening, so I took off my jacket and pulled out the tail of my China shirt. His wife was going to and fro—there was always something to do; moreover, it is the prevalent custom for the Philippine Islanders to associate only with their own respective sexes. They are only together quite *en famille* by necessity. If three

or four men and women go for a walk, the women take the lead together, and the men follow like poodles. If relations of the two sexes visit their friends, the woman visitor frequently remains in a separate room with the women of the family visited, and the two sexes only rejoin each other on leave-taking. The women—maidens or matrons—go to mass unaccompanied by their male relations or husbands, and, in the church, the women, in a body, separate from the men. At a meal, whether at home or as guests, the women get together; they do not understand being alternated with male guests.

Supper was laid *à la Russe*—all the dishes from first to last course on the table at once. They never drank wine themselves, but knew that it was an European custom, so I was served with a glass of moscatel after my soup—the *tinola*. For my host, wine was wine—he was not a connoisseur of sorts.

My host was out early the next morning; he was to be one of the sponsors at the baptism. Just on leaving, he called out “Make yourself at home, Don Juan; I will return for you after the ceremony with the carriage.” Everybody but the poorest rustic has some kind of vehicle and ponies, or a saddle pony, whilst many, who can only just make two ends meet by the produce of a plot of land, will keep their hacks. It is not a luxury in this climate, but a necessity, and a hardship to have to go on foot.

I took my chocolate and glass of water and waited for my host, who we will call Captain B,¹ for he was an ex-petty-governor. He returned shortly, and off we drove to the house of his brother-in-law, Captain G.¹

It was a large residence, with a wide staircase highly polished with plantain leaves for the occasion. Captain G. was at the top of the staircase. No presentation was necessary or usual. He had heard all about the *Castila's* arrival from his brother-in-law. He relieved me of my hat and conducted me to the *sala*—a large drawing-room about thirty feet wide and forty feet long. “My Señora,” said he, as a stout Chinese *mestiza* advanced towards us.

“*Buenos dias tengan Vds.*”—good day to you all—I said, on seeing a group of young women seated in arm-chairs and a half-dozen young men lounging together in a corner. There was a faint response

¹ B. and G. are only assumed initials.

from the men; the young women were too much preoccupied with their gala dresses and adornments to make any audible reply. I was not introduced to any one. It is not usual—and I do not know any of their names to this day. One has to find out by himself who he is talking to. The elderly men were dressed in black trousers with *piña* muslin shirts fastened down the front with enormous studs, some with diamonds, others with pearls. The young men—the high life of Lipa—were attired either in black or white trousers, one or two with European shirts and black jackets, others with muslin shirts. The women were in the usual costumes (described at page 412), with a large amount of jewellery, which must have cost some thousands of dollars between them.

It was a very awkward position to be in. The young women were apparently petrified by my presence. Not one spoke a word, and even had I been a native acquaintance it would have been a most terrible violation of their habits to have seated myself amongst them.

So I wandered carelessly over to the men and lighted a cigar, to do something, as I saw they were smoking. Then the *Señora* approached, and silently held before me cigars and *buyo* on a silver-plated salver. I took it as a compliment, but declined the offer, for Europeans do not chew, and I was smoking. With the men we managed to get up an edifying conversation about my journey, the bad roads, the difficulties attendant travelling, etc.

There was a bustling in the *caida*—the entrance hall. A peasant messenger had arrived. Captain G. was angry; there was evidently something amiss. He seemed to be vigorously laying down the law to his brother-in-law. For the want of something better to do, I sauntered towards them.

"Excuse me, Don Juan," he said, "but I shall have to leave you for a couple of hours. I just learn that the brigands have stolen eight or ten of my buffaloes, and I am going off to the estate to see about it."

"Oh, I'll accompany you," I said at once.

"No, no," insisted Captain G., "I don't want any one to be deprived of pleasure on my account."

"But I would like to see your *hacienda*, if you don't mind," I continued, thinking that by the time I came back the feast might have acquired a little more life. As it was, it was remarkably slow.

"Well, if you like, come."

“Most happy,” I replied, “for I wish to see the country as well as the town.”

In the dry season he could go to his plantation in a carriage, but the road was bad at this time, and we started off in a *carronata* with a couple of horses. The night had been fine, and this, with the morning sun, had just dried the mud sufficiently to make the road very heavy. Each clung to the rail which supported the roof of the vehicle. The ponies were high-blooded little animals and exerted every nerve to pull us out of the mire. We were jolted and bumped against each other, and against the rails, until we came to a standstill in a bog. The off-side pony was impatient; he reared and plunged so that the driver had to jump down to quiet him. Some field labourers coming along took hold of the wheels and lifted us bodily out of the hole, and off started the ponies, and snap went one shaft.

The native is ever fertile in resource. At once the driver got from the bushes, alongside of the road, a kind of leaf, the fibres of which he twisted into a rope, and lashed the broken shaft with it. Nothing else appeared to have yielded. We laboured on for another half-hour, until the ponies were so fatigued, that we had to stop to rest them. We were approaching a better road. By an extraordinary effort they reached this, and we were going along at a good pace, when suddenly the cord, passing from shaft to shaft under the pony's belly, gave way. Up tilted the vehicle; the driver rolled off; the ponies plunged; the shafts were up in the air, and Captain G. and I were on our backs inside the *carronata*. We were not hurt in the least. Our man righted the conveyance, and we jumped out and held the ponies, whilst he got into a field and found another twig with which to fasten the belly-rope. The road before us was fairly good, and we arrived, without further misadventures, near to Captain G.'s estate. We walked from the road along the *pilápil* of a terraced rice field towards the bungalow¹.

“We had better return mounted if you don't mind,” suggested Captain G., and, as I quite agreed, he gave instructions to his driver

¹ The usual native hut is of bamboo and palm leaves in Luzon Island, and all bamboo in Visayas. Their bed is a simple mat (*petate*, a Mexican word) spread on the split bamboo floor, whilst a pillow is hardly a luxury; some use them—others rest their heads on a block of wood.

to take back the conveyance and bring us a couple of saddled ponies. Meanwhile the native in charge was advancing towards us from the bungalow.

"*Arato-pó*"—"good day"—he said to each of us in his dialect as he politely pressed his right hand on his forehead and bent the left knee to salute.

Captain G. opened his inquiries cautiously, putting questions and cross-questions, followed by remonstrances, which flowed one after another, each time less patiently, until he lashed himself into a fury which seemed, however, to have little effect upon the passive pertinacity of his caretaker. The man had neglected to drive the buffaloes home to their pen last night, and they were no longer to be found.

"Tumble down there," cried Captain G. when he saw that the man recognized his fault. Then he calmly went to a corner to look for the great factor of civilization—the *bejuco*—a fine rattan cane which made more smarting than bruises.

"I shall give you twenty-five, and we'll see if this occurs again, and I shall add the buffalo to your debt." Thereupon he set to with the rattan, whilst the culprit lay on the floor, bellowing at each stroke.

Captain G. looked at me. He evidently thought he must explain away the necessity of such harshness. We were almost strangers; how could he guess what I thought of it?

"There is no other remedy but the lash," he observed. "The fellow already owes me forty dollars, and he will go on borrowing without scruple. It is no use talking to these men."

"I have been long enough in the Colony," I replied, "to understand that they have no sentiment to appeal to. But what a sad compulsion is the appeal to brute force between man and man!"

The ponies had arrived. We could hear them neighing in the high road, where they stood ready caparisoned, with the bridle hanging at the saddle bow, so we walked back past the rice fields and mounted. They were sturdy, graceful little creatures, and we let them have rein. In ten minutes we were at the mud again, but they bounded through it with an energy which conquers greater difficulties. Splashes flew in all directions, and when we arrived at Lipa, my white suit was piebald, so I went to Captain B.'s to change, and then rejoined the feast.

Several Europeans had arrived ; they were drinking German bottled beer *ad libitum* ; some had had as much as it was prudent to take.

There was a sugar broker, two government officials, an officer of the civil guard, and a Swiss pedlar standing around the glasses when I entered.

"*Señor Inglés*," they exclaimed, "a glass of beer."

"Where have you been whilst all the fun is going on?" asked the officer, a loquacious Andalusian. "How can you tear yourself away from all the flower of Lipa beauty?"

"There's time for everything," I replied. "I saw the flower of beauty, as you rightly say, this morning, and was loth indeed to quit such fragrance."

So we chatted and quaffed beer. Captain G., our host, was not to be seen. Everybody did as he liked. The person least visible and least necessary to the company present at a Philippine feast, is he who gives it. The boys were at our orders, and they would bring us what we might want.

We were in the *Caida*, and the girls in the drawing-room were so far animated that we distinctly heard a giggle. We had finished our glasses, and went in to join the ladies.

Some of the *jeunesse dorée* had approached within a yard of the girls' chairs. As we entered, there was perfect silence. In time the young men recovered their hilarity somewhat ; each girl had resumed her natural solemnity of countenance.

I was not going to tolerate this any longer. I deliberately seated myself near the women, and tried to open a conversation. It was no doubt a violence of their canons of good taste and manners. I began seriously and ended with frivolities, and had actually succeeded in raising a smile on the faces of two, and extracted a whimpering "*si*" or "*no*," when something went wrong with a girl's *coiffure*—another had to pin her *pañuelo* and must needs retire. Without any ceremony or apologies whatever, off went the two to a private room, the others following one by one, like a flock of sheep, until we men were left alone.

A band of music had started playing the "*Bella Filipina*" in front of the house. One of the girls in the private room had undoubtedly

said something very funny, for a series of screeches was heard in the drawing-room. The Andalusian who had talked himself dry, but could not be inactive for a moment, began whistling, and then, seeing a barrel-organ in the corner of the room, he turned the handle, and competed with the band.

A smile of satisfaction illuminated the visage of the *Señora*. "Here's *Padre*—," she exclaimed, in a suppressed voice, as she passed through the drawing-room and hastened on to the women's refuge. "Matilde, Matilde!" she called out, "here's *Padre*—*madali*—make haste," and the devout matron was just out into the *caída* in time to kiss the hand of the priest who entered.

Father— was the vicar of a neighbouring town—a Friar who showed no contempt for the good things of this world. Always "in fair round belly with good capon lined," he strove to harmonise his taste for liberal living with his teaching, that heaven could be gained by starvation and bodily suffering.

One after another the girls and the old fogies had kissed his hand—the young men had wished him "*buenos días*,"—we had all made our obeisance.

The company was henceforth divided into three factions: the Europeans, whose figure-head was the *padre*—the native men, and the *beau sexe*. Captain G. made his appearance at last.

"Hola Captain G.!" cried the *padre*, "where have you been hiding all this while?"

"Nowhere, father," meekly replied the captain, as he kissed the hand automatically extended towards his lips.

"Come, come," continued the priest jocosely, "there's something in the wind—what is it?"

"Nothing, father," said Captain G. timorously, "as to-morrow is cock-fighting day I was just seeing that everything was in order."

"Ah, so there are heavy bets on, eh?"

"I think the red cock has a chance, father"; and Captain G. anxiously awaited the first pause to withdraw, and so avoid further confessions.

The soup was on the table; the chairs were arranged in order: the young dudes were lounging at the window-sills, smoking cigarettes and spitting at every few puffs. The women guests were in the

bed-rooms and the kitchen—everywhere where guests should not be—whilst we Europeans sat together, discussing the news which the Manila periodicals had brought us.

“To the table, to the table, *Señores!*” exclaimed the priest, who took the lead and placed himself in the seat of honour.

“Come along, youngsters,” he cried, addressing himself to the young dandies, who showed a certain diffidence at seating themselves.

“And the girls?” inquired the Andalusian as he saw Captain G. enter giving his orders to his servants.

“They’re coming,” he replied. “*Oy niñas, niñas!* where’s Matilde? where’s Angelina? Why don’t they come? The *padre* is seated.”

But the soup was already served out all around, when, with an air of peevish reluctance, the young women slowly drew near to occupy the vacant chairs. There was a little shuffling and re-arranging of places; the damsels objected to be separated.

Captain G. shouted from the window to the band to resume playing, and then continued to busy himself with the service of the table. The *Señora* was keeping the cook up to his work; the sight of a kitchen in the East would spoil any European’s appetite. The girls were mute; the young gallants made their little jokes quietly, among themselves, whilst we were kept convulsed in laughter at the jests and mirthful controversies raised principally between the Andalusian officer, the sugar broker, and the Friar.

The dinner was over; it had been an hour of trial for the native guests, who were used to eating with their fingers; it was a day of triumph for Captain G., whose house was honoured with the visits of so many *Castilas*.

The women retired to their rooms; the men to the arm-chairs. The pedlar had vanished, but no one perceived it until we saw him re-enter, laden with a number of small boxes, followed by a native carrying a trunk. With his eye always to business, he had correctly judged that this hour, between two and three o’clock, was leisure time for all, and that, bored by the heat, we should at least amuse ourselves by examining his stock if we did not make purchases. The *Señora* was apparently in the secret, for she closely followed him into the drawing-room with eyes beaming curiosity. The best householders in the provinces seem to have no objection to converting their saloons into bazaars, for the convenience of itinerant vendors.

The goods were spread out on the centre table. There were French gold watches, chains, locketts, rings, hair-pins ; diamonds and pearls set in gold, as tiaras, sprays, etc. ; even shoes, silk gowns, musical boxes and silver-plated candlesticks formed items of the pedlar's wares. He kept his eye on all with apparent unconcern.

The *padre* was driving a bargain—he offered \$120 for a gold watch priced at \$200. One-hundred-and-fifty dollars was the very lowest figure.

“*Ay! Dios mio!*” vociferated the *Señora* as she picked up a small diamond and gold tiara, and rushed to the room where her Matilde was : “Come, all of you, come!” she cried to the young women. “How pretty !”

“What is it *nanay* ?” inquired Matilde.

“Here’s Don Benjamin with such beautiful jewellery,” shouted the *Señora*.

In ten minutes the girls had forgotten they were sleepy. The sight of the gems had actually moved them to enthusiasm.

They cackled and haggled and fluttered around the table with evident rapture—and with such peals of laughter, which more than compensated for their previous obmutescence.

The tiara was purchased ; the Friar’s bargain was closed at \$130 ; the *Señora* got her term of credit ; the priest would pay cash when Don Benjamin passed through his town.

Captain B. was going home, so I went with him. I understood that everybody was anxious to take the *siesta*. Captain G. had his dinner comfortably with his wife, in their own fashion : on the floor, using fingers. He accompanied us to the staircase, politely handed me my hat, and said “Till presently then ; we shall expect you to-night.”

We were walking to Captain B’s.—“What is there to-night ?” I inquired. “A dance, I suppose ?” “Yes,” he rejoined, “and I think my *Señora* will come too.”

The *siesta* was over, and we went for a drive. At every doorway the native was fondly caressing the pugnacious chanticleer, which was to show his prowess at the pit the next day. We called at a headman’s house, my friend, the captain, having some wagers to fix for the following day. He had heard that the *puti* cock was expected to vanquish the vaunted *bálic*. Just then the angelus-bell tolled, and no one took any notice of our entry. They were a devout family, and all

its members who were at home—the servants also, came up one by one, in the train of the *Señora*, who intoned an *Ave Maria*, and dropped on her knees before the images of the Holy Virgin and Saints Paul and Peter, which stood on a raised sideboard like the altar of an oratory. We all did likewise. The *Señora* took the lead, and the auditory chanted the responses.

In five minutes it was over. “*Buenas noches*,”—good night—exclaimed the heads of the family, whilst the children and the bevy of servants, male and female, came and knelt before us to kiss hands.

After supper at Captain B.’s, we returned to Captain G.’s house. There was quite a crowd. The band of music was playing an *habanera* dance. The place was brilliantly lighted; the gauze covers had been taken off the chandeliers for this special occasion. There was a side table with lemonade, bottled beer, cigars, etc., etc.

The powder lavished on the women’s faces gave them a more exsanguineous appearance than ever. The sight of so many spectral countenances was a novelty for me. Their jet-black hair, bedecked with diamond and gold pins, contrasted wonderfully with their chalk-whitened cuticles. The typical *tapis* was not to be seen; all wore long flowing skirts of silk or satin (*saya suelta*), so irksome to waltzers; they seemed, indeed, to have vied with each other in the length of their gowns. The dancing was over about two o’clock in the morning. The young native swells were in agonies under their cloth coats; they were wiping their perspiring faces with handkerchiefs, already looking like dish-cloths. The condition of the young women was still more pitiable; the sweat-drops rolling down their cheeks and necks had collected the *blanc de perle* on their way and converted it into pellets of paste. In my white drill suit, I imagine I suffered the least. Some of the Spaniards who had come simply to enjoy themselves, had brought with them *mestizo* shirts of *piña* and silk—but they were Spaniards, and they found no pleasure in aping European customs in a mid-tropical clime, to their own discomfort.

I left Lipa for Tanaúan in a *carromata*. Here sugar-growing begins again and extends up to the lake coast. Tanaúan is a most dreary, uninteresting place, but we had a lively time at the convent, where I found Padre José busy, when I entered, receiving mass fees. We were near Saint Nicholas’ day, and the relations of the defunct Nicholas were crowding in to purchase the father’s intervention for

the repose of their souls. One after another the devout timorously approached the table, laid down the dollar, gave the name of the deceased, kissed the priest's hand, made a genuflection before us, and retired to the end of the hall to squat on the floor and watch us. I was not the only guest. The Colonel of the Civil Guard was there *en passant*, making his tour of inspection; a well-known pedlar, Don Benito, was on his rounds, and the parish priest of Santo Tomás—the next village—had come to whisper a few words in the ear of the Colonel about the rural police. We were all well known to each other, so that at the dinner table, the mutual chaff, the dry jokes of the Colonel, and the anecdotes of the Alsatian jeweller kept us pretty merry. Of course the reverend fathers were bent on taking their usual *siesta*, but the Colonel decided they should not. The priest of Santo Tomás and I occupied one room; Father José had his own, and the Colonel and the pedlar another. The Colonel turned us off our mats, so we barricaded ourselves, but sleep was out of the question. We found a number of Taal riding-whips in the corner of the room with which we armed ourselves, and the end of it was that the Colonel invited us to open warfare. He and the pedlar piled up the chairs across the hall, and challenged us to break through them and drive our opponents into their room. The priest of Santo Tomás deserted us and went over to the adversary, but I had a stock of whips, of which I made good use on the deserter's legs when Father José and I broke through the barricade; but I got so waled myself that I had to beat a retreat, and Father José surrendered. After the fight we induced the pedlar, who had shut himself up, to open the door, and we all gave him a sudden douche bath with basins of water. After 5 o'clock chocolate, the pedlar made his calls in the village; the good *padre* went to take confessions, and the Colonel and I went for a stroll until supper time, when I bid them all "good-bye," for I had my ponies ordered for 5.30 in the morning.

From Tanaúan to Suplan is a pretty ride. I arrived there in a couple of hours. There was a deal of mud, but the distance was short, and our ponies were comparatively good. The half of the road near Suplan is steep, but very picturesque, as, little by little, one ascends to a height which overlooks the country for many miles round.

I could not say exactly where Suplan village begins or ends. I saw a hut here and there, and continued the route until I arrived at

the outpost of the civil guard, standing quite isolated on a rising ground. Looking from this place, there are few landscapes more delightful within a week's journey of Manila. To the south, one has a bird's-eye view of the Bómbon Lake, with the volcano in the centre, and volcanic islets around. To the N.E., there is the Laguna de Bay; at one's back, the Sungay mountain,¹ about 2,500 feet high, covered with dense forest. In the valley, on the Bómbon Lake border, one discerns the church of Talisay village.

Having arrived at Suplan in the afternoon, I was there at sunset, and at sunrise the next morning—the best hours to scan this grand panorama. A Spanish corporal was in charge of the outpost, and he at once invited me to share his room. As I had plenty of provisions with me, I did not hesitate to accept his generous offer. After breakfast the next day, he mounted my guide's pony, and accompanied me to Talisay village, going through the mountain paths, downhill all the way, to the Bómbon Lake shore. It was very muddy, but our ponies were fresh, although we had to take them very carefully down the slippery descent until we came to the high road connecting Talisay with Bañadero de Sala. Talisay consists of a well-built church and convent, an outpost of the civil guard, a collection of native huts and a couple of houses properly so called.

There is nothing to be seen in the village itself; the view of the lake is the only attraction. I was the guest of the sub-lieutenant commanding the outpost. I had not bathed that morning, so I went with him for a swim in the lake. There are some legends of crocodiles having been seen in these waters. In the meantime, I was having a canoe prepared for my visit, two days hence, to the volcano, and whilst this was going on, I went off with a Spaniard, just arrived from Batangas, to take a run round the sugar estates. There was a large tract of land in which my acquaintance was interested, but which had been taken possession of by "squatters"—natives who ignore property laws, erect huts and claim all the land they care to till in defiance of rights and owners. Fortunately the Spaniard did not enforce his rights when I was there—when he did so later on it cost him his life.

Being benighted far away from Talisay, we slept in a squatter's hut. We had a small bag of rice, some dried sausages, a tin of salmon, and a leather bottle of wine with us. I was cook, whilst my companion

¹ *Sungay* means Stag in native dialect.

stirred up the native to get us some banana fruit with plantain leaves for dishes.

The next day, following the Tagaytay Cordillera, we descended by Calañan, passed several groups of huts and small sugar-cane fields, arriving in Talisay the same evening. The priest invited all the Europeans in the place—my travelling companion, the sub-lieutenant and me—to the convent to supper. A heavy shower came on. It was very hot, and we were glad to follow our host's suggestion to sit in our shirts with the tails outside our pants—native fashion. The beating rain had obliged a host of flies, moths, winged ants, etc. to take refuge in the dining-room. The lamps were covered with these insects. They darted at our eyes and attacked the dishes, hundreds coming to an untimely end in the gravies or in the lamp globes. The serving boys relieved us somewhat with paper flails, gummed on canes, which they whisked about to keep off the enemy.

Each one went his way about ten o'clock. I slept at the guard-house. The next day my canoe and men were ready; the canoe had an awning of nipa palm leaves, and was gaily decked out with festoons of *buri*.

The petty-governor, to whom I had not yet spoken, came to pay his respects—he evidently thought I was a distinguished personage. He had a red and white flag stuck up at the bows of the canoe, and off we started for the volcano island.¹

Talisay is the best point to start from when visiting the crater. We were ashore on the island in an hour and a quarter. The native lieutenant offered me a mare on which to make the ascent, but I preferred going on foot with the two canoe-men who followed me. On the way, and when we were near the bald crest of the Volcano, about every twenty feet distance we saw steam spurting through the lava. The crater was too steep where I arrived to make the descent, so I had to walk about five hundred yards round to the left, where there is an easier slope. I went down the crater, to the edge of the green lake, in half an hour. It was bubbling on the surface, and the sulphurous vapours were oppressive. I imagined I could feel the lava moving under me, so I set about making my exit. The ascent was not so easy as the descent, and I was fully an hour getting to the top of the crater again as my feet sunk into the scoria.

¹ *Vide* Chap. I. for description of the crater.

I came down the lava mountain by the same path by which I had ascended. The petty-governor had, I presume, sent a message from Talisay to the lieutenant concerning me, for I found that, during my two-and-a-half hours' absence, he had fixed up an awning of bamboos and leaves, and had brought a table and a chair from his hut for my accommodation. So Nicomedis got out the provisions, and I breakfasted prior to continuing my journey in the same canoe to Taal.

About ten o'clock I started for Taal. We rounded the N. and W. coasts of the Volcano Island, and to our right was the lake shore, with Tagaytay mountain range in the distance. Had there been a breath of wind, the journey would have been very enjoyable. In three hours we were at the mouth of the Pansipit River. Here lie the ruins of the old town of Taal (*vide* Chap. I.), but they might often be passed unnoticed. In this clime the alternate excessive wet and heat play havoc with the works of man. Nature asserts its superior potency, and, forcing decay into structures of wood, stone and iron alike, muffles up with its flowery mantle the ruin which it produces, and annihilates its existence, as it were, to the vulgar eye. The Pansipit River is very shallow, and navigation is rendered still more difficult by fishing *corrals*—bamboo fencing reaching from the river bed to the water's surface to prevent the escape of fish. These cut off the communication with the lake, but my men dived and opened a way for our canoe to pass, and then closed it again. The lake end of the river is extremely pretty. Wooded perpendicular cliffs from the banks, and farther down fields of sugar-cane reach to the water's edge. In one-hour-and-a-half we could see the church of Taal, which stands on a hill; in half-an-hour more we were at the town.

Taal is situated on the left bank, and Lemerí town is on the right bank, near the mouth of the Pansipit. A bridge connects the two parishes. Lemerí is on a plain, and has a fine church and convent, but there is nothing else worthy of attention. It is, comparatively, of quite recent foundation.

Taal is a very old town. It was removed from the lake end of the river in 1754, after the great eruption of the volcano (*vide* Chap. I.). Up to that date it was the capital of the Province of Taal y Balayan, now called Batangas. The present town of Taal is extremely dirty and untidy. There is not a single good street in it. Every thoroughfare is either up or down a steep hill, on the summit of which

F F

stands the church. From the river-side up to the centre of the town there is an immense staircase. The original Taal people are said to be descendants of Japanese settlers. It is the only Philippine town where the inhabitants will not tolerate a single Chinese resident. The staple trade is sugar,—“Taal sugar” being an article known in foreign markets as a speciality of the Colony. About fifty per cent. of it is crystallizable, the remainder of the bulk being molasses, dirt and rubbish. The sugar-cane plantations in this neighbourhood can hardly be termed estates, the land being divided into such small lots. Most of the cane-mills have stone crushers, but, little by little, European mills are finding their way there. Taal cotton stuffs are also a speciality, and the market is an important centre in the surrounding locality. The population, which in 1790 was 9,000, was in 1896 about 56,000. Small coasting steamers from Manila call there two or three times a week.

From Taal I took a *carromata* and drove on to Batangas, passing through Bauan. Batangas is the modern capital of the province of that name, and although situated only half-a-mile from the sea coast, it is extremely hot. The environs are not at all pretty. There are some good houses of wood, stone and iron roofs. The Government House is well built, and commodiously designed inside. This town was the residence of the Spanish officials of the province—the Governor, the Chief Judge,¹ the captain of the civil guard, the administrator, etc. There is a pleasant drive down to the jetty at the sea-side, and it is the custom for the European residents to meet there from about five or six in the evening to promenade and enjoy the sea-breeze. The church and convent are very large buildings of stone and wood. The “square” is laid out as a public garden with a kiosk in the centre.

Across the river, about half-an-hour from the town, there is a sugar factory employing a vacuum pan for making crystallized grain sugar, but it did not seem to be very flourishing. One-fourth of Batangas has, in my recollection, been three times desolated by fire.

I lodged at a planter's house, and the schoolmaster came to visit me. After a lengthy preamble he told me that his wife, who was *enceinte*, had an *antojo* (a craving wish). She had seen me pass by his house, and as she wanted her child to bear my features, would I be kind enough to honour his humble home and let her gaze upon me? I was

¹ In 1888, the acting Chief-Judge of Batangas was a Chinese half-breed.



TAGALOG WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN HOLIDAY ATTIRE.



so surprised, that whilst I paused, he added, "Oh, it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have an *antojo*." "But suppose it turned out to be a girl?" I inquired. "Never mind, it will satisfy her, Señor," said the schoolmaster, so I consented to visit him that afternoon and sit for my portrait to be impressed on the coming infant.

A local steamer left me at Balayan on her way to Manila. I went out to see a sugar factory belonging to a half-caste. The cane-mill was driven by water-power, and a vacuum pan was used to make crystal grain sugar. The owner, however, was not highly satisfied with the financial results. Balayan is a well-built town, with several good houses of stone, wood and iron roofs. Up to the end of last century it had been three times burnt by Mussulmans. Some splendid ponies are to be seen here, and they are cheaper than in Lipa. I rode several, and had a beautiful little animal lent me to go to Tuy. There I changed for a miserable nag, and went over some low ranges of mountains to Nasugbú. It was a very pretty ride. Nasugbú is a wretched place, but the half-caste parish priest and his sisters made me welcome. They were all clever musicians, and after my ride with the *padre*, we had a concert.

The greater part of the cultivated land around Nasugbú and for several miles to the south, belongs to a rich Manila native, Pedro Rojas, whose name figured very prominently years later in the rebellion of 1896.

It being the wet season, the mountain path leading north from Nasugbú was not passable, so I started in a canoe for Maragondon. Off Punta del Fuego a storm came on, and we were obliged to take refuge in a creek, protected by rocks, against which the surging billows lashed with fury, whilst it poured with rain. I was wet through. Fortunately we found a fisherman's hut, where I changed my clothes, and in a couple of hours we put to sea again. It was still rough; my legs were bathed with sea-water. The monsoon was on the eve of changing, and a N.E. breeze was opposing us, so it was midnight before we reached the mouth of the Maragondon river. I had a letter to a half-caste resident, and there I settled for the night. The next day I rode out to visit a sugar estate. It was a venturesome journey; our ponies were up to their knees in mud, but the ride was pretty. Gorgeous clusters of bamboo were gracefully reclining over us on one side, forming a bower, and there was a precipice down to the river on the other slope. We

were going uphill, to the mountain, when my pony lost his footing on the slippery rise ; he slid back, and landed me in a pool of mud, out of which I scrambled, leaving him to manage for himself.

We rode over the estate, and returned by another route, which led us to the ravine where the mill-stream flowed. The water, bounding over the rocks in the gorge, was the only sound we heard besides the screeching of the birds on the tall trees. It was a lovely retreat ; I should have liked to have lunched there, but we had nothing with us, as we (the young planter and I) were invited to the convent for 12 o'clock. We sent a man back by the ridge leading our ponies, whilst we stepped over to the other side through the water and followed the bank until we came to the unobstructed river. There we had a bamboo raft made for us, and on it we floated down stream, towards the town, continuing the short distance thence on foot.

We lunched with the native priest, who, that afternoon, had to go up to the mountain to confer his blessing on an European cattle-power mill newly erected. I accepted his invitation to accompany him. We rode out about 4 o'clock on very quiet strong ponies, with a servant in front of us to remove any obstacles. At 5 o'clock we were there, when a rough-looking native quietly approached the father, kissed his hand, and begged permission to come down with his companions. They were a brigand party—it was the best policy to say “Yes,” so in a quarter of an hour six ruffians kept us company. They said they had seen us turn off the high road into the mountain path, and could have sent a bullet into us very easily, but they superstitiously respected the sacerdotal habit ; they were hungry too, and wished to eat, so we supplied them with rice, fish, betel-nut, etc.

After the meal they showed us their weapons at our request. One man armed with an ancient pistol said he had the *anting-anting*,—that is to say, he was proof against harm. The priest said he was the same, and as he talked, he quietly loaded the pistol, putting the bullet first and the powder afterwards. The man did not perceive the trick. Then the priest stuck up a white handkerchief on a bough, and bid the brigand hit it. The bandit smiled disdainfully and fired—the smoke puffed out, and the bullet fell at his feet as he lowered the weapon.

“Ah !” cried the priest, “you’re helpless with him who has the *anting-anting*,” and the brigand turned away from the holy man, dumbfounded.

After passing the next day in and around Maragondon, I went on to Naig. The road is pretty in the wet season on account of the fine lawn-like fields of green rice on either side. Around Naig most of the land belonged to the Dominican Corporation, whose estate-house was an imposing building, well constructed, with a large high-walled enclosure in front, occupying all one side of the public square. The river runs to the north of the town, and is crossed by a massive single-arched bridge. It is never very safe travelling about here, and all the rest of the journey up to Cavite is dangerous, owing to the bands of outlaws constantly infesting this locality. The road from Naig to Santa Cruz de Malabon (Tanza it is called by the natives) was simply a mud trail, and my guide advised me to turn off on to the sea-shore. It was very heavy work for our ponies, who could not get a good footing. On our left was the sea, and in the far distance we could descry Corregidor Island and the peaks of the Mariveles Cordillera; to our right was mostly barren land overgrown with heather. There was nothing attractive in this run, and we stopped only once to quench our thirst with cocoa-nut milk. When one is within half-an-hour of Santa Cruz, some rocks jut out into the sea very awkwardly, obliging the rider to take a foot bath at high tide, but they are passed in five minutes.

Santa Cruz de Malabon is a neat little place. The square and the native shops are tidy, and there are a few fairly well-to-do natives living here. The chief produce is rice. The arable land, upon which the town depends, belonged to a religious corporation. There are several water-power rice-husking mills in the locality. I stayed at the house of an ex-petty-governor, who told me that a friend of his was excavating at the river-side, preparatory to the erection of a perpetual-motion rice-mill. His friend was anxious for me to see the model and have my opinion on it, so I went round to the shed where it was set up.

A water-wheel was to be placed with the shaft at land level. This wheel was to be put in motion by a stream of water flowing from a reservoir. The motion of the water-wheel would be communicated to two wheels, one at each end of the same shaft. Over these wheels a series of buckets were to revolve. These buckets were to bring up water from the river, and empty themselves into a canal leading to the reservoir, to replace the water which had fed the driving-wheel. Hence,

provided the river did not dry up, the machine was expected to go on perpetually and transmit its motive power to a rice-husking mill. I explained to him, as far as I knew, the mechanical defects in the contrivance, but he had money to spend, and preferred to find out the errors of his theories by experience.

The country around is a vast plain, lying low, and just suited for rice-growing. It is generally refreshing to the traveller to see fields of green rice, but here its cultivation is so extensive that it becomes monotonous.

My host's son procured ponies for me, and accompanied me to Indan. We passed the civil guard outpost of Quintana. There was a great sameness in the immense rice fields all around, until two miles journey further on when we entered a horsepath leading through a coffee plantation to the high road near Indan. We were in the heart of the Cavite coffee district. There was nothing to see in Indan town. The headmen in the Town Hall were discussing coffee prices, and thought I had come to buy that product, or offer advances against the coming crop. We rode on to Silan. On leaving Indan, and about one-third of the way to Silan, there were so many rises and falls in the road that I suppose no one ever attempted the journey in a vehicle, but the route is very good for riding. The last two-thirds of the road are better still, and we went at a fast trot all the way to Silan. There was nothing but coffee plantations, or waste land, or fields out of till to be seen on the way. Two miles of the road this side of Silan were splendid. I was in the heart of that region which, in 1896, became the centre of the Tagalog rebellion.

Silan stands high up, and it was cold and damp. For the first time, in this Colony, I really felt chilly. There was some excitement about coffee prices. There had been a market rise in Manila, and several brokers had come to adjust bargains for the next deliveries. I was mistaken for one of these persons. Silan is a large town, with a few fairly good houses, a large church and convent, a very hospitable priest, and a civil guard station. The townspeople happened to be celebrating their annual fête. Here and there were groups of fighting-cock owners and sportsmen. On one side of the church there was a big fair. At night the principal streets were illuminated by every householder hanging out paper lanterns of varied colours. The windows were wide open—the neighbours were paying mutual visits—wayfarers from afar

were welcome everywhere. In each dwelling a table was spread with confectionery, sweetmeats, drinks and *buyo*. I had alighted at the Town Hall, but was at once kindly invited by a headman to his house. As I passed along with my host we were repeatedly called upon by the townfolks to “honour their houses.” Sometimes we thanked the inviter and passed on, but at three or four places we entered and accepted sweets, cigars, and betel-nut as a matter of compliment. Nowhere had I witnessed such a display of disinterested hospitality. In the square a temporary theatre had been erected, before which a good-humoured mob stood gazing with delight at the “*Moro Moro*” performance. All was gaiety—prince after prince was being slain—the piratical tyrant was eating the dust—the Christian cavaliers were winning their laurels.¹

The next day we rode on from Silan with the same ponies through Carmona to Viñan—an uneventful journey by beaten paths through fields, only enlivened by a magnificent bird’s-eye view of the Laguna de Bay when we were near to Carmona. From Carmona, sugar estates begin again, and from the high road we turned off several times to see

¹ The burthen of a native play in the provinces is almost invariably founded on the contests between the Mussulmans of the South, and the Christian natives under Spanish dominion.

The Spaniards, in attaching the denomination of *Moros* to the Moslems of Sulu, associated them in name with the Mussulman Moors who held sway over a large part of Hispania for over seven centuries (711–1492). A “*Moro Moro*” performance is usually a drama—occasionally a melo-drama—in which the native actors, clad in all the glittering finery of Moslem nobility and Christian chivalry, assemble in battle array before the Moslem princesses, to settle their disputes under the combined inspirations of love and religious persuasion. The princesses, one after the other, pining under the dictates of the heart in defiance of their creed, leave their fate to be sealed by the outcome of deadly combat between the contending factions. Armed to the teeth, the cavaliers of the respective parties march to and fro, haranguing each other in monotonous tones. After a long-winded, wearisome challenge, they brandish their weapons and meet in a series of single combats which merge in a general mêlée as the princes are vanquished and the hand of the disputed enchantress is won.

The dialogue is in the idiom of the district where the performance is given, and the whole play (lasting from four to six nights) is brief compared with Chinese melo-drama, which often extends to a month of nights.

Judged from the standard of European histrionism, the plot is weak from the sameness and repetition of the theme. The declamation is unnatural, and void of vigour and emphasis. The same tone is maintained from beginning to end, whether it be in expression of expostulatory defiance, love, joy, or despair. But the masses are intensely amused, thus the full object is achieved. They seem to never tire of gazing at the situations created, and applauding vociferously the feigned defeat of their traditional arch-foes.

the cane-crushing at the several steam and cattle-power mills. We were glad to arrive at Viñan on the lake shore to rest our ponies. We were now in a comparatively rich town, inhabited by a great many Chinese half-castes. There is quite a number of good stone and wooden houses, some with tiles and others with iron roofs. The river runs through the centre of the town, and near its left bank stands the old church which was ruined by the earthquake of 1880. The lands around were the property of a religious corporation, the planters being tenants who complained bitterly of the treatment they received from the landlords' agent. There are several steam cane-mills in the neighbourhood, and clayed sugar is the chief article of trade.

We returned to Carmona and I went to the civil guard station to ask for an armed escort over the mountains to Perez Dasmariñas. The officer at once furnished me with a couple of native guards to protect me on the journey. We started in the cool of the afternoon, through the mountain paths, up hill and down dale all the way. The dells were very muddy, but we got through without mishap. It was a very agreeable ride, sometimes between tall trees in the thick of the forest, then along a path leading through a grove of guava bushes about ten feet high.

Night came on, but there was moonlight sufficient for us to see the way. It was deliciously cool, and the *cayinin* fires¹ in the mountain made the scene poetic. In about three hours we came to an outpost of the civil guard. Here we changed escort, and took the opportunity of having our supper. The native guard in charge was kind enough to give my Santa Cruz companion and my servant Nicomedis some rice, and whilst the last two potatoes of my provisions were being boiled, we turned out a can of beef. There was no hurry; the ponies would have to rest somewhere, and they might as well do so here, so we took out their bits and slacked their saddle-girths whilst we supped. It was not a sumptuous meal, and I fear an epicurean would be quite melancholy in these parts.

In half-an-hour after leaving this place, we were on the high road from Silan to Perez Dasmariñas, and then a long dreary hour's ride brought us to the latter town. It was quite dark, and we were all tired. The guards who escorted us went to their quarters, and at 11 o'clock we turned in at the Town Hall, where everybody was asleep, but the

¹ *Cayinin* (Tagalog dialect), a land clearance made by firing the undergrowth.

Alguacil stirred about after a while and brought me a large mat and pillows to sleep on the floor. In the early morn there was a great commotion. I was awakened by loud voices and stamping of feet over the loose floor planks. The night before, a party of brigands had committed some atrocity close by, and the *cuadrillero* guards were being called out to assist the civil guard in giving them chase. They were buckling on their bolie-knives and clicking the hammers of their archaic muskets. Hearing the tramp of ponies' hoofs below, I went down in my sleeping suit to see that our mounts were not appropriated amidst the bustle.

Perez Dasmariñas is a large quiet town, with a good church and convent, and here and there a house in the square with the usual group of huts. Being up so early we started betimes for Imus, famous as a brigand centre. The road was pretty, with large trees along on both sides, amongst them being hundreds of mango trees, which bring a regular income to the owners. The only novelty which we encountered on the road was a bamboo and nipa bungalow moving towards us, with some hundred naked legs dangling beneath it. It was going to take up new quarters close by its old resting-place, and was being removed by *bayamin* (labour given gratis to a neighbour).

From Imus we went on to Cavite Viejo, a dirty fishing town, strewn with nets, canoes, sails, bamboos, etc., on the seaside. There were a few rows of rough-and-tumble shops, and in the middle of this uninteresting group is the large church and convent. The only amusement here was to listen to the townsfolk disputing amongst themselves in broken-Spanish, a mongrel jargon invented by the Cavite coast natives—a philological treat.

Passing through Novaleta and Rosario we were again in Santa Cruz de Malabon. The ponies were very fatigued, but when they recognized their home they required no urging to arrive at a hard trot at the finish of the sixty-mile journey.

From Santa Cruz I took a *carromata* to Cavite, where the Arsenal is established. Cavite is a fortified town, with streets of houses built of brick, stone, &c., as in Manila.¹ It has its theatre, cafés, hotels,

¹ Up to the beginning of the 17th century, the houses in Cavite were built of wood with nipa palm roofing. At that period a great fire occurred which consumed three-fourths of the buildings, including the Royal Granaries and much cargo which was awaiting shipment to Mexico. The town and Arsenal were afterwards re-constructed with more solid materials—stone, bricks, etc., and tile roofs being used.

jetty, sea-wall, etc., but is not considered healthy. Being then the chief Government Naval Station, there was a large European floating population. Here, and especially in San Roque, fifteen minutes' drive from Cavite, a very amusing broken-Spanish is spoken by the natives. There was a bi-daily steamboat service between the capital and Cavite, the run being about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, so I embarked on the morning boat at 7.30, and in one hour was again in Manila—the so-called “ Pearl of the Orient,” or the “ Venice of the Far East.”



CHAPTER XXIV.

TOURING IN THE SOUTH.

CONSTANT rains, coinciding with the S.W. monsoon, had delayed my ramblings in the South—the Visayas Islands—so, as soon as the dry season had fairly set in, I exhibited my passport¹ at the ship-brokers, and booked for Yloilo in the fortnightly mail steamer going to Mindanao, but calling at several ports on the way.

The berths were below the main deck, and I secured a good one, notwithstanding there were several cabin passengers; for being a subsidized mail steamer, Government employés were carried at a special reduced rate.

The vessel was advertised to leave the river at 4 p.m., but those experienced in Philippine procrastination evinced a certain surprise when they saw the crowd of leave-takers hastening towards the quay gangways as the anchor was about to be raised at 5 o'clock.

As yet no one had concerned himself about his fellow travellers. The excitement of the departure—the waving of handkerchiefs—the last adieux shouted to those on the wharf, and the placing of one's baggage, had dispersed the passengers in all directions. Only the dozen to twenty Chinamen had settled down between decks, on grass mats spread over their packages, waiting to get fairly under way before they sought dreamland in the fumes of opium.

By the aid of cable stays we turned round in the river, which was too much blocked with shipping for a mail steamer to attempt to strike a half-circle with the steering-gear alone. We were now in the stream, our bows facing the river mouth. The last canoe, bringing office boys with late letters to be scrambled into the post-box, had left us. The

¹ Since July, 1884, passports are not required within the Colony (*vide* page 248).

hawsers were thrown off, and in ten minutes we had passed the light-house at the end of the mole and were in the bay. The dinner-hour had struck—it was 5 o'clock and past, and the steward's boys were hastening to lay the table. It was at dinner that the passengers were to know who was who.

There was a major, a lieutenant, two sub-lieutenants, one merchant and two civilian employés, all Spaniards, besides two half-breed Government officials, a Chinese half-breed broker or middleman, with his family of five, who occupied two cabins and took their meals there—an Austrian polyglot Jew pedlar, and a young Englishman.

I was told the day before that this last person would be with us. He was a commercial clerk, of gentlemanly mien, who had been in Manila four months, and was now transferred by his employers to their Yloilo branch house. We should undoubtedly be company for each other on the voyage I concluded.

Our captain was a Basque—a frank, genial man, who made himself agreeable to everybody. We had already been chatting on the bridge, so when we went below to dinner, he placed me on his left, the major on his right, and invited the Englishman, who we will call Mr. X., to take his seat by my side, probably conjecturing the pleasure it would give us to be together, as we spoke the same language. The pedlar was of that self-possessed class who need no intimation from any one to put themselves forward, so he seated himself *vis-à-vis* to Mr. X., the rest of the company filling the vacant places as they chose.

The order thus established was maintained by apparently mutual but unspoken understanding to the end of the voyage.

There was a fresh breeze outside, but we could not dispense with the punka-fans in the saloon.

“So about noon to-morrow we shall be at Romblon,” remarked the Major inquiringly.

“Yes,” said the Captain, “if the weather be fine.”

“Oh, this is splendid weather,” continued the Major, “and when shall we anchor off Cápis?”

“All depends upon the weather,” insisted the Captain. “The run from Romblon to Cápis should take us seven to eight hours, but I see the barometer is falling, and we may have it pretty fresh off Punta Santiago. However, when the harbour-master lets us leave Manila and shows no storm signals I suppose the gale is very far away.”

"When shall we be off Punta Santiago, Captain?" I inquired.

"About one o'clock in the morning."

I turned to Mr. X., and remarked that we had better be prepared for a roll in our berths.

"Indeed!" he exclaimed.

"Have you heard what sort of place Yloilo is?" I continued, thinking that Mr. X. must be somewhat bored by the foreign colloquialisms which he barely understood.

"No," he murmured.

"I am going to make it my centre for a few months whilst I travel over Panay, Negros, and the islands about there."

"Ah!" muttered Mr. X.

"Mr. Blank told me you were coming down to Yloilo. You will be taking up your new residence under favourable circumstances with the most pleasant season before you."

"Yes."

My talk with Mr. X. had been so one-sided, that I feared I had been indiscreet; indeed, having lived abroad since I was a youth, it did not, at first, occur to me that we had not been introduced, so I joined in the general conversation with the Captain, the Major, and the Lieutenant, when Mr. X. was attacked by his *vis-à-vis* the pedlar.

"Veer are you going?" asked the itinerant vendor.

"I?" said Mr. X., looking surprised.

"Yes, veer are you going?"

"To Yloilo."

"Oh, zair are plenty of Eengleeshman in Yloilo, but I don't like zee plaise. In zee vet vedder you lose yourselve een zee mud, and zair are no public carriage as een Manila. In zee try zeezon zair ees plentie dust and too much hot."

Mr. X. did not seem to care one jot whether it was so or not, but the pedlar had roughed it too much in the world even to perceive a slight,¹

"May it do you good," we all (except Mr. X.) mutually exclaimed,

¹ "Anything is better than the deadly taciturnity of an English traveller. How often have I been whisked along for miles and hundreds of miles with one of the latter species without a single interchange of thought to enliven the way, with no return to any overture of sociality but defensive hems and predetermined monosyllables!" Curran's Sketches of the Irish Bar, Vol. I., pub. (Hurst & Blackett), London, 1855.

following the Spanish formula of politeness, as we rose from the table—and each one went his way, the Captain to the bridge, the passengers to their cabins or to the deck.

There were no lady passengers, so each could be attired at his ease. The military officers had thrown off their uniforms; the lieutenant and sub-lieutenants occupied chairs on the poop. I had discarded my white jacket for a cotton pyjama shirt, and was leaning over the stern-rail, fascinated by the bright phosphorescent track of the vessel. It was a dark night, and we could only just distinguish Corregidor Island before us. The Major was sauntering about, studying human nature among the heaps of native men and women on the deck and the Chinese below, who had turned in for the night. Mr. X. was on the other side, taking a solitary constitutional in his flannel pyjamas. The pedlar was musing in an armchair with his feet up on the rail. The lieutenants were energetically discussing some military service question, when the Major approached.

“A fine breeze,” he exclaimed, as he drew up a chair, but seeing me standing, he at once offered it to me. It was the only one near, so I declined with thanks, and fetched another.

“I’m glad to get out of Manila,” he continued, when I had seated myself. “A trip there now and again to see old companions, to make purchases and clear up questions raised in the official centres is all very well, but what a time it takes. *Dios mio!* In every Government office the reply is always ‘to-morrow’ and again ‘to-morrow,’ until a week has passed away with some trivial matter which might be settled in an hour. And then the heat, *por Dios!* and the obligation to wear uniform in the daytime, and put on a black coat if one wishes to pay a visit in the evening. It is a great folly to attempt to generalize European customs under a tropical sun. One might as well try to grow apples on the equator. I’m glad to be off to the provinces again, where one can dress as he chooses with decorum.”

“I tell you it is no use,” broke out the lieutenant, who was still warmly pursuing his argument with the subs.

“What’s that?” inquired the Major.

“I was saying that it is all nonsense for a civil guard officer to capture brigands at the risk of his own life, when by some manœuvring or the other, they get free of the law-courts and the prisons too, and we are pestered with the same villains again and again.”

"But I thought that highway murderers were garrotted," I interposed.

"Ca!" ejaculated the lieutenant as a roar of laughter from all succeeded my remark, "such a thing happens once in a while, but in the meantime the brigand has been in and out of prison over and over again. For the public to have the satisfaction of being permanently rid of him, an European must have fallen a victim."

It was 8 o'clock, and we were off Corregidor with its bright revolving light. One by one, each passenger took to his berth. In five hours more the wind blew hard; the steamer rolled tremendously, one or two passengers came on deck, because they could find no rest below with the motion of the vessel and the heat.

We were rounding Punta Santiago. There was a great swell on, and the wind increased until it became furious. The steward and all his boys were up; the glasses and plates and dishes were flying about in the pantry. No one could make a step forward without holding on to something. A tremendous lurch almost submerged one side, and as the vessel righted herself we heard a crash in the cabin. It was the lamp shade which had been jerked off its frame and broken to atoms. The succeeding wave had just met the righted broadside, and broke over the deck. The natives, sleeping on the decks, were aroused; the men looked forlorn, and were hanging on to the rail; those women who were not seasick were appealing to the saints to check the storm, whilst ever and anon the exclamation "*Nakú susmariosep*" followed a roll of the vessel, which had cut short their orations. The Captain and the chief officer had been on the bridge all the time. The Captain now came down to see how we fared; for everyone he had a cheering word.

"Oh, it's nothing," he said, as Mr. X. was shot into his arms like a ball from the other side of the saloon, and the wine decanters were playing at skittles with the glasses on the marble-top sideboard. I was clutching on, disconsolate, to a saloon window-frame, whilst the other passengers were on the sofas, trying all sorts of dodges to keep their places.

We were evidently in, or near, a typhoon—a *baguio* as it is called here. There seemed no probability of getting out of it for a while; it was increasing, and every pitch of the vessel was followed by a

terrible vibration from stem to stern whilst the waves lashed her sides with fearful violence.

So it continued all night, and, as at 7 o'clock in the morning matters had not improved, the Captain told us he should take refuge in Maestre de Campo until the storm subsided. In an hour we were there. It is a well-protected little harbour, and we steered in and let go the two anchors. We were safe, and could now laugh at the wind whistling through the mountain forest which surrounds the creek. The Captain at last confessed that he had expected a rough time, but not quite so bad, although the barometer had been falling since we left Manila.

Relieved from all peril, each one, little by little, threw off his dejected air, and was ready for breakfast at 10 o'clock. One or two of us who still felt squeamish, opened our appetites with a plate of garlic soup. We had a good supply of flying-fish, which the troubled sea had washed on board. There had been a great smash up amongst the crockery, but the viands were not wanting. After breakfast several of us went on shore with the Captain. There is a small village—a group of huts where the natives live by fishing and plaiting grass into sugar and rice bags, called *bayones*. The harbour is enclosed on three sides by mountains, and in its still waters, scores of *medusæ* were floating around us. There is the relic of what was once a well-built stone and wooden house. I was told that it formerly belonged to a Spaniard, who had sacrificed his life and money to civilize the island by establishing a cattle ranche. He had a large number of cattle there at one time, and everything went on well, until some official, jealous of his prosperity, entangled him in difficulties with the Government, on the pretext that he had dared to settle himself there without heeding some tedious formalities required by law. I was assured that he finally died in jail. It was a caution to would-be colonists.

We steamed out of Maestre de Campo at 2 o'clock that afternoon. At 6 p.m. we arrived at Romblon. The entrance is pretty, and we went ashore to see the place, and pay our respects to the Governor, an infantry captain. The Governor regaled us with cigars, and showed us some polished samples of creamy-white and mottled marble found in the island. Romblon has large marble deposits, but it would not pay any one to work them. The island is a series of mountain peaks. There

is no high-road leading out of Romblon town. In subsequent visits I have had to get round to the coast villages in a canoe.

Besides the Governor's residence, the church and the convent, there is one large well-built stone and wood house, worthy of Manila, owned by a Spaniard who has a shop on the ground floor. There is also a public stone fountain, and here and there a decent wooden house among the rows of huts. At 7.30 we left Romblon, and were anchored in front of Cápís about 3 or 4 o'clock the next morning. We were quite a mile off the shore, and the mails were sent to the town up the river by the chief officer in the ship's boat. Here several Chinese left us. When the boat returned, in an hour, we started for Yloilo. The morning was very fine. It was quite enjoyable, after the tumbling about we had had, to lounge in bamboo long chairs, gazing at the beautiful scenery on the N.E. coast of Panay Island.

About 9 o'clock we were at the entrance to the Silanga, some 70 miles from Yloilo. We passed quite close to a group of trachytic coniform island peaks—the chief of which is *Pan de azúcar*, or Sugar-loaf. The landscape is beautiful. Looking between these abrupt elevations, one can see the fertile valleys of Concepcion district, which are about half cultivated with sugar-cane.

"What a beautiful country! *Vrai pays de Cocagne!*" exclaimed the Major. "There's enough wealth here to make all the beggars of Europe rich."

"But how are they to get here?" interposed the lieutenant as he stepped up behind us.

"Ah! just so," cried the Major, who could not suppress a laugh at his own thoughtlessness. "Anyhow, I did not suggest they should come; we are, fortunately, not troubled with the beggar question in this country."

"A circumstance which is not due to the native's industry, but to nature. She makes him independent of work by supplying his wants," rejoined the lieutenant. "The forest gives him material to build his cottage and weave his clothes—fuel, fruits, game, medicine—in short, furnishes gratis all his first necessities. He has, at his fingers' ends, an infinity of things which he can barter for rice—if he wants to vary his meal, he can fish in the rivers or the sea. As to dress, he is best at his case when he only just fulfils the requirements of modesty. I fail to see that the native needs us or our Government at all.

G G

Independent of all we can do for him, he is quite indifferent about what we do for him. '*Paupertas omnes artes perdocet*'—the masses here will never rise in the social scale until poverty urges them to use their wits and energy."

We could just perceive the coast line of Negros on our left when we sat down to breakfast at 10 o'clock. It was very hot after the meal. Each smoked and lounged about the deck, or dropped off to sleep in his chair.

"*Siete pecados*" some one called out as we passed between a cluster of seven small madreporous islets thickly wooded to the water's edge and named the "Seven sins." Guimarrás, with its steep forest-covered cliffs, was on our left, and we were within an hour of Yloilo.

The passengers for Yloilo were busy with their luggage and dressing to go ashore. Mr. X. was on the bridge, looking silently towards his future home; perhaps wondering which out of the hundred corrugated iron roofs covered his employers' offices. We were going half speed at the entrance to the creek to let the pilot come on board. The pilots were not sure of their soundings after the heavy blow the day before, but he would take us in. The vessel had to make some sharp turns to enter, but one turn it made was not sharp enough and her stem ran into the bank on our right-hand side. It had happened many a time before to steamers.

In the course of an hour, between the captain and the pilot, we got off and steamed up the creek at 5 o'clock—cast anchor in the middle of the stream, and slackened chain until the steamer was as near as she could lie to shore. There were neither quays nor embankments, farther than heaps of soil and rubble, which had been thrown down to reclaim the point, for the safety of the produce sheds built there. The creek and harbour were just as nature made them.

Planks were placed from the steamer side to shore. Several residents came on board to get letters, or to inquire about cargo or to satisfy their curiosity. The person to whom I had a written introduction passed over the plank. I heard him saluted by name, so I at once presented my letter, and met with a cordial reception. I told him about our English fellow-passenger.

"Ah! just so, he was expected," said my friend. "He's ——— & Co.'s new man; I'll look him up."

Just then ——— & Co.'s manager joined us ; I had already made his acquaintance in Manila, and we all went to Mr. X.

"You know this gentleman, of course?" said ——— & Co.'s manager, addressing Mr. X. and waving his hand towards me.

"No, I have not had the pleasure of being introduced," so on this formality being fulfilled, I soon found Mr. X. to be both communicative and cheerful.

Yloilo, the second port of the Philippines, is situated on the right bank of the creek. From the creek point to the square are sheds used for sugar-storing, with, here and there, a commercial office between. The most modern thoroughfares are traced out with regularity, and there are many good houses. The most imposing building was the residence and office of an American firm ; perhaps the most comfortable was that of a Swiss commercial house, but this is a question of opinion.

In the square is the church, which at a distance might be mistaken for a sugar store, the Town Hall, the convent and a few small fairly well built houses of stone and wood, whilst all one side is now covered by a fine new block of buildings of brick, stone and wood with iron roofs. The centre, or open space of the square, once a carefully laid out public garden, had the appearance of a neglected cattle-pen when I saw it then, but it has again been embellished.

Just off the square there was a small hotel with some half dozen private rooms. The *Calle Real* or High Street is a winding road, which leads through the town into the country. The houses are indescribable—they are of all styles. Three or four are solidly built with no pretence at architectural adornment. Some are high—others low—some stand back with a few yards of pavement before them—others come forward, and oblige one to walk in the road. Here and there is a gap—a fetid deposit of corruption—then a row of dirty hovels. This is the retail trading quarter and the centre for the Chinese. Going from the square the creek runs along at the back of the right-hand side houses ; turning off by the left-hand side thoroughfares, which cannot be called streets, there is a number of roughly-built houses dispersed in all directions. At the extreme end of the *Calle Real* is the Government House, built of wood and stone, and then in a very bad condition, but the style is good, and it has quite the appearance of an official residence. Before it, is a semi-

circular garden, and in front of this there is a round fenced-in plot, in the middle of which stands a flag-pole. Just past the Government House there is a bridge crossing the Jaro River, which empties itself into the creek of Yloilo.

Yloilo lies low, and is always hot. Quite one-third of the shipping and wholesale business quarter stands on land reclaimed from the swamp by filling up with earth and rubble. In the dry season it is very dusty; in the wet season it is simply an abominable collection of filthy pools, and one needs to put on top boots to get decently through the mud of the thoroughfares. The opposite side of the creek, facing the shipping quarter, is a low marshy waste, occasionally converted into a swamp at certain tides.

Living is somewhat dearer than in Manila, and the general aspect of Yloilo and its environs is most depressing. No public conveyances are to be seen plying for hire in the streets, and there is no public place of amusement. There is a bowling-alley, a foreign club, and a café; a company of strolling comedians sometimes arrives from Manila to give performances in a coach-builder's shed.

A great many Spaniards have settled in Yloilo, several of them having married there. Quite a number of foreigners are employed in trade, and there are three or four vice-consulates. The Municipality was established by Royal Order dated 7th June, 1889.

Fires occur frequently, with the result that the town is yearly improving from an architectural point of view.

The press was represented by two news-sheets—the “*Porvenir de Bisayas*” and the “*Eco de Panay*.” For export statistics *vide* page 294.

There was a small schooner going to sail that night to Negro Island, so I was glad to take advantage of her departure to quit this uninviting place. I got my bags and provisions into the little cabin, and about 7 o'clock we were on the way. There was a fresh N.E. breeze blowing, and we were carried along as fast as our craft could cut the water, arriving at the Ginigaran River at midnight. It was a pitch-dark night, and when we disembarked the pilot helped me to find the way to the house of a planter to whom my Yloilo friends had given me a letter. We tramped along a high road for about half-an-hour and came to the house. The planter was little disposed to open the door, but when he heard the voice of a foreigner he seemed to conclude that there

was no danger. It was only the next morning that I realized where I had got to. It was a very modest, poorly furnished homestead of wood and bamboo construction, with a thatched roof. It was Sunday morning, and, to my great surprise, an elegant carriage-and-pair was brought up to the door to take the family to Mass. The *Señora* was a good-looking half-breed. Her diamond and gold jewellery must have cost as much as the house and furniture were worth. Off we went in the carriage to Mass, and afterwards we visited some of the planter's friends in town. The town of Ginigaran consists of one street and a few cross rows of small dingy wooden houses. There is also one fine building—the residence of a wealthy planter. The rooms are well distributed, but the external appearance is much deteriorated by all the ground floor being converted into Chinamen's shops. (A palatial residence has since been built there.) On leaving Ginigaran, we crossed the river in a two-pony *carromata* on a raft, and from the other side we were driven for about two hours along an uninteresting road to Marayo (or Pontevedra), thence to Valladolid. I stayed a day in Valladolid to visit the estates around, and then went on to Bago. All the way there was nothing to be seen but sugar plantations on the right, and the sea on the left. In Yloilo and Negros where nipa palm is comparatively scarce, one is struck with the quaint appearance of huts made entirely of bamboo, including the roof, whilst in Luzon Island I do not remember having seen a poor cabin without some nipa or cogon grass.

On the south side of Bago town there is a wide river. The bush-rope, which served to pull the raft from one side to the other, had snapped, so we had to find a canoe and man to take us across. Bago is a very dreary place; we stayed there a few hours, and then tried to get a conveyance to take us on to the next town—Súmag. I sent Nicomedis all over the town to see who had vehicles, but nothing resulted from his search. I went to the Town Hall, but nothing would put energy or good-will into the officials. Then I sent a letter to the petty-governor, in terms which quickened him considerably, and, in the end, I got a planter's private carriage to take me to Súmag.

All around Súmag is very barren land, almost worthless. Not a field of either cane or rice was to be seen from the high road within a mile of the village. Suddenly the coachman stopped.

"What is it?" I inquired.

"*Señor*."

"What?"

"*Señor.*"

"Is this Súmag?"

"*Señor.*"

I could only see what looked like a couple of barns on the left—a hut here and there and a pile of boards, house shape, on my right, all in an open field, with the high road through the middle.

"Is this Súmag?" I repeated.

"*Señor.*"

"Go to the Town Hall," and the man drove me to this pile of boards. It looked like a large box suspended in the air on six poles. There was an opening in the box and a native appeared.

"Is this Súmag?" I inquired again.

"Yes," said the man, and I heard a peal of laughter inside the aerial box.

I alighted, and, as Nicomedis placed my bags on the ground, I looked at the carriage, with regret, to see it returning, for I began to wonder by what means I should eventually leave this place.

I went up into the Town Hall, but could not remain there; it was full of smoke. Then, on descending, I saw they were roasting a pig on a spit underneath the floor boards.

There was a hewn log lying in front on the ground, so I sat on it, and took some refreshment. Then I inquired why the pig was being roasted exactly under the Town Hall.

"There is going to be a ball to-night, because the daughter of Captain Q. has been married to-day—the pig is for the supper, and the smoke will drive the mosquitos out by the time dancing begins."

I called at the convent (which I had mistaken for a barn), but the priest had gone on a journey. I felt anything but lively, and I vowed, from that day, I would never make a stoppage again at Súmag.

It was 8 o'clock when I re-entered the Town Hall. The pig was ready, and the guests were arriving. I was not invited to the ball, but my presence there seemed to be taken as a matter of course. The headmen and "swells" of the village saluted me. There was one man particularly attentive, and very anxious to display his meagre knowledge of Spanish. He placed three wooden arm-chairs,—one for me, one for the petty-governor, and one for the father of the bride. A band of music had arrived, and the entrance was blocked up by the farm labourers and

townspeople who came to witness the great event. The young women looked amazed when they saw a *Cachila*¹ and several of them went out. Later on I saw some shuffling going on in a corner and girls crouching down. I walked over, as if unconcerned, to see what they were doing. The girls, who on their arrival had found a *Cachila*, had returned to their homes to fetch their finery, and they were changing their *patallon* cloths for flowing skirts, and were putting on their trinkets. The love of adornment amongst women seems to be the same all over the world. Dancing had commenced. The Spanish-speaking native came to offer me a partner, remarking that if I did not like her there were more to choose from, so I commissioned him to bring another. He arrived with two bronze-coloured beauties, and I hesitated in my selection. "You don't like either? All right," and he came with another. I had seen her dancing, and thought we should manage to keep step somehow. The only objection was, that her dark skin was already emitting an unpleasant odour and her chemisette was soaked with perspiration. We waltzed or polkad, I cannot say which, but we got safely round and round until my partner was wet through, and my unbleached linen suit was discoloured from top to toe with moisture. Now and again there was a tumble, and the loose planks clattered amidst roars of laughter from the lookers-on. The old natives smoked and chewed and chatted in Visaya dialect, occasionally offering me, with genial politeness, cigars or betel-nut, whilst the younger men kept at a respectful distance, watching every movement, as if I had been a rare menagerie specimen.

"What could a *Cachila* want in Súmag?" they seemed to be thinking. There was a sudden uproar; the pig had arrived with two bearers; the musicians stopped to make way for his passage. Others followed carrying plates of boiled rice, whilst another was sent to scour the village in search of a knife and fork for the *Cachila*—but I had provided myself with these implements. The pig was carved with a *bohio*-knife. We all went to table in the adjoining room. My presence quite disconcerted the women, who insisted on huddling together; they really could not eat anything they protested. The men, however, were

¹ *Cachila* in the South and *Castila* in the North signify "European"; it is sometimes applied to non-European employers of labour (half-breeds and Creoles), in which case it denotes "master." The term is said to be derived from the war-cry of the Spaniards during the conquest—"Viva Castilla!"

very active—tearing their lumps of meat to pieces, and cramming the rice into their mouths with their fingers.

The dancing was resumed, whilst the remains of the pig and rice were being devoured below stairs, under our floor, by the small boys and the waifs and strays who usually turn up at festivals. About one o'clock the party began to clear off. As they did so, the headmen and those who were not scared at the *Cachila*, bent one knee, placed the hand on the forehead, and bobbed their heads to me by way of respectful salutation; the women, however, had not arrived at that stage of culture, and cleared off most unceremoniously.

My bed was quickly made; a straw mat and two pillows on the floor was all the necessary.

The next morning, after a deal of searching, beseeching and bantering, I got what was called an "omnibus" to take me to the capital town—Bacólod. This vehicle was a rectangular box, a little longer than square, set on springs and two wheels, and drawn by a buffalo. When we reached the first river, the buffalo would insist on bathing, and the stupid driver forgot to twist his tail to keep him up. So he rolled down all of a sudden, and I was pitched forward with my bags and Nicomedis sliding towards me. The driver jumped into the stream, and, by dint of jerking the twisted cane attached to the buffalo's nose-ring, succeeded in getting him on to his legs and us out of the river.

The buffalo was perhaps more used to the plough than this kind of labour, and it was only by occasionally pricking his haunches with a stick and shouting to him that he could be got to proceed. Each pricking sent him at a slow heavy trot, which jostled us about most unpleasantly on the narrow board seat, but I soon learnt that one must be thankful for any kind of conveyance in Negros.

We were near the river at the entrance to Bacólod, and, to prevent the animal repeating his morning dip, he was driven through the water at a rush, in no way adding to our comfort.

Bacólod hardly differs from the generality of Negros towns, except that there are half-a-dozen large good houses besides the Government House and offices of the chief judge and other provincial officials. Moreover, there was a clock in the church steeple—quite a novelty for the province. The town stands on the coast, but the sea is so shallow for quite a mile out, that steamers have to anchor a long distance off.

The arable land, especially in the direction of Súmag, is considered little fertile, but rice and cane crops are raised on it. Bacólod is the modern capital of Negros—the island most advanced in agriculture on a comparatively broad scale, due to the efforts of foreign capitalists (*vide* page 286). Up to the year 1844, Jimamaylan, situated about 45 miles south on the same (west) coast was the seat of local government. In that year the natives murdered the Governor of the island and besieged his successor in the Government House. The armed forces stationed there were quite inadequate to maintain authority against such a riotous population, and after these events, it is said that the new Governor appointed to Negros, having heard, on his arrival from Spain, of the state of affairs there, at once resigned, and later on the capital was removed to Bacólod. The archetypal races of Negros have retreated to the cordillera, where they live in independence. Many of the present domesticated native families, under Spanish rule in Negros, are descendants of criminals and outlaws who took refuge in this island, when, up to 60 years ago, it was almost a *terra incognita*. Perhaps this will account for the rude, sullen and unpolished character of the Negros native inhabitants of to-day as compared with their Tagálog brethren.

I managed to get a *carromata* to continue the journey, after a deal of bargaining with the owner, who insisted upon the fare being deposited before starting. I went on to the Hacienda Ildefonso—the sugar-cane estate of a Spaniard at Mataban, just this side of the next town, Talisay. The planter—married in the colony—had been here some 30 years engaged in various enterprises until he took over this property which once belonged to an Englishman. For the Philippines, where cane plantations are small, this was relatively an extensive estate. It produced annually about 700 tons of raw sugar, but as the factory employed centrifugal machines for purging out the molasses,—the nett output of dry sugar was about 525 tons per annum.

Following the coast, I passed through the towns of Talisay and Silay—the latter a flat, dreary wilderness sort of place, with a church in the middle of a field, and sombrous-looking houses scattered around it. On either side of the road from Silay to Sarávia, there is nothing but cane fields. A Panay Island capitalist had just laid down a tramway, to bring sugar from the surrounding estates to the town and thence to the sea-shore. With this object, a way had been cut through a forest

and swamp, and an embankment thrown up for laying the rails as far as Punta Tomonton. I was assured that, had it not been for the influence of a native woman known as Tia Miay, the labourers could never have been persuaded to finish the work.

From Sarávia, the road north is rough, and to pursue my journey I had to hire ponies. I went on to Victoria, a village surrounded by sugar estates, nearly all of which belong to one owner, who rents them out and advances capital for their working.

From Victoria to Cádiz Nuevo, the route is still worse, and one has to ford several streams and a number of insecure bridges to reach the town. Instead of going directly to Cádiz Nuevo, I turned off to a place called Bayábas—to the property of a half-caste Chinese planter, whose acquaintance I had made in Yloilo. His estate-house was the neatest and prettiest I had ever seen on any Philippine plantation. The spacious, airy apartments were well furnished and decorated, whilst the exterior called to mind a country gentleman's residence in fair Andalusia. Moreover, the furniture of the house was chosen with rare taste, whilst the vestibule and lobbies were void of that miscellaneous lumber so generally found in a Philippine farmery.

The owner, Don Leandro, and his *Señora* showed me every attention. Ponies were at my disposal for riding round his splendid property—a basket chaise was always ready if I wished to go into town. I could bathe in the house, or I could swim in the river, the *Italon diutai*—with its shaded banks, two minutes' walk from the house. The pleasant society which I enjoyed here, for a few days, contrasted strongly with the uncouth class of people I had mostly met with on the journey since my landing on the island. When I was not entertained by my worthy host or his *Señora*, there was their little grand-daughter Charin—a charming *mestiza* of six summers—as sharp as a needle and one of the prettiest children of her class.

A large portion of the property was uncleared—still virgin forest. In the early mornings, after my bath, I amused myself by riding out to the woods with a gun, then—after tying up my pony to a tree in the shade—I found sport amongst the hundreds of cockatoos and large birds which abound in the tall trees. There was some fine scenery too, where the feller's axe had not yet found its way.

One Sunday morning Don Leandro and I went to town in the chaise with a trotting ox to meet the headmen after Mass. The path



A CHINESE-FILIPINO (WEST ZO.)



A LEADING VISAYA PLANTER.



to the high road was rough, although plenty of money had been spent to keep it in order. But it was labour lost, for the buffaloes' hoofs and cart-wheels cut it up as soon as it was repaired, and there is no stone in the neighbourhood. We were in the chaise on the raft passing the river, when the ox stepped forward—the raft tilted—the animal put out the other foot to save himself, and in we all went. The vehicle slowly sank and the ox with it, whilst we jumped into the water and swam to shore. Poor Don Leandro had spoiled his \$200 watch, but the greatest misfortune for the time being was, that his spectacles had dropped off into the water.

There was nothing noteworthy in Cádiz Nuevo. The church was like a barn, but a new one was being built of stone. The convent was a good building. There is one street of shops with the cross roads and small houses here and there, and three or four good residences of stone, wood, and iron roofs. Chinese emigrants almost monopolise the retail trade. A civil guard post was stationed here, and the principal inhabitants are either planters or sugar buyers with capital supplied to them by the Yloilo dealers.

The population around chiefly consists of emigrants from other islands who began to arrive when lands were first taken up here for agriculture. Many of the settlers are from Cápis. One influential family is from Manila, and the majority of the field labourers are from Bantayan—a barren, sandy, almost desert island to the N. of Negros. Whilst the sugar-cane grinding season lasts, an extra number of labourers is required, and when it is over, the surplus return to Bantayan. The annual festival of Bantayan is held in July, and then the planters or their representatives go over there in canoes—often with their families—and pass a week or more to persuade the workpeople to come over to their estates for the incoming cane-crushing season, often making them advances to secure their services. It is rather novel to see capitalists begging for labourers; sometimes there is quite a competition amongst the planters to secure hands.

I made some pleasant excursions out from Cádiz Nuevo to the neighbouring homesteads—sometimes on horseback, at other times by canoe up the streams, which empty themselves into the Cádiz River. There are plenty of fishermen's prahus to be found here, and in one of them I set sail for Escalante on the east coast. Half the coast round

the north point of Negros is mangrove swamp—the other half having abrupt precipices down to the sea border.

We had a light breeze all the way, which just kept us going with two sails set. Sometimes the trees of the swamp grew so far out into the sea that we could find a passage between them, and at midday we lowered sail and hauled into a shaded place to lunch without going ashore. The men boiled their rice and fried their dried fish on board, whilst I ate my cold fowl and bread which I had brought from Cádiz Nuevo.

It was a delightful journey, sailing slowly along the coast, and in eight hours we were in Escalante. I had a letter to the lieutenant commanding the district, but he was not at home. However, his secretary, a young Philippine-born Spaniard, had seen the prahu heave to in front of the Government House; he did not know who I was, nor that I had a letter to his chief, but, of his own good nature, he spontaneously sent four men with a chair on two long bamboos to carry me from the prahu, across the wet muddy beach, to the house. I presented my letter, but it was hardly necessary. He treated me as if we had been old friends, and accompanied me to visit the only Europeans in the place—the parish priest and the sub-lieutenant commanding the civil guard.

Escalante is a tobacco-growing district, and produces a very fair quality article. We went out to see a few plantations and inspect the maturing sheds, which are all very primitive. The leaves were simply aerated by hanging them in rows. I saw no stacks of leaves for the fermentation, which seems to be imperfectly understood. There is nothing cheerful in a tobacco plantation which, at the first glance, might be mistaken for a field of cabbages run to seed.

The Secretary kindly lent me the Government falua—a long European-built boat for sail or oars—and I hired five men to take me on to Calatrava. The coast along here is thickly covered with trees down to the water's edge. In less than an hour with a light wind we had reached the wide Danao river. The journey to Calatrava, I was told, would take about seven hours, so I determined to make an excursion up the river. The water was very smooth and I was able to take some soundings at the mouth with a heavy stone and bush-rope. The depth at the mouth varied from nine to thirteen feet. We went

up about fifty yards, and, on sounding again, I found a depth of twenty-seven feet. The width of the mouth was about a quarter of a mile, and when we rowed on for nearly an hour it was still wider. However, the navigable water course was considerably contracted by a closely matted fringe of mangrove trees which, with their roots shooting up and interlacing one another, formed a kind of impervious screen or network.

Then, as we proceeded, we saw steep precipices on either side and gigantic trees overhanging, spreading their lofty branches so far over the river that for hours we were shaded from the sun's rays.

A few yards up from the mouth, on the left bank, there were a few huts, but during six hours' journey past that place we neither met a canoe nor saw a human being. The silence was only disturbed by the screeching of the *calao*¹ and the *gavilan* hawk. I was enchanted by these gloomy but grand regions.

The men were getting tired; they had not speculated on so much hard labour, as they thought I was going to sail direct to Calatrava. They began to murmur—they were wondering when and where my wanderings would finally land them. They are a highly superstitious race, and I suspect they were fearing we should not get out of this place before the hour the spirits of the forest (the *asuang*) appeared. They begged of me to return, but I persuaded them to row on a little while longer to see if we met any one of whom to make some inquiries. The river became narrower, but there was plenty of depth for the boat. In half-an-hour we saw some canoes and children. When they saw us they scampered off, frightened, and to tell their elders probably.

In five minutes more we had landed at a collection of cabins. There were some fourteen men and women and a number of children, but only five huts were to be seen—little shanties of bamboo and cogon grass roofs. Some of the men were apparently half-caste *Metas*, judging from their dark colour and the half-matted hair.

Around the huts were a few plantain trees, and, on the river bank, I saw several nets made of a vegetable fibre, and three canoes. My men, who were very fatigued, got under the shade of a large tree to make a fire for boiling their rice.

I went with my servant Nicomedis to a hut. The raised flooring was simply made of branches of trees with a few split bamboos crossing

¹ Calao—*Buceros hydrocorax*.

them. I saw some harpoons used for fishing and made a bargain for them—five for a half-worn-out cotton China shirt. When I opened my bag, the natives—the women in particular—were very anxious to see the contents. They handled everything, and, in the end, I gave them some pocket-handkerchiefs.

My servant, an Iloco lad, could not understand these people at all, so I got one of the Visaya boatmen to interpret as well as he could, their language being more similar to his. I understood that they lived by fishing on the river, collecting succulent roots in the mountains, and, occasionally, they planted a little rice on the mountain slope. They all had, more or less badly, a cutaneous disease, with scars covering the legs of some (*vide* "Diseases," page 207). The women had rags round their loins and hanging down to their knees, and on inquiry as to how they got the stuffs, I was told that they were supplied to them by a headman near Escalante, who sometimes commissioned them to deliver him rattan cane and gum.

The group of huts stood on a cleared piece of land which sloped down to the river bank. All around was majestic luxuriant forest, and, accompanied by two of the boatmen and followed by the village natives, I walked into the wood for about half-an-hour.

There was nothing unusual to be seen, although all around was life and vigour. Beautiful orchids clustered on the stately trees, which hardly permitted the sun's rays to penetrate, whilst a thick undergrowth impeded our progress at every step. We passed a large cavity—a sort of lagoon, about one-third full of stagnant water, which surely never reflected the blue sky—and halted under a *balete* tree.¹ The trunk of mighty girth, borne up on roots, like walls, so even and large, that in some districts cart-wheels are cut out of them. From the boughs, towering up some sixty feet, smooth lianes, without knot or leaf, hung to the earth, forming so many natural ropes; and on the limbs of this giant of the forest, clung orchids, cactuses and other minor plants in rich profusion, seeking, as it were, protection from the monster growth. There I stood spell-bound, peering into the fantastic tropic forest, until I remembered it was time to return to the boat.

My men were asleep. I resolved, therefore, to extend my excursion, and engaged two squatters to carry my luggage before me up the hill—to the summit of that mountainous rampart which we had passed on

¹ *Ficus Indicus*.

the way. Perhaps they would go off with the boat, I thought, when I reached the top. But what mattered? In return for this possibility I was viewing one of the grandest prospects in Nature. To the west from where I stood rose the great Cordillera with its long line of shadowy hills stretching far away to the distant south—a comparatively barren volcanic range. To the east, looking down the river, in brilliant contrast, was the noble forest where the towering trees spread their giant branches over the tall bamboos. The features of the scenery were terribly grand, and under such delicious influences of nature I ordered Nicomedis to prepare my meal beneath the broad canopy of a neighbouring palm grove.

The squatters looked on with an astonished air. Sons of the soil, they no doubt wondered what marvellous fascination impelled this white face to linger under arches of verdant boughs and find delight therein.

In Escalante I had had given to me a large bundle of roughly rolled cigars called *tus-tus*—simply the coiled leaf tied up with hemp fibre. It was choice selected tobacco, and I gave it to the natives at this little settlement, as I had no wearing apparel to spare, for one always carries the least luggage possible in these places.

We started for down the river. It was 11 p.m. when we left the mouth, and we could see the lights of a village called Salamanca. The men could not be up all night after the fatigue of the day, so we put in at this place until the next morning. I got my mat and pillows out of the boat, and slept soundly on the floor of a fisherman's hut. The next day, after I had taken some cocoa and boiled rice, we set out for Calatrava—a delightful trip in the early morn.

There was nothing noteworthy here. A church and convent, a couple of houses and a few huts constitute the whole town. The Chinese have three or four stores where they sell groceries and speculate a little in Barili (Cebú) and Escalante tobacco leaf.

From Calatrava I started in a prahu for Bagumbayan, about fifty miles journey down the coast. We passed Refugio Island and a few fishing villages on the way. To my left was the dim outline of Cebú Island—to my right the checkered scenery of rugged hill and cultivated plain. The mountain range, with its forest-clad slopes verging towards the sea, formed a charming background. There were some pretty creeks on our route, and a few miles this side of Bagumbayan the coast is cliff-bound. It was moonlight.

Bagumbayan is on the shore. We arrived there late at night. There is nothing to be seen but a wretched building which serves for a church, and a few huts. The fields around were planted with maize. The place was well named, for Bagumbayan signifies "new town." I rested one day making my arrangements for crossing the island to Jimamaylan, which is about thirty to thirty-five miles distant by the mountain paths. There was great difficulty in finding ponies; they were out grazing, and had to be caught. When they were brought in, I observed they were miserably thin animals; one was so chafed on the spine by native saddles that I positively objected to inflicting any further cruelty upon it, and another had to be sought for. It was only at nightfall that I had the three ponies ready for my servant, guide and self, so I lodged till morning at the petty-governor's dwelling. As my host knew just enough Spanish to make a conversation possible, I was put through my catechism, to the great enjoyment of all who grouped around me. About twenty pairs of eyes were apparently trying to read my past, present, and future life and condition.

Ever and anon my caeique friend would interpret for their benefit a passage of our interlocution, which was now met with a general laugh, now with the solemn ejaculation, *abak!*—at the same time Nicomedis was holding *levée* in the cookhouse. There—squatting on the bamboo floor—he had installed himself like a tribal chief amongst a posse of my host's male and female retainers and their particular friends, who—regarding him as a hero and a personage of no small degree, listened in silent rapture to his naïve interpretation of his master's habits and his own daring exploits in my service.

The shades of night had fallen hours ago. The dim light, thrown from the *ünsin* wick, floating on cocoa-nut oil in a piece of cocoa-nut shell in the corner, was still flickering when the motley crowd dispersed, and I was shown my sleeping apartment. In the roof, three or four bamboo stools were suspended in reserve for any feast. On the floor level, between a hideous wooden saint, a pile of *tampipe* clothes-baskets and myself, there was not much space left. However, with two pillows on the floor, I passed the night happily enough until 4 a.m., when "the early village cock had twice done salutation to the morn." But there were so many cocks saluting, that further repose was out of the question. My host was a "fancier," and like his chanticleers, rose with the first faint streak of dawn. Nicomedis prepared my cocoa, whilst the

headman showed me every attention, politely remarking, as he handed me cigars, "*V. cuidado de dispensar las faltas*" (Pray excuse all that may be wanting). Then he highly recommended the guide to me as a man who, having accidentally lapsed from virtue in his younger days, had defied the civil guard for years, and had sent many a native to the other world to annex his chattels in this. He knew every path, and was accustomed to treat with the mountaineers.

My servant and guide had native saddles, and I used my own. The guide carried his long bohie-knife—a kind of *campilan*—and a bag of provisions, rice, etc. which he hung to the saddle. Our journey led us by a good beaten track, through tall cogon grass, for about ten miles, crossing a rivulet here and there; then we began to rise gradually until we reached an elevation of 980 feet through winding paths with bush on either side of us, traversing uncultivated land until we came to a mountaineers' ranche. As we approached, the mountaineers beat their tom-toms and hollow tree-trunks to announce to the people in the woods the uncommon apparition. We halted at the ranche, and the *Aetas* came to parley with us. I could not understand a word, but my guide chatted familiarly with them. The adults were all three-parts naked; the children were dressed in nothing at all. The men had curly hair, very high cheek bones, and a generally emaciated and squalid appearance. The females were uglier still; a few old women were scarecrow creatures. They closed around us and stared. The first direct question put to the guide was whether I was a Spaniard, and they seemed well satisfied to learn that I was not. I did not know what to give them to put them in a good humour. All I could think of was the remainder of my cigars and a small bag of copper coin with which they seemed highly pleased.

A fire was lighted; the *Aetas* went to fetch us water from a stream, carrying it in a bamboo, the intermediate webs of which they had knocked out. I suppose my guide knew from experience that it was prudent to satisfy these people in some way. I noticed, on starting, that he seemed to have brought provisions for a long journey. Now he got his bag and served them out some rice and fish. I wandered about amongst the *Aetas*, who were very friendly disposed; they showed me how to light a fire without matches, by rubbing a piece of dry bamboo on the outside of another piece—the hollow of the bottom piece being burnt through, the fire caused by the friction came in contact with the fine shavings inside; then the shavings were very

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carefully taken out and blown gently until they blazed. They showed me deer-horns, and explained to me, through the guide, that there was good hunting about the locality. The pith or marrow of the deer-horn had medicinal properties they affirmed.

We had been riding slowly for four hours, and were somewhat tired. The lingering jog-trot of a small weak pony is far more wearying than the long lithe step of a good horse going at a fair pace. It was between ten and eleven when we arrived at the ranche, and after breakfast we rested for a couple of hours. Nicomedis went fast to sleep; he seemed more bored than amused. I think he regarded his master as a mystery, and could not account, in his own mind, for the odd taste of leaving Manila for these wild regions.

I got the *Actas* to shoot their arrows at a tree, and they seldom missed the exact mark. In the couple of hours' stay, the men had gained complete confidence, the women squatted about on their haunches watching, as if their curiosity could never be satisfied. Altogether it was a most comical social environment for an European. I suggested to my guide giving them the remains of the rice and fish and betel-nut as we were leaving, but he told me it would not be politic to be over generous as they might become exacting, mistaking our liberality for fear.

We mounted our ponies, and I shouted "*Adios!*" as we parted. I did not know what greeting they understood, so I gave the general one. On their part, they set up a yell which I interpreted to myself as "good-bye" and "*au revoir.*"

We trotted on for four hours more through forest defiles; ever and anon we could hear the distant murmur of a mountain torrent, and then we forded the little streams in the shaded dells. It was hot, but one does not feel it when riding and perspiring freely—nevertheless. I was glad when the sun was low, between five and six o'clock. I was getting quite tired of such slow locomotion, but one does not travel in the Philippines like a Nawab. My poor little nag too was not in condition to take me bounding through the passes. It was close upon sunset when we left the forest. We could hear the wind gently sighing through the tree tops; there was a most delicious breeze.

We now got on to an open path. On either side of us were planted hedges and cocoa-nut palms, so we were evidently nearing the coast. We could see the foot-prints of buffaloes as we proceeded. Then we came to some sugar-cane fields. It was about half-past six in the

evening ; the sun had quite gone down, but it was light still. We passed a homestead ; the man in charge undoubtedly knew my guide, for he hailed us to stop and rest.

“I can't go any further with you,” said the guide, “but I will get a man to take your baggage into town.”

“How's that ? ” I inquired as I dismounted.

“I'm not so safe on this side, and I return with the ponies by another route.”

I guessed it would be inconvenient for him to meet the civil guard on the west coast—but why make embarrassing inquiries ? so I left him and walked into town with Nicomedis and a man, who carried my belongings between them.

In half-an-hour we were in Jimamaylan, the old capital of Negros. It was like the majority of parishes, except that we could see the ruins of the ancient *Cotta*—the fort built to protect the inhabitants in olden times against the depredations of the Mussulmans.

I called at the convent, and whilst ascending the staircase, I met two young women of comely mien who grasped my right hand and kissed it. Did they take me for a missionary ? I wore no habit. Or a high official ? I carried no baton. It was an effort indeed to keep from laughing. The good Father Pedro invited me to sup and pass the night there. I was not at all displeased at the prospect of having a good meal, a good bed and a bath the next morning. I intended to go by road up to Marayo (Pontevedra) again, for I had promised to arrive on an estate near there in time for the feast of the patron saint. However, the priest told me that a small steamer from Yloilo was expected in the next day—and would call at Marayo on her return. She duly arrived—the boat came to shore bringing the captain, who visited the convent, and I went on board with him. It was a splendid clear day, and from the upper deck one could obtain a capital view of the coast with its plantations everywhere.

In about two-hours-and-a-half we reached Marayo, where I hired ponies to take me to the largest sugar-cane plantation in the Colony. I was in no great hurry, as, in any case, I should arrive before the saint's day. In the afternoon I rode out there through cane fields and over rough buffalo-cart roads, dykes and bridges. My worn out pony was so weak, that when we were half way he fell into a heap—or rather, subsided on all fours—sending me sprawling, so we had to leave the nag at a tenant's cabin. A team of buffaloes was coming along at

the time, and the man in charge was only too glad to let me mount one. He laughed all over his face, and thought it was a good joke to see a *Cachila* on a *carabao*. I had not yet learnt that there was any particular feature about buffalo-riding, further than the strain on one's thighs by being stretched over such a large girth of body. The animal was as tame as a lamb, and I sprang on to its back. The sensation is most peculiar to one unaccustomed to it. At every stride the whole skin seems to slide about as if it were detached from the flesh, and the huge body being too broad to grip, one's safety depends on maintaining a good balance. Since then, when necessity has obliged me to mount a buffalo, I have had a piece of rattan cane placed over the back with a loop at each end to serve as stirrups or foot-rests.

When I arrived at the estate-house, I was welcomed by the working partner and his wife—both Spaniards. We passed the time until the feast—two days hence—by visits to the factory (although the machinery was not running at the time), and calls at the adjoining properties belonging to Spaniards. There was a great assembly of Europeans from all around on the feast day, which was also a general holiday for the labourers. After dinner some of the guests slept the *siesta*—others chatted and smoked until about 4 o'clock, when there was to be a great cock-fight, just outside the house. We all went down to see the contest. Wagers were freely offered. I knew nothing of the "points" or the "antecedents" of any of the feathered gladiators, so I chanced my dollar each time on the one which looked the heaviest and the strongest. There was immense excitement among the serious sportsmen—the cock owners and the labourers. We Europeans made our bets (exclusively between ourselves) to keep up the enthusiasm. The series of battles lasted an hour, and most of the natives retired—some chuckling over their day's good fortune—others downhearted.

We went up to the balcony at the back of the house. I was to see a sight, the like of which I had never yet witnessed—a horse-fight. In the middle of a paddock facing this balcony, a mare was tied up to a post with about three yards of slack rope. Three stallion ponies were then loosened, and off they trotted to the mare. Whenever a pony approached her he became the common rival and enemy of the other two, and a desperate combat ensued. They kicked and bit each other terribly. At times, all being exasperated, the fight would become general—each one against the other. Whenever they got within reach

of the mare, she would launch out a kick with her hind feet, but of course her sex protected her from retaliation. The bloody contest lasted for over an hour, by which time they were all pretty well exhausted, but not one was disposed to yield. No one was the conqueror in the end; each had received about an equal share of bites on the neck and kicks on the trunk, and they were all driven off bleeding.

When the feast was over I returned to Marayo, and followed the high road in a *carromata* as far as Pulo Pandan, where I found a prahu to take me over to Guimarrás Island. The wind freshened up as soon as we started. We scud along at a terrific rate, and the prahu, driven over to the leeward, was shipping sea. I thought every moment we should be capsized. Nicomedis stood on the extremity of the outrigger on the weather side to help counterbalance her. I must confess I felt most uncomfortable, seeing that these waters teem with sharks. Knowing the prahu would not sink, I had, on starting strapped my bags and saddle to a cross-bar. The wind increased, and to save us, the native pilot had to run before it. When he attempted to head the craft in the direction of our course, a sudden gust caught us, and we turned over on one side within about three hundred yards of the shore.

The pilot got clear, and kept himself afloat whilst he disentangled the rigging and hauled in the sail dripping with water. I hung on to the prahu, and Nicomedis, who had jumped into the sea at the critical moment, did the same. A paddle which was on board had floated away, so the pilot swam out to pick it up and returned with it. We were quite safe. The outrigger on the leeward side had given way, but the other stood erect in the air, and as I sat on the hulk, it served me to keep my balance, whilst Nicomedis and the pilot paddled slowly to shore. My luggage was not lost, but it was wet through. I hired a pony and native saddle—the sole means at hand—to reach the other side of the island. I carried the bags, and Nicomedis walked with my saddle, which was soaked. It was about seven or eight miles to the opposite coast—to a place called Nagába, where I lighted upon a canoe, and was not displeased to find myself again, in half-an-hour, in the second port of the Philippines—Yloilo, which impressed me so unfavourably on my first arrival.

CHAPTER XXV.

TRAVELLING NOTES.—ITINERARY.

SPACE will not permit me to detail, as in the two preceding chapters, my further travels and exploring expeditions through the Philippines, extending, as they do, over a period of years, but I think the following hints on Travelling, together with a synopsis of twenty-two convenient journeys, may be useful to the tourist reader.

The best season for travelling is from, say the 1st of December to the 31st of May. The means of travelling noted in the journeys are for this (dry) season. If one travelled in the wet season he should be prepared to use his saddle in some cases where other means are mentioned, as the roads are, almost invariably, bad in the middle of the year. From nearly every place there are excursions to be made in the respective neighbourhoods, but the facilities for doing so much depend upon the good-nature of the native and other residents with whom one may happen to strike acquaintance. Except in Yloilo, Cebu and Bacólod (Visayas), and in Santa Cruz, Lingayen and Vigan (Luzon), and Zamboanga (Mindanao), the traveller has to depend absolutely on the gratuitous hospitality of the inhabitants, or his own baggage. Some good trips are made by simply visiting the plantations (hemp, coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. according to the locality), within half-an-hour's ride from the towns.

The Luzon natives are generally affable and hospitable. The Negros and Yloilo province natives are less courteous, but there are many liberal entertainers among the Spaniards and Tagálogs established there. The Cebú natives are docile and obliging.

It is well always to take a few small tins of provisions in case of need, and, when good bread happens to be found in a town, provide one's self with it on leaving, for in the next place it may not be

procurable. In my time the best bread in the Colony (not excepting Manila) was that made at Lipa (Batangas).

Carry the least luggage possible. An aneroid and thermometer may not be required by the tourist, but a compass is always useful. Wear a towel round the neck, like a scarf, whilst on pony-back or walking in the hottest sun. It is necessary to take a servant; Ilocos boys are the best—Visaya boys are the worst.

Make Manila, Yloilo or Cebú one's centre, and on journeys extending over a week from the centre, carry half-a-dozen doses of Howard's sulphate of quinine, a small bottle of J. Collis Browne's chlorodyne, a few doses of Eno's fruit salt, a knife and fork, a tin-opener, a corkscrew, a couple of yards of cord a quarter-of-an-inch diameter, and a revolver. A substitute for boot-blackening is found everywhere—the soot from the bottom of a frying pan (*carajay*) rubbed over the boots with a piece of banana skin gives a good polish. To arrest diarrhoea—masticate the peeling of green unripe guava fruit and swallow the juice only. If one is going a journey like No. 7 (*ride Itinerary*) he should take a light rug small enough to roll up and be portable on the saddle, for the nights on the river, and possibly in the mountain. When the greater part of the journey is by pony travelling, get all the luggage (except saddle and rug) into leather saddle-bags, as a portmanteau cannot be taken pony-back without damaging it.

To those who have not been in the Far East before, I would say—Don't get your special outfit of wearing apparel in Europe (as it will probably be just all wrong), but in the East, where the correct articles can be purchased on the spot. A light saddle and saddle bags (two pairs 14" × 12" × 3") should, however, be brought from Europe.

Under the Spanish *régime*, it was the custom on arriving at a town or village without knowing any one there, or without letters of introduction, to alight (by right) at the Town Hall. Each Town Hall had, or should have, a tariff of the means of travelling¹ which it was obligatory to supply on payment. Each township was composed of so many *cabezerias* or groups of tax-payers, and each *cabezeria* provided one *candrilero* for the service of the Town Hall, so that the

¹ Formerly it was also the obligation of the *Tribunal* officials to supply a traveller with certain provisions on payment. This obligation (except as regarded troops and military officers) was abolished by a decree of Governor-General Weyler dated 17th October, 1888, to come into operation on the 1st January, 1889.

supply of baggage-carriers, guides, etc. which one needed could not be refused on payment. How these matters will be regulated when a recognized government is again established throughout the islands remains to be seen. The *Tribunal* (i.e. Town Hall) was the office of the Municipal Council. All town affairs were transacted there. At the same time it was a sort of casual ward for wayfarers of all classes where one could pass the night (perhaps on the floor or the table). For the traveller it corresponded, in a certain degree, to the *dák-bungalow* of British India. But there were all sorts of *Tribunales*, from the poverty-stricken bungalow to the furnished well-built house.

It is prudent to begin a long riding journey early in the morning, and, when starting in a canoe, see that all the men are sober. Familiarity with the hired natives accompanying should be avoided; they are likely to abuse it, and are more accustomed to sternness.

The parish priests, as a rule, are hospitable, and as a matter of courtesy should be visited. Since the abolition of passports for the interior (year 1884), it is not usual for travellers to visit the local authorities without previous acquaintance or without introduction, either personal or by letter.

In some out-of-the-way villages, where an European is rarely seen, I have been asked if I was a Consul. The term was not meant in its diplomatic or international sense (of which they knew nothing), but simply—was I a well-to-do trader? The only rich merchants in Manila of former days being members of the *Consulado* (*vide* page 272) the term “consul” has by tradition been preserved in some places.

The “Travelling Time” indicated for each journey is approximately the time employed on the route, besides the convenient sojourns. This calculation is only intended as a basis upon which the tourist could estimate the number of days he would necessarily be away from his centre. He would add the time he chose for delays in excursions, shooting parties, social pleasures, etc.

The traveller has very little to fear from Brigands. They are not highwaymen who waylay one, without forethought, on the road, but bandits who take several days to scratch their heads and consult together before they make a raid on some particular isolated house or homestead.

LUZON ISLAND.

ROUTE No. 1.—MANILA PROVINCE.

Travelling time 3 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Mariquina -	Carriage and pair	Scenery. Excellent water for bathing. Healthy. Abundance of pure milk. The old name of Mariquina was Jesus de la Peña. It was formerly a Jesuit vicarage.
Mariquina to San Mateo -	Carrromata - -	Fine scenery up the river in a canoe. Three hours up the river there is good deer-shooting. One hour from the village is the famous grotto "La Cueva," and the pass of Marble boulders. Good scenery, riding over the highlands.
San Mateo to Montalban	" - -	
Montalban to Novaliches	Pony - - -	—
Novaliches to S. Francisco del Monte.	Carrromata - -	—
S. F. del Monte to Manila	" - -	—

ROUTE No. 2.—MÓRONG DISTRICT.

Travelling time 3 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Pasig - -	{ Steamer on week } days.	Up the Pasig river. Time 1½ hour.
Pasig to Cainta - -		Formerly a Jesuit vicarage.
Cainta to Antipolo - -		The Miraculous Virgin of Antipolo (<i>vide</i> page 198). The festival is held in the month of May.
Antipolo to Bosoboso -	Pony - - -	Scenery. Deer-shooting.
Bosoboso to Mórong -	" - -	Scenery. Mórong is the capital of this district.
Mórong to Táytay - -	Carrromata - -	Via Cardona, Binangonan and Angono.
Táytay to Cainta - -	"	Very pretty and enjoyable trip starting from Cainta at 6 a.m. or 4 p.m. Time 2½ to 3 hours. From the Club at Nagtájan to Cainta in canoe (against current) time 3½ hours.
Cainta to Manila - -	Canoe (<i>bancas</i>) -	

ROUTE No. 3.—BULACAN PROVINCE.

Travelling time 3 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Tinajeros -	Carriage and pair	Or steamer from Manila to Bulacan on week days.
Tinajeros to Ubijan -	Carromata - -	—
Ubijan to Bulacan -	" - -	—
Bulacan to Quingua -	" - -	Picturesque road.
Quingua to Baliuag -	" - -	Sugar centre of local importance.
Baliuag to S. Miguel de Mayumo.	" - -	Great rice paddy centre.
S. M. de Mayumo to Sibul	" - -	Medicinal Baths.

ROUTE No. 4.—PAMPANGA, NUEVA ECIJA & BULACAN PROVINCES.

Travelling time 4 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Guagua - -	Steamer - -	Time about 6 hours.
Guagua to S. Fernando -	Carromata - -	<i>Via</i> Bacolor, the capital of Pampanga Province.
S. Fernando to Arayat -	" - -	Go to the swimming bath at the foot of Arayat mountain in a carromata. Walk up the mountain. There is a splendid view of the whole province and port of Bulacan and Zambales Provinces from the summit. Ascent and descent are made in five hours. Arrange for the carromata to return from Arayat town to the bath to take you back to town.
Arayat to S. Isidro - -	" - -	Capital of Nueva Ecija Province. Wild buffalo hunts are organized from here.
S. Isidro to Cabiao - -	" - -	—
Cabiao to Candava - -	" - -	Great rice paddy centre. Duck-shooting on the Pinag de Candava (the Meres) in the wet season.
Candava to Calumpit -	" - -	—
Calumpit to Bulacan -	" - -	—
Bulacan to Manila - -	<i>Vide</i> Route No. 3	—

ROUTE No. 5.—PAMPANGA PROVINCE, TÁRLAC DISTRICT AND
PANGASINAN PROVINCE.

Travelling time 7 days, plus delay for the Steamer in Dagúpan.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Guagua - -	Steamer - -	Time about 6 hours.
Guagua to Florida Blanca	Carromata - -	Flat cultivated land.
Florida Blanca to Pórac -	" - -	" " "
Pórac to Angeles - -	" - -	In dialect it is called <i>Culiac</i> .
Angeles to Mabalacat -	" - -	—
Mabalacat to Tárlac -	" - -	Capital of Tárlac District.
Tárlac to S. Miguel de Camiling.	} " - {	{ Very sandy soil. Hard work for the ponies.
S. Miguel de Camiling to Bayambang.		
Bayambang to Malasiqui		
Malasiqui to S. Carlos -	" - -	—
S. Carlos to Lingayen -	" - -	Capital of Pangasinan Province—a neat town.
Lingayen to Dagúpan -	" - -	A very dreary uninteresting place.
Dagúpan to Manila -	Steamer - -	Distance by steamer 216 miles. Time by steamer say 27 hours.

ROUTE No. 6.—PANGASINAN AND ZAMBALES PROVINCES.

Travelling time 6 days, plus waiting for Steamer at Súbig.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Lingayen -	As per Route No. 5	—
Lingayen to Alaminos -	Carromata - -	Via Sual. Alaminos ¹ in Zambales Province.
Alaminos to Dásol -	Pony - -	Via Alos and Balincaguin.
Dásol to Súbig -	Ponies - -	IBA is the capital of Zambales Province.
<i>follow the coast S.</i>		
Súbig to Manila - -	Mail steamer -	Inquire in Manila before starting the approximate date the mail steamer will call at Súbig.

¹ There is a village called Alaminos in Bantagas Province.

ROUTE No. 7.—GRAND NORTHERN TOUR.

Travelling time 21 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS. OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Sábíg - -	Mail steamer -	Sábíg is in Zambales Province.
Sábíg to S. Fernando de la Union. }	" -	S. Fernando is in La Union Prov.
S. Fernando de la Union to Vigan. }	" -	Vigan is in Ilocos Sur Province.
Vigan to Currimao - -	" -	Currimao is in Ilocos Norte Prov.
Currimao to Aparri - -	" -	Aparri is in Cagayan Province.
Aparri to Tuguegarao - (<i>Passing by Lal-lo, Gattaran, Hasipia and Amulong.</i>)	Barangayan -	<i>Barangayan</i> is a wide river-boat, the sides being extended out with bamboos, and a very comfortable cabin for two persons is fixed on this. Tuguegarao is the capital of Cagayan Province.
Tuguegarao to Ylagan - (<i>Viâ Tamariní.</i>)	" -	Ylagan is the capital of La Isabela Province.
Ylagan to Cauayan - -	Pony - - -	—
Cauayan to Carig - -	" - - -	—
Carig to Bagabag - -	" - - -	Bagabag is in Nueva Vizcaya Province.
Bagabag to Bayombong -	" - - -	Bayombong is the capital of Nueva Vizcaya Province.
Bayombong to Aritao - (<i>Over the Caraballo Sur Mountain.</i>) }	" - - -	Start from Aritao by 4 a.m. or you may have to pass the night in the mountain in the cogon grass. The journey is very picturesque. Fine views for sketching.
Aritao to Carranglan -	Pony - - -	—
Carranglan to Pantabangan.	" - - -	—
Pantabangan to Canvitatay.	" - - -	—
Canvitatay to Bongabon -	" - - -	—
Bongabon to Cabanatuan	Carronata - -	—
Cabanatuan to S. Isidro -	" - - -	S. Isidro is the capital of Nueva Ecija Province.
S. Isidro to S. Miguel de Mayumo. }	" - - -	—
S. Miguel de Mayumo to Quingua. }	" - - -	—
Quingua to Bulacan - -	" - - -	—
Bulacan to Manila - -	Vide Route No. 3	—

ROUTE No. 8.—ALBAY, CAMARINES SUR, TAYÁBAS PROVINCES
AND LAGUNA DE BAY.

Travelling time 14 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING	NOTES.
Manila to Batangas -	Mail steamer	Grand view from Legaspi, Albay and Daraga (Cagsaun) of the Mayon Volcano. Try to be in these places on dark nights to see the boiling lava and stream of fire issuing from the crater if in eruption. Visit Iriga, and thence go up to a mountain ranche.
Batangas to Calapan -		
Calapan to Boac -		
Boac to Laguimanoc -		
Laguimanoc to Pasacao -		
Pasacao to Donsol -		
Donsol to Sorsogon -		
Sorsogon to Legaspi -		
Legaspi to Albay -	Carromata -	—
Albay to Malinao -	" -	Here are the Geysers of Albay and medicinal hot springs of great repute in the Colony.
Malinao to Tibi -	" -	
Tibi to Malinao -	" -	—
Malinao to Daraga (Cagsaun).	" -	Quaint town. Church on the peak.
Daraga to Ligao -	" -	See the little cataract on the way, 20 minutes' drive out of Daraga on the left-hand side.
Ligao to Bató -	" -	On the Lake Bató shore.
Bató to Naga (Nueva Cáceres).	{ Canoe (<i>banca</i>) up the Vicol River. }	Nueva Cáceres is a Cathedral city—a bishop's See and capital of Camarines Sur.
Naga to Pamplona -	Canoe (<i>banca</i>) -	—
Pamplona to Pasacao -	{ Pony or Sedan chair with four carriers. }	The mail steamer calls here, and will touch at Laguimanoc going to Manila.
Pasacao to Laguimanoc -	Mail steamer -	Tayabas is the most picturesque province in Luzon Island, but, except on its sea-coast, fever is common.
Laguimanoc to Pagbilao -	Sailing craft called "pasaje."	—
Pagbilao to Lúgbang -	Pony -	—
Lúgbang to Majayjay -	{ Sedan chair with eight carriers. }	Turn off the road to visit the Cascada de Botócan on the way.
Majayjay to Santa Cruz -	{ Pony or Sedan chair with eight carriers to Magdalena and thence in Carromata to Santa Cruz. }	In the Laguna Province.
Santa Cruz to Manila -	Steamer every week-day.	—

ROUTE No. 9.—BATAAN PROVINCE.

Travelling time 4 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Balanga - -	Steamer and canoe	Take the Guagua steamer (twice a week). Passengers for Balanga get off into the mail canoe (<i>banca-correo</i>), which meets the steamer in the bay. One day's excursion from Balanga up to the mountain "Real" of the <i>Actas</i> tribes.
Balanga to Orani - -	Carromata - -	Via Abucay, Mabatan and Samal.
Orani to Manila - -	Canoe and steamer	The mail canoe (<i>banca-correo</i>) goes out in the morning to meet the Guagua-Manila steamer on its return journey and takes passengers aboard.

ROUTE No. 10.—BATAAN PROVINCE.

Travelling time 36 hours.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Marivéles... ...	Steam launch for the occasion 4 hours to Marivéles.	Take provisions; there is nothing to be bought at Marivéles. Go up the mountain to see the <i>Actas</i> or <i>Negritos</i> with a guide.
Marivéles to Manila... ...		

MARIVÉLES.—There is much historical interest attached to this place. It was the chief port of the *Jurisdiction of Marivéles* under the old territorial division which comprised the island now called Corregidor.

The first Spanish missionary who attempted to domesticate the natives of the Marivéles coast was stoned by them and died in Manila in consequence. An insubordinate Archbishop is said to have been banished to Marivéles. Through the channel between this point and the island—*Boca Chica*—came swarms of Asiatic trading junks every spring for over two centuries. Forming the extreme point of Manila Bay, here was naturally the watchguard for the safety of the capital. It was the point whence could be descried the movements of foreign enemies—Dutch, British, Mahometan, Chinese, etc.; it was the last refuge for ships about to venture from the islands to foreign parts. Yet, with all these antecedents, it is one of the poorest and most primitive villages of the Colony. From its aspect one could almost imagine it to be at the furthest extremity of the Archipelago. Its ancient name was *Camaya*, and how it came to be called Marivéles is accounted for in the following interesting legend:—About the beginning of the 17th century one of the Mexican galleons brought to Manila a family named Velez, amongst whom was a daughter called Maria. When she was seventeen years of age this girl took the veil in Santa Clara Convent, and there responded to the attentions of a Franciscan monk, who fell so desperately in love with her, that they determined to elope to Camaya and wait there for the galleon which was to leave for Mexico in the following July. The girl, disguised in a monk's habit, fled from her convent, and the lovers arrived safely in Camaya in a hired canoe, tired out after the sea passage in a scorching sun. The next day they went out to meet the galleon which, however, had delayed her sailing.

In the meantime the elopement had caused great scandal in Manila. A proclamation was published by the town-crier calling upon the inhabitants to give up the culprits, under severe penalties for disobedience. Nothing resulted, until the matter oozed out through a native who was aware of their departure. Then an alderman of the city set out in pursuit of the amorous fugitives in a prahu, accompanied by a notary and a dozen arquebusiers.

After searching in vain all over the Island of Corregidor, they went to Camaya and there found the young lady, Maria, on the beach in a most pitiable condition, with her dress torn to shreds, and by her side was the holy Friar, wearied and bleeding from the wounds he had received whilst fighting with the savage natives who disputed his possession of the fair maiden.

A canoe was found there in which the friar was conveyed to Manila in custody, whilst the girl was taken charge of by the alderman in the prahu. From Manila the sinful priest was sent to teach religion and morality to the Visaya tribes; the romantic nun was sent back to the City of Mexico to suffer perpetual reclusion in a convent.

From these events, it is said, arose the names of *Corregidor* (Alderman) island, which lies between the rocks known as *Frail* (Friar) and *Monja* (Nun), whilst the lovers' refuge thenceforth took the name of *Marivéles* (Maria Velez).

About twenty minutes' walk from the church of Marivéles there is a pool of constantly bubbling water—a hot spring—wherein the natives believed that the centaur of the forest dwelt. The excursion up to the nearest Negrito ranche is an easy two hours' walk.

There is nothing notable to be seen in the village of Marivéles, which is very poor, and the European wanderer cannot count on procuring anything here in the way of provisions, or means of travelling to go (north) up the coast. On that route, the first flourishing town one reaches is Orion, where a number of well-to-do planters reside.

Ships arriving from foreign or Philippine infected ports were quarantined off Marivéles, under Spanish regulations. During the great cholera epidemic of 1832 a Lazaretto was established here.

PANAY ISLAND.

ROUTE No. 11.—YLOILO PROVINCE.

Travelling time 6 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Yloilo - -	Steamer - -	Direct voyage about 36 hours.
Yloilo to Santa Bárbara -	Carriage and pair	<i>Viâ</i> Jaro.
Santa Bárbara to Cabatúan	Carromata - -	—
Cabatúan to Janiuay -	„ - -	See the cemetery.
Janiuay to Maasim - -	„ - -	—
Maasim to Alimodian -	Pony - -	<i>Viâ</i> Leon. Good views.
Alimodian to Tigbaúang -	„ - -	Good views.
Tigbaúang to Yloilo - -	Carromata - -	—

ROUTE No. 12.—YLOILO PROVINCE.

Travelling time 3 hours.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Jaro - - -	Carriage and pair.	Jaro is a Cathedral city and bishop's Sec. In Jaro and Molo the richest native and Chinese half-breed families reside—also the principal Yloilo “middle-men.”
Jaro to Molo - - -		
Molo to Yloilo - - -		

ROUTE No. 13.—YLOILO, ANTIQUE AND CÁPIS PROVINCES.

Travelling time 14 days, plus delay waiting for steamer in Cápis.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Miagao - -	Carriage and pair	<i>Viã</i> Otong, ¹ Tigbaúang and Guimbal.
Miagao to S. Joaquin - -	Omnibus - -	—
(over the mountain) - -	{ Sedan chair with 8 carriers. }	—
S. Joaquin to Antique - -	—	<i>Viã</i> Guinta. Fine scenery.
Antique to S. José de Buenavista - - -	{ Pony - - - }	A very pretty town and bay. S. José de Buenavista is the capital of Antique Province. Excursions to Egaña, Sibalom, San Remigio and Bontol.
S. José de Buenavista to Patnóngon - - -	{ Carromata or omnibus. }	<i>Viã</i> San Pedro. Wear sandals (<i>alpartagas</i>) instead of boots from here to Barbaza for ford- ing the several small streams.
Patnóngon to Bugáson - -	Pony - - -	In the habits of the Bugáson natives there are still traces of the old Moslem dominion.
Bugáson to Barbaza - -	„ - - -	<i>Viã</i> Guisijan. —
Barbaza to Tibiao - -	„ - - -	—
Tibiao to Culasi - -	Pony or carromata	Excursion to Marilisan Island to see the gypsum deposits.
Culasi to Pándan - -	Pony - - -	Get good ponies in Culasi for this run; the distance is six leagues (say 21 miles).
Pándan to Ibajai - -	—	This is Cápis Province.
Ibajai to Tangalan - -	Pony - - -	—
Tangalan to Numancia - -	„ - - -	—
Numancia to Calibo - -	„ - - -	Hire a canoe. Pretty scenery up the swamp creeks (<i>manglares</i>).
Calibo to Lezo - -	{ Carromata or omnibus. }	—
Lezo to Banga - -	„ - - -	—
Banga to Yuisan - -	„ - - -	Capital of Cápis Province.
Yuisan to Cápis - -	„ - - -	—
Cápis to Panay - -	„ - - -	—
Panay to Pilar - -	{ „ or pony }	—
Pilar to Cápis - -	„ - - -	Hire a canoe. Pretty scenery up the swamp creeks (<i>manglares</i>).
Cápis to Yloilo - -	Mail or local steamer.	—

¹ OTONG in olden times was a place of importance when the galleons put in there on their way to and from Mexico to avoid the strong currents of the San Bernadino Straits.

Under the old territorial division, the Jurisdiction of Otong comprised all Panay Island (except a strip of land all along the N. coast—formerly Panay Province, now called Cápis) and a point here and there on the almost unexplored Negros coast. Galleons were sometimes built at Otong which was, on several occasions, attacked by the Dutch. Yloilo, at that time, was an insignificant fishing village.

ROUTE No. 14.—YLOILO PROVINCE.

Travelling time 3 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Dumángas - -	—	This is the least interesting journey. Very little good scenery. All the road is good for vehicle in the dry season, but past Barrótac a stranger could with difficulty hire one. Take a good trotting pony from Yloilo for the whole trip.
Dumángas to Barrótac - -	—	
Barrótac to Dingle - -	—	
Dingle to Dueñas - -	—	
Dueñas to Passi - -	—	
(returning same way and by same means).		
Passi to Yloilo - -	—	

ROUTE No. 15.—CONCEPCION DISTRICT.

Travelling time 4 days, plus delay waiting for steamer or schooner.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Ajuy - - -	{ Cargo schooner (<i>lorcha</i>) or local steamer }	Time in steamer about 7 hours.
Ajuy to Concepcion - -	Pony - - -	Or borrow a planter's vehicle.
Concepcion to Sara - -	—	Good scenery. High mountain peaks.
Sara to Ajuy - - -	—	
Ajuy to Yloilo - - -	Schooner or local steamer.	

NEGROS ISLAND.

(Vide Chapter XXIV.)

ROUTE No. 16.—YLOILO.*Travelling time 9 days, plus delay waiting for steamer or schooner in Ilug or return to Ginigarán and waiting there.*

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Silay - -	Steamer 3 or 4 times a week.	—
Silay to Talisay - -	Carromata - -	—
Talisay to Bacólod - -	Carromata or omnibus.	Visit the Mataban Estate <i>en route</i> .
Bacólod to Bago - -	"	<i>Viâ Súmag.</i>
Bago to Valladolid - -	"	—
Valladolid to Marayo } (Pontevedra, - - - }	"	<i>Viâ S. Enrique.</i> Make a trip to La Carlota.
Marayo to Ginigarán - -	Pony - - -	—
Ginigarán to Jimamaylan	Omnibus - -	—
Jimamaylan to Ilug - -	Pony - - -	<i>Viâ Suay.</i> Near Ilug is the shrine of a miraculous saint.
Ilug to Inayaúan - -	Pony, or better in a canoe (<i>baroto</i>).	There is a fine view of the rugged coast from a <i>bilus</i> or <i>baroto</i> .
Inayaúan to Ilug - -	"	—
Ilug to Yloilo - - -	Cargo schooner or possibly a local steamer or else return to Ginigarán and embark there for Yloilo.	The journey may be extended by an expedition up the Canlaan mountain (volcano). Start from Ginigarán. Go a certain distance on pony-back—the remainder on foot. Carry a rug, provisions for 3 days, a few doses of quinine, and take 4 natives who know the passes.

GUIMARRÁS and NEGROS ISLANDS.

(Vide Chapter XXIV.)

ROUTE No. 17.—YLOILO.

Travelling time 6 days, plus delay waiting for steamer or schooner in Cádiz Nuevo on the return.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Yloilo to Nagaba - - (across Guimarrás to the <i>Contra costa</i>)	Canoe (<i>baroto</i>) - - Pony - - - -	— To Cabano.
Nagaba to Valladolid -	Canoe (<i>baroto</i>) - -	—
Valladolid to Bago - -	Carromata - - -	—
Bago to Bacólod - -	Carromata or omnibus -	—
Bacólod to Talisay - -	Carromata - - -	—
Talisay to Silay - -	„ - - - -	—
Silay to Sarávia - -	„ - - - -	—
Sarávia to Victoria - -	Carromata or pony -	—
Victoria to Cádiz Nuevo -	Canoe (<i>baroto</i>) - -	—
Cádiz Nuevo to Yloilo -	Schooner or steamer -	—

GUIMARRÁS ISLAND.—Due to its bad soil it is little cultivated. On the W. coast there are some lime-kilns—limestone and fuel being abundant. The island appears to be of coral and limestone formation, and there are immense fathomless caves in it. In some of these caves edible birds' nests have been seen. Around Mabalás, towards the N.W. point, there is an extensive and productive cocoa-nut and sugar plantation and a few small semi-independent homesteads, practically all under one owner. In the central valley there is, moreover, one small independent planter. Guimarrás timber is of very inferior quality. The coast is steep, thickly wooded and pretty. Large sailing ships, coming to load produce, anchor in the channel between Guimarrás and Yloilo. The current here is very strong. A pleasant excursion can be made from Yloilo to the picturesque villages of Salág, Buena Vista, Lunúsan and Nagaba, all situated on the coast opposite to Yloilo.

CEBU ISLAND.

ROUTE No. 18.—MANILA.

About 48 hours' direct voyage.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Cebú - -	Steamer - -	Steamers from Yloilo to Cebú run frequently. Direct voyage Yloilo to Cebú by steamer say 18 hours.
Cebú to Manila - -		—
Manila to Romblon - -	Mail steamer	—
Romblon to Cápis - -		—
Cápis to Yloilo - -		About a 6 days' voyage.
Yloilo to Dapitan - -		Dapitan is in Mindanao Island.
Dapitan to Dumaguete -		Dumaguete is in Negros Island.
Dumaguete to Cebú - -		—

CEBU is a port open to foreign trade with a Custom House established. For the commercial statistics, *vide* page 294. It is also a Cathedral city, a bishop's See, and of great historical interest (*vide* Chap. II.). The population of Cebú city in 1896 was 10,972, against 9,629 in 1888. The inhabitants of the whole island in 1896 numbered 595,726 against 518,032 in 1888 and 417,543 in 1876.

The channel for vessels is marked by buoys, and there are two lighthouses at the N. and two at the S. entrance to the port. Cebú harbour, and the city itself, which was well built, had a pleasant aspect up to the year 1897, when it was bombarded by the Spanish warship *Don Juan de Austria* to drive out the rebels. The environs are pretty, with Magtan Island (on which Maghallanes was killed) in front and a range of hills in the background. There are excellent roads for riding and driving a few miles out of the city. The climate is very healthy for Europeans—the low ranges of mountains running N.S. of the island are sparsely wooded, some being quite bare of trees, and the atmosphere is comparatively dry. The cactus is very common all over the island, and miles of it are seen growing in the hedges. About an hour-and-a-half's drive from Cebú city there is the little town of Naga, the environs of which are extremely pretty. From the top of Makdoe mountain, at the back of the town, there is a splendid view of the Pandan Valley.

The natives of this island are the most sociable of the Visaya population, but unfortunately some have a taste for strong drink.

In the city there is the Cathedral, the Church of St. Nicholas, the Chapels of the Paul Fathers and the Jesuits, and the Church of the *Santo Niño*—the “Holy Child of Cebú.” The historical importance attributed to this image rendered it interesting to the traveller, and it could be seen with permission of the prior of the Augustine Convent (*vide* page 196). About the year 1876 the Jesuit church had become the most popular place of worship and was the most frequented by the public; it was therefore destroyed by jealous authority, and the Jesuits since then had only a chapel of their own.

In the Ward of Pampango, which forms an abrupt point, stands the Fuerte de San Vidal—a fortress built at the time of the first Spanish settlement to command the harbour. In the main thoroughfare of Lutao district all the shops are Chinese, except two or three ready-made clothiers. The half-castes' shops were chiefly grouped in the “Parian”—at one time a very flourishing quarter, but much damaged during the 1897 bombardment.

There are two large Cemeteries at Guadalupe and Mabolo. In 1887 a shooting butts was established at the end of the Guadalupe road, and the annual pony-races take place in January. On the Mabolo road

there is a Leper Hospital, and the ruins of a partly well-built jail which was never completed.

At Christmas time one sees companies of infant native dancers, attired in gala dress—the “Pastores” who, at an hour’s notice, engage to display their juvenile abilities at private houses, and their performance is exceedingly amusing.

The Press, in the days of the Spaniards, was poorly represented by a little news-sheet, styled the “Boletín de Cebú.”

There is a little colony of British and other foreign residents engaged in commerce in Cebú, which ranks as the third port of the Archipelago. American, British, Italian and German Vice-Consulates are established there. It was the residence of the Brigadier-Governor of Visayas, as well as the Governor of the island and the usual local officials. In 1886 the Supreme Court of Cebú was established.

This city, which was the capital of the Colony (from 1565 to 1571), had a Municipality up to the time of Governor-General Arándia (1754-1759). It was then abolished because there was only one Spaniard capable of being a city councillor. One alderman who had served—Juan Sebastian de Espina—could neither read nor write, and the mayor himself had been deprived of office for having tried to extort money from a Chinaman by putting his head in the stocks. By Royal Order dated 7th June, 1889, and put into force by the Governor-General’s Decree of 31st January, 1890, the Municipality was re-established. The President was the Governor of the Island, supported by an *Alcalde* and 13 officials. For the Government of the Island under the Spanish *régime*, *vide* Chap. XIII.

Of all places in the islands, Cebú will please the conchologist. When I was there an old native named Legaspi had a splendid collection, which he freely exhibited to foreigners. At one time he had a *Gloria Maris*, which he sold for \$150, and some Russian naval officers are said to have offered him \$5,000 for a part of his collection. At certain seasons of the year, the *Euplectella Speciosa*, Gray, or Venus baskets, locally known as *Regaderas*, can be obtained in quantities; they are found in the Cebú waters. The *Eup: Spec:* is the skeleton secretion of an insect of the Porifera division. The basket is a series of graceful fretted spirals. Also fine *Piña* stuffs can be purchased here.

ROUTE No. 19.—CEBÚ.

Travelling time 7 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Cebú to Naga - - -	Carriage and pair -	<i>Viâ</i> El Pardo and Minglanilla.
Naga to Cárcar - - -	Carromata - - -	<i>Viâ</i> S. Fernando.
Cárcar (across the island) } to Barili - - - }	Pony - - - -	Time five to six hours, according to the kind of animal one has.
Barili to Tuburan - - -	Sailing prahu - - -	Calling at Pinamungájan, Toledo and Asturias. Start- ing on a moonlight night about midnight one should arrive the next evening in Tuburan. Total distance say 50 miles.
Tuburan to Taboilan - - -	„ - - -	Next day's journey.
Taboilan to Sógod - - -	Pony - - - -	Time five to six hours, according to the kind of animal one has.
Sógod to Panalipan - - -	Spring cart (<i>flecha</i>) -	<i>Viâ</i> Cadmon and Dancadmon.
Panalipan to Cármén - - -	„ - - -	—
Cármén to Danao - - -	{ „ or carromata - }	—
Danao to Liloan - - -	„ - - -	<i>Viâ</i> Compostela, where there are coal mines in the vicinity.
Liloan to Cebú - - -	Carromata - - -	<i>Viâ</i> Mandaue and Mabolo.

ROUTE No. 20.—CEBÚ.

Travelling time 5 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Cebú to Punta Bulaláqui	Steamer - -	The steamer going to Manila will, by special arrangement, stop between Isla Chocolate and Cebú Island and put off a passenger at Punta Bulaláqui. I made my first Cebú Island journey thus in the steamship "Butuan."
Punta Bulaláqui to Bogó	Pony - - -	—
Bogó to Cármen - -	Sailing prahu - -	Passing or calling at Tabogon, Borbon, Sógod, Cadmon, Dancadmon and Panalipan on the way. Total distance say 35 to 40 miles.
Cármen to Danao - -	Spring cart (<i>flecha</i>)	—
Danao to Liloan - -	{ " " " }	<i>Via</i> Compostela.
Liloan to Cebú - -	{ or carromata - }	<i>Via</i> Mandaue and Mabolo.
	Carromata - -	

ROUTE No. 21.—CEBÚ.

Travelling time 8 days.

ROUTE.	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Cebú to Naga - -	Carriage and pair -	<i>Via</i> El Pardo and Minglanilla.
Naga to Cárcar - -	Carromata - -	<i>Via</i> S. Fernando.
Cárcar to Sibonga -	Spring cart (<i>flecha</i>)	—
Sibonga to Argao -	" "	Population of Argao in 1896 was 34,815.
Argao to Dalaguete -	" "	—
Dalaguete (across the island) to Malabayoc -	{ Pony - - }	From Boljóon.
Malabayoc to Barili -	Sailing prahu -	Time six to seven hours, according to the kind of animal one has.
		Passing or calling at Alegria, Badian, Maulbaul and Dumárijoc.
Barili (across the island) to Cárcar - - -	{ Pony - - }	Time five to six hours, according to the kind of animal one has.
Cárcar to Naga - -	Carromata - -	<i>Via</i> S. Fernando.
Naga to Cebú - -	" - -	<i>Via</i> Minglanilla and El Pardo.

LONG SEA TRIP.

ROUTE No. 22.—MANILA.

Travelling time 11 days.

ROUTE,	MEANS OF TRAVELLING.	NOTES.
Manila to Culion - (Calamianes Islands).	Mail steamer ¹	While the steamer waits, there is time to see the places called at. One should not travel inland and break the journey in any of these intermediate places (except Yloilo) without going fully equipped for an exploring expedition. For a description of Puerto Princesa and Sulu (Joló) <i>vide</i> Chap. X. The entrance to Isabela de Basilan is charming.
Culion to Cuyo - (Calamianes Islands).		
Cuyo to Puerto Princesa - (Palañan Island).		
Puerto Princesa to Balábac (Balábac Island).		
Balábac to Cagayan de Joló (C. de Joló Island).		
Cagayan de Joló to Joló - (Sulu Island).		
Joló to Isabela de Basilan - (Basilan Island).		
Isabela to Zamboanga - (Mindanao Island).		
Zamboanga to Yloilo - (Panay Island).		
Yloilo to Manila - -		

ZAMBOANGA.—Many years ago an attack was made on the town and port of Zamboanga, the centre of Spanish rule in the south, but the place was successfully defended by Europeans and the natives who had embraced Christianity. The Mussulmans bear an equal hatred to all classes of Christians, hence it was easy for the Spaniards to secure the co-operation of the inhabitants for their mutual defence.

The attack was organized in the Island of Basilan, and the Mussulmans, in their retreat from Zamboanga, after their defeat, were pursued by an escaped convict Pedro Cuevas. This man was accorded a free pardon for his service to the Government, and the native population of Zamboanga were all declared to be Spaniards of the first class.

¹ Mail steamers with comfortable accommodation for travellers leave Manila periodically on voyages varying from eight to twelve days the round trip. The routes and intermediate ports called at are advertised in all the daily newspapers of the capital.

I have never been able to clearly discern what material advantage this brought them, although I have discussed the question on the spot. The disadvantage of this pompous distinction to the colony generally was that following up the ridiculous popular notion of the natives that Spaniards in Spain are all cavaliers, they too, as Spaniards of the first water, thought work a degradation. Hence, there are fine valleys, suitable for forming plantations, from Zamboanga northwards, untouched for want of labourers. Capitalists and foreign houses could do nothing there directly (partly due also to the excessive port charges), and on landing from a ship there was not even a porter to be seen to carry one's luggage.

Zamboanga is a clean, well-built, and pleasant town, with good houses and roads, and well worth a visit. It was the residence of a military Governor and staff, *vide* page 234. In December 1898 General Diego de los Rios concentrated his troops here on the evacuation of the islands by the Spaniards. Mindanao, the name of the island, signifies "Man of the Lake."



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TAGALOG REBELLION OF 1896-98.

FIRST PERIOD.

AFTER the Napoleonic wars in Spain, the “Junta Suprema Central del Reino” convened the famous “Córtes de Cádiz” by decree dated 12th September 1809. This *junta* was succeeded by another—“El Supremo Consejo de la Regencia”—when the *Córtes* passed the first Suffrage Bill known in Spain on the 29th January 1810. These *Córtes* assembled deputies from all the Colonies—Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, Guatemala, Santa Fé, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, etc.; in fact, all those dependencies which constituted the four Viceroyalties and the eight Captain-Generalships of the day. The Philippine deputy, Ventura de los Reyes, signed the Act of Constitution of 1812. In 1820 the *Córtes* again admitted this Colony’s representatives, amongst whom were Vicente Posadas, Eulalio Ramirez, Anselmo Jorge Fajardos, Roberto Pimental, Esteban Marqués, José Florentino, Manuel Sáez de Vismanos, José Azcárraga, and nine others. They also took part in the parliamentary debates of 1822 and 1823. The Constitution was shortly afterwards suspended, but on the demise of Ferdinand VII., the Philippine Deputies, Brigadier García Gamba and the half-breed Juan Francisco Lecáros, sat in Parliament. Again, and for the last time, Philippine members figured in the *Córtes* of the Isabella II. Regency; then, on the opening of Parliament in 1837, their exclusion, as well as the government of the Ultramarine Provinces by special laws, was voted.

In 1868 Queen Isabella II. was deposed, and the succeeding revolutionary Government, founded on Republican principles, caused an assembly of reformists to be established in Manila. Its members

were persons born in the Islands, and they had the power to vote reforms for the Colony, subject to the ratification of the Metropolitan Government. But monastic influence prevailed; the reforms voted were never carried into effect, and long before the Bourbon restoration took place the Philippine Assembly had ceased to exist. But the mother country, which had spontaneously given the Filipinos a taste of political equality, again sought to yoke them to the old tutelage. It was an impossible idea. Alternate political progress and retrogression in the Peninsula cast their reflex on this Colony, but the first sparks of liberty had been gratuitously struck which neither reaction in the Peninsula nor persecution in the Colony itself could totally extinguish. No native, at that period, dreamed of absolute independence, but the few who had been taught by their masters to hope for equal laws became a thorn in the side of the monastic orders. Only as their eyes were opened to liberty did they feel the want of it.

The Cavite disturbance of 1872 (referred to at page 113), which the Philippine Government was unwise enough to treat as an important rising and mercilessly avenge itself by executions and banishment of many of the best Manila families, was never forgotten, nor forgiven. To me, as a foreigner, scores of representative provincial natives have not hesitated to secretly open their hearts on the subject. The Government lost considerably by its uncalled-for severity on this occasion. The natives regarded it as a token of apprehension, and a proof of the intention to rule with an iron rod. The Government played into the hands of the Spanish clergy, and whilst the friars scored a point in the monopoly of the incumbencies, they lost far more in moral prestige. Thinking men really pitied the Government, which became, more and more, the instrument of the ecclesiastics. Since then, serious ideas of a revolution to be accomplished one day, took root in the minds of influential natives, here and there, in the provinces adjacent to Manila. *La Solidaridad*, a Philippine organ published in Barcelona (Spain), was proscribed, but copies entered the islands clandestinely. In the villages, secret societies were formed which the priests chose to call "freemasonry," and on the pretext that all vows which could not be explained at the confessional were anti-Christian, the Archbishop gave strict injunctions to the friars to ferret out the so-called freemasons. Denunciations by hundreds quickly followed, for the priests willingly availed themselves of this licence to get rid of

anti-clericals and others who had displeased them. In the town of Malolos (which has since become the seat of the Revolutionary Congress) Father Moïses Santos caused all the members of the town council to be banished, and when I last dined with him in his convent, he told me he had cleared out a few more and had his eye on others. From other villages, notably in the provinces around the capital, the priests had their victims escorted up to Manila, consigned to the Governor-General, who issued the deportation orders without trial or sentence, the recommendation of the all-powerful *padre* being sufficient warrant. Thus hundreds of families were deprived of fathers and brothers without warning or apparent justification, but it takes a great deal to rouse the patient native to action. Then in 1895 came the Maraut campaign in Mindanao (*vide* page 157). In order to people the territory around Lake Malanao, conquered from the *Moros*, it was proposed to invite families to migrate there from the other islands, and notifications to this effect were issued to all the provincial governors. At first it was put to the people in the smooth form of a proposal. None volunteered to go, because they could not see why they should give up what they had to go and waste their lives on a tract of virgin soil with the very likely chance of a daily attack from the *Moros*. More peremptory orders followed, requiring the governors to send up "emigrants" for the Yligan district. This caused a great commotion in the provinces, and large numbers of natives abandoned their homes to evade anticipated violence. I have no proof as to who originated this scheme, but there is the significant fact that the *orders* were issued only to the authorities of those provinces supposed to be affected by the secret societies. Under the then existing system, the governors could not act in a case like this without the co-operation of the parish priests, hence during the years 1895 and 1896 a systematic course of official sacerdotal tyranny was initiated which, being too much even for the patient Filipino, was the immediate cause of the members of the KATIPUNAN secret society breaking out into open rebellion on Thursday, the 20th of August, 1896. The rebellion in Cuba was calling for all the resources in men and material that Spain could send there. The total European troops dispersed over these islands did not exceed 1,500 well armed and well officered; of which about 700 were in Manila. The native auxiliaries amounted to about 6,000. The impression was gaining ground that the Spaniards would be beaten out

of Cuba, but whilst this idea gave the Tagálogs moral courage to attempt the same in these islands, Spain's reverse in the Antilles and the consequent evacuation would permit her to pour troops into Manila and the natives' last chance would vanish indefinitely.

Several months before the outbreak, the KATIPUNAN sent a deputation to Japan to present a petition to the Mikado, praying him to annex the Philippines. This petition, said to have been signed by 5,000 Filipinos, was received by the Japanese Government, who forwarded it to the Spanish Government, hence the names of 5,000 disaffected persons were known to the Philippine authorities, who did not find it politic to raise the storm by immediate arrests.

The so-called "freemasonry" which had so long puzzled and irritated the Friars, turned out, therefore, to be the KATIPUNAN which simply means the "League." The leaguers, on being sworn in, accepted the "blood compact" (*vide* page 22), taking the blood from an incision on the leg or arm with which to inscribe the roll of fraternity. The cicatrice served also as a mark of mutual recognition, so that the object and plans of the League should never be discussed with others. The drama was to have opened with a general slaughter of Spaniards on the night of the 20th of August, but, just in the nick of time, a woman sought confession of Father Mariano Gil (formerly parish priest of Bigaá, Bulacan), then the parish priest of Tondo—a suburb of Manila—and opened the way for a leaguer, whose heart had failed him, to disclose the plot on condition of receiving full pardon. With this promise he made a clean breast of everything, and without an hour's delay the Civil Guard was on the track of the alleged prime movers. Three hundred supposed disaffected persons were seized in Manila and the provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan within a few hours, and large numbers being brought in daily, the prisons were soon crowded to excess. The bloodthirsty Archbishop Bernardino Nozaleda advocated extermination by fire and sword and wholesale executions. Governor-General Ramon Blanco hesitated to take the offensive, pending the arrival of reinforcements which were called for. He informed the Home Government that the rising was of no great importance, but that he required a thousand more troops to be sent at once. The reply from Madrid was that they were sending 2,000 men, 2,000,000 cartridges, 6,000 Remington rifles, and the gunboats *Isla de Cuba* and *Isla de Luzon*. Each steamer brought a contingent of

troops, so that General Blanco had a total of about 10,000 Spanish regulars by the end of November. Spain's best men had been drafted off to Cuba, and these were chiefly raw levies who had all to learn in the art of warfare.

Meanwhile, the rebellion had assumed alarming proportions. Among the first to be seized were many of the richest and prominent men in the Colony and the cream of Manila society. There was intense excitement in the capital as their names gradually leaked out, for many of them were known to us personally or by repute. No one who possessed wealth was safe. A rich Chinese half-caste, named Pedro Rojas, who was popularly supposed to be the prime supporter of the rebellion, was a guest at Government House two days before the hour fixed for the general slaughter. It cost him a large fortune to be allowed to quietly leave the islands. He took his passage for Europe in the *Isla de Panay*, but left that steamer at Singapore and went on to Marseilles in the French mail, and an old friend of mine saw him riding on top of an omnibus in Paris. No *documentary* evidence could be produced against him, and in the following year the well-known politician, Romero Robledo, undertook his defence in the *Córtes*, in Madrid, in a brilliant speech which had no effect on his parliamentary colleagues. For the Spaniards, indeed, the personal character of Pedro Rojas was a matter of no moment. The Manila court martial, out of whose jurisdiction Rojas had escaped, held his estates, covering over 70,000 acres, under embargo, caused his numerous steam cane-mills to be smashed, and his beautiful estate-house to be burnt, whilst his 14,000 head of cattle disappeared. Subsequently the military court exonerated Pedro Rojas in a decree which stated "that all those persons who made accusations against him have unreservedly retracted them, and that they were only extracted from such persons by the tortures employed by the Spanish officials; that the supposed introduction of arms into the Colony through an estate owned by Pedro Rojas is purely fantastical, and that the only arms possessed by the rebels were taken by them in combat from the Spanish soldiers." But his second cousin, Francisco L. Rojas, a shipowner, contrabandist and merchant, was not so fortunate. He was also one of the first seized, and his trial was pending until General Blanco left the Islands. During this period Rojas' wife besought the General to release him, but

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he could not do so without incurring public censure, in view of the real or fictitious condemnatory evidence brought against him by the court martial. The chief accusation was that of importing arms for the rebellion. It even became a current topic, for a few weeks, that some German merchants had made a contract with Rojas to sell him the arms, but the Spanish authorities had sufficient good sense, on this occasion, not to be guided by public outcry. When General Polavieja arrived, Francisco L. Rojas' fate became a certainty, and he was executed as a traitor. The escape of Pedro Rojas and the serenity of General Blanco aroused great indignation among the civilian Spaniards who clamoured for active measures. A week passed before it was apparent to the public that he had taken any military action. Meanwhile, he was urged, in vain, by his advisers to proclaim martial law. The press censor would not allow the newspapers to allude to the conspirators as "rebels," but as "brigands" (*tulisanes*). The authorities were anxious to stifle the notion of rebellion, and treat the whole movement as a marauding affair. On the 23rd of August the leading newspaper published a patriotic appeal to the Spaniards to go *en masse* the next day to the Governor-General to concert measures for public safety. They closed their shops and offices, and assembled before Government House, but the General refused to receive them, and ordered the newspaper to pay a fine of \$500, which sum was at once raised in the streets and cafés.

On the 26th of August one thousand rebels made a raid on Colocan, four miles outside the capital. They killed a few Chinese, and seized others to place them in the van of their fighting men. The armed crowd was kept at bay by a posse of Civil Guards, until they learnt that a cavalry reinforcement was on the way from Manila. Then the rebels, under cover of darkness, fled towards the river, and were lost sight of. The next morning I watched the troopers cross over the *Puente de España*. There was mud up to the ponies' bellies, for they had scoured the district all around. The hubbub was tremendous among the habitual saunterers on the *Escollta*—the Rialto of Manila. For the next few days every Spaniard one met had some startling news to tell, until, by the end of the week, a reaction set in, and amidst jokes and *copitas* of spirits, the idea that the Colocan affair was the prelude to a rebellion was utterly ridiculed. The General still refused to proclaim martial law, considering such a grave

measure unnecessary, when suddenly the whole city was consternated by the news of a far more serious attack near Manila.

About 4 a.m. on Sunday the 30th of August the rebels concentrated at the village of San Juan del Monte, distant half-an-hour on horseback from the city gates. They endeavoured to seize the powder magazine. One Spanish artilleryman was killed and several of the defenders were badly wounded whilst engaged in dropping ammunition from window openings into a stream which runs close by. Cavalry and infantry reinforcements were at once sent out, and the first battle was fought at the entrance to the village of San Juan del Monte. The rebels made a hard stand this time under the leadership of Sancho Valenzuela (a hemp-rope maker in a fairly good way of business), but he showed no military skill and chiefly directed his men by frantic shouts from the window of a wooden house. Naturally, as soon as they had to retreat, Valenzuela was taken prisoner. The rebels left about eighty dead on the field and fled towards the Pasig River, which they tried to cross. Their passage was at first cut off by gunboats, which fired volleys into the retreating mob and drove them higher up the bank, where there was some hand-to-hand fighting. Over a hundred managed to get into canoes with the hope of reaching the Lake of Bay, but, as they passed, the Civil Guard, lying in ambush on the opposite shore, fired upon them, and in the consequent confusion every canoe was upset. The loss to the rebels in the river and on the bank was reckoned at about fifty. The whole of that day the road to San Juan del Monte was occupied by troops and no civilian was allowed to pass. At 3 p.m. the same day martial law was proclaimed in Manila and seven other Luzon provinces.

The next morning at sunrise I rode out to the battlefield with the correspondent of the *Ejército Español* (Madrid). The rebel slain had not yet been removed. We came across them everywhere—in the fields and in the gutters of the high road. Old men and youths had joined in the scrimmage and, with one exception, every corpse we saw was attired in the usual working dress. This one exception we found literally upside down with his head stuck in the mud of a paddy field. Our attention was drawn to him (and possibly the Spaniards' bullets too) by his bright red baggy zouave trousers. We rode into the village, which was absolutely deserted by its native inhabitants, and stopped at the estate-house of the friars, where the Spanish officers

lodged. The *padre* looked extremely anxious, and the officers advised us not to go the road we intended as rebel parties were known to be lurking there. The military advice being practically a command, we took the high road to Sampáloc.

In the meantime the city drawbridges, which had probably not been raised since 1852 (*vide* foot-note at page 398), were put into working order—the bushes which had been left to flourish around the approaches were cut down, and the Spanish civilians were called upon to form volunteer cavalry and infantry corps. So far the rebel leaders had issued no proclamation—it was not generally known what their aims were—whether they sought independence, reforms, extermination of Spaniards or Europeans generally. The attitude of the thoroughbred native non-combatants was glum silence born of fear. The Eurasians, who had long vaunted their superior birth to the native, found themselves between two stools. If the natives were going to succeed in the battle, they (the Eurasians) would want to be the peaceful wire-pullers after the storm. On the other hand, they had so long striven to be regarded as on a social equality with the Spaniards that they could not now abstain from espousing their cause against the rebels without exciting suspicion. Therefore, in the course of a few days, the Eurasians resident in the capital came forward to enlist as volunteers. But no one imagined, at that time, how widespread was the KATIPUNAN league. To the profound surprise of the Spaniards it was discovered, later on, that many of the half-caste volunteers were rebels in disguise, bearing the “blood compact” mark, and presumably only waiting to see which way the chances of war would turn to join the winning side.

Under sentence of the court martial established on the 30th of August, the four rebel leaders in the battle of San Juan del Monte were executed on the 4th of September. The last penalty was paid on the Campo de Bagumbayan, facing the fashionable promenade called the Luneta, by the seashore (*vide* map). Three sides of a square were formed by 1,500 Spanish and half-caste volunteers and 500 regular troops. Escorted by two Austin and two Franciscan friars, the condemned men walked to the execution ground from the chapel within the city walls, where they had been confined since the sentence was passed. They were perfectly self-composed. They arrived on the ground pinioned; their sentence was read to them. Valenzuela was

unopinioned for a minute and signed some document at a table. When he was again tied up, all four were made to kneel on the ground in a row facing the open seabeach side of the square. Then, amidst profound silence, an officer, at the head of sixteen Spanish soldiers, walked round the three sides of the square, halting at each corner to publicly pronounce the formula—"In the name of the King ! " Whosoever shall raise his voice to crave clemency for the condemned " shall suffer death." The sixteen soldiers divided off in fours and stood about five yards behind each culprit. As the officer lowered his sword the volley was fired, and all but Valenzuela sank down and rolled over dead. It was a most impressive sight. I saw the bullets, which had passed clean through Valenzuela's body, throw up the gravel in front of him. He remained kneeling erect half-a-minute, and then gradually sank on his side. He was still alive, and four more shots, fired close to his head, scattered his brains over the grass. Conveyances were in readiness to carry off the bodies, and the spectators quitted the mournful scene in silence. This was the first execution, which was followed by four others in Manila and one in Cavite in General Blanco's time, and scores more subsequently.

Up the river the rebels were increasing daily, and at Pasig a thousand of them threatened the Civil Guard and compelled that small force and the parish priest to take refuge in the belfry tower. On the river-island of Pandácan, just opposite to the European Club at Nagtájan, a crowd of armed natives, about 400 strong, attacked the village, sacked the church and drove the parish priest up the belfry tower. In this plight the *padre* was seen to waive a handkerchief and so drew the attention of the Civil Guard stationed higher up the river. Aid was sent to him at once ; the insurgents were repulsed with great loss, but one European sergeant was killed and several native soldiers wounded. The rebellion had spread to the northern provinces of Nueva Ecija, where the Governor and all the Europeans who had fled to the Government House were besieged for a day. They must have fallen into the hands of the rebels but for the timely arrival of 500 troops from Manila, who outflanked the insurgents and dispersed them with great slaughter. In Bulacan the flying column under Major Lopez Arteaga had a score of combats with the rebels, who were everywhere routed. Spaniards and Creoles were maltreated wherever they were found. A young Creole named Chofré, and known by everybody

in Manila, went out to Mariquina to take photographic views with a foreign half-caste friend of his named Augustus Morris. When they saw the rebels they ran into a hut, which was set fire to. Morris (who could not be distinguished as a foreigner) tried to escape and was shot, whilst Chofré was burnt to death. From Maragondon a Spanish lady was brought to Manila raving mad. At the house of a friend of mine in Calle Cabildo (Manila) I several times saw a Spanish lady who had lost her reason in Mariquina, an hour's drive from Manila.

Crowds of natives swarmed into the walled city from the suburbs. The Governor-General himself abandoned his riverside residence at Malacañan and came with his staff to Calle Potenciana. During the first four months quite five thousand Chinese, besides a large number of Spanish and half-caste families, went over to Hongkong. The passport system was revived, that is to say, no one could leave Manila without presenting himself personally at the Civil Governor's office to get his *cédula personal* viséd.

Meanwhile the Province of Cavite was becoming the most important centre of rebellion, which soon spread to the Province of Batangas. The rebels established their headquarters at a place near Silan, where EMILIO AGUINALDO first came into prominence. Silan is situated at the base of the Sungay mountain, and the numerous ravines in the slopes which reach the Lake Bómbon (popularly known as Lake of Taal) afforded safe retreats to the rebels. Aguinaldo was the schoolmaster there, but he has relations who own some real estate in the province. He was born at Cavit,¹ in the same province, on the 22nd of March, 1869. On the 31st of August, 1896—eleven days after the plot was discovered—he issued his *pronunciamiento* simultaneously at his birthplace, at Novaleta, and at San Francisco de Malabon. This document is, however, of little historic value, as it does not set forth clearly the programme of the revolutionists, but is more a wild exhortation to the people, in general vague terms, to take arms and free themselves from oppression. I know San Francisco de Malabon very well—the place where Aguinaldo rallied his forces prior to their march to Imus. The village of Imus was their great strategic point. The village itself, situated in the centre of a large, well-

¹ *Cavit*, a Tagalog word, signifies fish-hook. *Aguinaldo*, a Spanish word, means Christmas box.



DON EMILIO AGUINALDO.



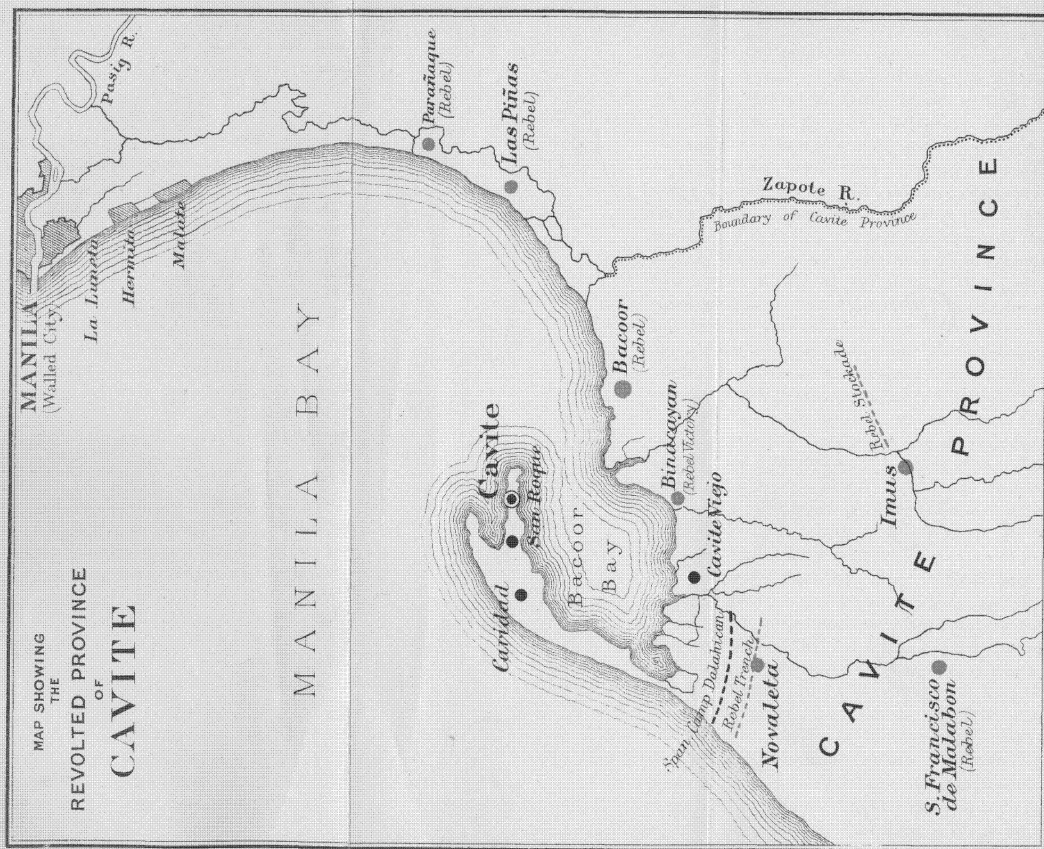
watered plain, surrounded by planted land, was nothing—a mere collection of wooden or bamboo-and-thatch dwellings. The distance from Manila, in a straight line, would be about 14 miles, with good roads leading to the bay shore towns. The people were very poor, being tenants or dependants of the friars, hence the only building of importance was the estate-house of the Religious Corporation. This estate-house was really a fortress in the estimation of the natives. The dwelling-house was situated in the middle of a compound surrounded by massive high walls, and to this place some seventeen friars fled on the first alarm. For the rebels, therefore, Imus had a double value—the fortress and the capture of the priests. After a siege which lasted long enough for General Blanco to have sent troops against them, the rebels took Imus estate house on the 1st of September and erected barricades there. Thirteen of the priests fell into their hands. They cut trenches and threw up earthworks in several of the main roads of the province, and strengthened their position at Novaleta. Marauding parties were sent out everywhere to steal the crops and live stock, which were conveyed in large quantities to Imus. Some of the captured priests were treated most barbarously. One was cut up piecemeal; another was saturated with petroleum and set on fire, and a third was bathed in oil and fried on a bamboo spit run through the length of his body. There was a *Requiem* Mass for this event. Many such atrocities were committed by the insurgents during the first few months of the rising. To cite another of the numerous cases I will mention the Naig outrage. The Lieutenant had been killed and the ferocious band of rebels seized his widow and daughter eleven years old. The child was ravished to death, and they were just digging a pit to bury the mother alive when she was rescued and brought to Manila in the steam launch *Mariposa* raving mad, disguised as a native woman. Aguinaldo, personally, was humanely inclined, for at his headquarters he held captive one Spanish trooper, an army lieutenant, a Spanish planter, a friar and two Spanish ladies, all of whom were fairly well treated. The priest was allowed to read his missal, the lieutenant and trooper were made blacksmiths, and the planter had to try his hand at tailoring.

The insurgents occupied Parañaque and Las Piñas on the outskirts of Manila, and when General Blanco had 5,000 fresh troops at his disposal he still refrained from attacking the rebels in their positions.

Military men, in conversation with me, excused this inaction on the ground that, to completely rout the rebels and not have sufficient troops to garrison the places taken and to form flying columns to prevent the insurgents fleeing to the mountain fastnesses, would require them to do the work over again when they reappeared. So General Blanco went on waiting in the hope that more troops would arrive with which to inflict such a crushing defeat on the rebels as would ensure a lasting peace. The rebels were in possession of Imus for several months. Three weeks after they took it, artillery was slowly carried over to Cavite, which is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, so the rebels hastened to construct a long line of trenches immediately to the south of this (*vide* map), whereby communication with the heart of the province was effectually cut off. Not only did their mile-and-a-half of trenches and stockade check any advance into the interior from the isthmus, but it served as a rallying point whence Cavite itself was menaced. The Spaniards, therefore, forced to take the offensive to save Cavite falling into rebel hands, made an attack on the Novaleta defences with Spanish troops and loyal native auxiliaries on the 10th of November. The Spaniards were repulsed with the loss of one-third of the 73rd native regiment and 60 Spanish troops, with 50 of both corps wounded. The intention to carry artillery towards Imus was abandoned and the Spaniards fell back on Daluhican, about a mile north of the rebel trenches of Novaleta, where they established a camp. A fortnight afterwards, I went to spend a day there. They had four large cannon and two bronze mortars; in the trench adjoining the camp they had one cannon. The troops numbered 3,500 Spaniards under the command of General Rios. The 73rd Native Regiment survivors had quarters there, but they were constantly engaged in making sorties on the road leading to Manila. No further attempt was made in General Blanco's time to dislodge the rebels from their splendidly-constructed trenches, which, however, could easily have been shelled from the sea-side.

A number of supposed promoters of the Rebellion filled the Cavite prison, and I went over to witness the execution of thirteen. I knew two or three of them by sight. One was a Chinese half-caste, the son of a rich Chinaman then living. The father was held to be a respectable man of coolie origin, but the son, long before the Rebellion, had a worthless reputation.





In the Provinces of Pampanga and Bulacan, north of Manila, the rebel mob, under the command of a half-caste named Llaneras, was about 3,000 strong. To oppose this, Major Lopez Artcaga had a flying column, of 500 men, and between the contending parties there were repeated encounters with no definite result. Whenever the rebels were beaten off and pursued, they fled to their strongholds of San Mateo (Manila Province) and Angat (Bulacan Province). The Spaniards made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge the enemy at Angat, whilst at San Mateo, where they were supposed to be 5,000 strong, they were left undisturbed. The rebels attacked Calumpit (Bulacan), pillaged several houses, decapitated an Englishman's cook, and drove the Civil Guard and the parish priest up the belfry tower. On the other side of the river, Llaneras visited the rice-mills of an Anglo-American firm, took some refreshment and assured the manager, Mr. Scott, that the rebels had not the least intention to interfere with any foreigners (as distinguished from Spaniards) against whom they had no complaint whatever.

At length a plan of campaign was prepared and expeditionary forces were to march in two directions through the disaffected provinces south of Manila and combine, according to circumstances, when the bulk of the rebels could be driven together. One division operated from the lake town of Viñan, whilst General Jaramillo took his troops round to Batangas Province and worked northwards. Before the lake forces had gone very far they met with a reverse at the hands of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Carmona, but rallied and pushed on towards the rebel quarters near Silan, where the enemy was apparently concentrating for a great struggle. In the meantime, the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attempt to regain Imus. Also the battle of Binacayan was fought on the 11th of November with great loss to the Spaniards. It may be called a rebel victory (although they did not follow it up), for the Spaniards left a large number of dead on the field, and had to retreat under cover. The rebels, already in great force at Silan, were preparing for what might have resulted in the final issue. The combined columns under General Jaramillo at length opened the attack. A pitched battle was fought, and no quarter was given on either side. This fierce contest lasted a whole day, and the Spaniards were forced to retire with considerable loss. The combined operations accomplished nothing decisive and served only to check an advance on

the capital by the rebels, who were already in practical possession of the whole of Cavite province, excepting the port, arsenal, and isthmus of Cavite.

In Manila the volunteers mounted guard whilst the regulars went to the front. For a while the volunteers were allowed to make domiciliary search, and they did very much as they liked. This led to such abuse of power that domiciliary search had to be forbidden, for the volunteers took to entering any house they chose, and roughly examined the persons of natives to see if they had the KATIPUNAN brand. Crowds of suspects were brought into Manila, and shiploads of them were sent away in local steamers to the Caroline Islands and Mindanao, whilst every mail steamer carried batches of them *en route* for Fernando Po. On the 1st of October the s.s. *Manila* sailed with 300 Filipinos for Chafarinas Islands, Ceuta and other African penal settlements. In the local steamers many of them died on the way. The ordinary prisons were more than full, and about 600 suspects were confined in the dungeons of Fort Santiago at the mouth of the Pasig River. Then occurred a frightful tragedy. The dungeons are below water-mark at high tide; the river water filtered in through the crevices in the ancient masonry, thus twice a day these unfortunates were up to their waists or necks in water, according to the height of the men. The Spanish sergeant on duty threw his rug over the only light and ventilating shaft, and in a couple of days, carts were seen by many citizens carrying away the dead, calculated to number 70. Provincial governors and parish priests seemed to regard it as a duty to supply the capital with batches of "suspects" from their localities. In Vigan, where nothing had occurred, many of the heads of the best families and monied men were arrested and brought to Manila in a steamer. They were bound hand and foot, and carried like packages of merchandise in the hold. I happened to be on the quay when the steamer discharged her living freight with chains and hooks to haul up and swing out the bodies like bales of hemp. From Nueva Cáceres (Camarines), the Abellas and several well-known families and native priests were seized and shipped up. Poor old Manuel Abella, like scores of others, was tortured in Bilibid prison and finally shot. He was a notary and had the misfortune to possess a fine estate which an impecunious Spaniard coveted, so he denounced Abella and was rewarded by being appointed "Administrator" of his

property, out of which he so enriched himself that he was able, in a few months, to return to Spain in a good financial position. A native planter and good friend of mine in Balayan was tortured until he was maimed for life and then sent back to his town declared innocent. He had been a marked man since 1895. In that year I happened to be his guest for several days, just after his son Quintin, a law student, had had a little altercation with his clerical professors in Manila. Thousands of peaceful natives were treated with a ferocity which would have shocked all Europe. The court martial, established under the presidency of a colonel, little by little, practised systematic extortion, for, within three months of the outbreak, hundreds of the richest natives and half-castes in Manila were imprisoned for a few days and released *conditionally*. For instance, a Chinese half-caste, Luis Y—— —a large barge-owner and merchant—popularly known as Capitan Luis, is said to have paid \$5,000 for his freedom. Telesforo C—— and L—— H——, both Chinese half-breeds, are reputed to have paid \$10,000 and \$25,000 respectively, but the complete list would fill a page. Some were even re-arrested on a second charge for the same purpose. The daily papers published the lists of the names of these persons on each occasion. Archbishop Nozaleda and Governor-General Blanco were at variance from the beginning of the revolt, and in accordance with historical precedent it could only end in one way, namely, that the clerical party advised the Cánovas Ministry to recall the General and appoint another in his stead who would be obedient to the Friars. General Blanco was not sufficiently sanguinary to meet their views.

As a strategist he had refused, at the outset, to undertake, with 1,500 European troops, a task which was only accomplished by his successor with 28,000 men. But the priests thought they knew better, and Blanco left for Spain in December, 1896. To sum up the relative positions of parties at this crisis, matters stood thus :—The rebels were in possession of the whole of the province of Cavite, excepting the city and arsenal of Cavite and the isthmus connecting that city with the mainland. They were well fortified at Imus with trenches and stockades extending from the estate-house fort in several directions and an army strength of 6,000 to 7,000 men. Their artillery was most primitive, however, consisting only of a few small cannons called *lantacas*; some new cannon of small calibre roughly cast out of the church bells and iron waterpipes of large diameter converted

into *mitrailleurs* mortars. They were strongly entrenched behind a mile-and-a-half of strategically constructed earthworks defending the town of Novaleta, which they held. They were supposed to have, at least, 20,000 men in occupation here. Including San Francisco de Malabon, Silan, Perez Dasmariñas, and the several other places they held, their total force in the whole province was estimated at 35,000 men. About one-fifth of that number was armed with rifles (chiefly Mäuser); the remainder carried bolie-knives and bamboo lances. The bolie-knife is irresistible by the Spaniards when the native can get to close-quarter fighting. They had ample supplies of rice, buffaloes, etc. stolen from the non-combatant natives. To my personal knowledge they had daily communication with Manila, and knew everything that was going on there and the public feeling in the capital. They had failed in the attempt to seize the town of Santa Cruz (Laguna); they killed one Spaniard there and retreated. Loyal natives in Viñan organised volunteer forces to keep them out of that town. Those Manila volunteers known as the *Guerrilla á muerte* battalion, with a few regulars, frequently patrolled the lake coast in steam launches from Manila, and kept the rebels from occupying that district. North of Manila the rebellion reached no further than Bulacan and Pampanga Provinces, where the flying column under Llaneras, together with those rebels in the mountain fastnesses of Angat and San Mateo, amounted to about 10,000 men. Llaneras notified the Manila-Dagúpan (English) Railway officials that they were to cease carrying loyal troops on their line, but as these orders were not heeded, a train was wrecked on the 19th of November, about 20 miles up from the capital. The locomotive and five carriages were smashed, the permanent way was somewhat damaged, five individuals were wounded, and the total loss sustained was estimated at \$40,000. In the last week of November the Friars' estate-house at Malinta, some five miles from Manila, was in flames. We could see the blaze from the bay. The slightest reverse to Spanish arms always drew a further crowd of rebels into the field.

The total European force when General Blanco left was about 10,000 men. In Cavite Province the Spaniards held only the camp of Dalahican, and the city and arsenal of Cavite with the isthmus. The total number of suspects shipped away was about 1,000. I was informed by my friend, the Secretary of the Military Court, that 4,377

individuals were awaiting trial by court martial. The possibility of the insurgents ever being able to enter the capital was never believed in by the large majority of Europeans, although from a month after the outbreak the rebels continued to hold posts within a couple of hours' march from the old walls. The natives, however, were led to believe that the rebels would make an attempt to occupy the city on Saint Andrew's day. The British Consul, and a few British subjects too, were of opinion that a raid on the capital was imminent and I, among others, was invited by letter, written under the authority of H.B.M.'s Consul, to attend a meeting at the offices of a British establishment to concert measures for escape in such a contingency. The letter read thus :—

Dear Sir,

Manila, 16th November, 1896.

I beg to suggest for your consideration the advisability of forming a Committee from amongst the British residents here to whom could be entrusted the expression of the views of the community to H.B.M.'s Consul on matters of public concern and whose duties might further include :—

1°. Collecting the most authentic information available upon the local events of the day.

2°. Placing the same at the disposal of the Consul and such other officers in H.M.'s Service who may be acting in concert with him.

3°. Suggesting means to be adopted in the interest of the community should special occasion arise.

4°. Circulating information to those concerned.

In few places in the world, I venture to say, would a large community of British subjects of both sexes be without a working committee under circumstances of doubt and uncertainty similar to those existing here. Amongst us we may hold widely different opinions of the *probabilities* of concerted action being urgently required, but none can say, with certainty, that there is no such *possibility*, and it is the possibilities that we should guard against, as far as lies in our power. There can be no doubt that concerted action would be to our mutual benefit if occasion arose.

I am able to say that the British Consul would be glad of the co-operation of a small body representing British subjects resident here, and so as to avoid needless delays, I take the liberty of

proposing that, provided the scheme accords in the main with your own views, you will send me to the above address a *closed* cover marked in the corner "B.C." containing the names of ten resident members of the community from among whom a committee of three or five having the greatest number of votes may be elected at a meeting to be held here at 5 p.m. on Wednesday, the 18th inst., at which I trust you will be able to attend. The enormous interests we have in the country generally, and in Manila particularly, lead me to hope you will support the suggestion, and I trust you will pardon my taking this independent course, which I do merely to avoid the delays which must necessarily arise if I attempted to first consult the opinions of all concerned.

I am, dear sir,

Etc., etc.

In spite of these fears, business was carried on without the least apparent interruption.

When General Blanco reached Spain he quietly lodged at the Hotel de Roma in Madrid, and then took a private residence. He was offered a position in the *Cuarto Militar* out of courtesy, which he declined to accept. For several months he remained under a political cloud, charged with incompetency to quell the Philippine Rebellion. But there is something to be said in justification of Blanco's inaction. He was pestered from the beginning by the sanguinary Archbishop and the leading civilians to take the offensive and start a war *à outrance* with an inadequate number of European soldiers. His 6,000 native auxiliaries (as it was proved later on) could not be relied upon in a *civil* war. Against the foreign invader, with Spanish prestige still high, they would have made good fighting material. Blanco was no novice in civil wars. I remember his career for the last twenty-five years. With his 700 European troops he parried off the attacks of the first armed mobs in the Province of Manila, and defended the city and the approaches to the capital. Five hundred European troops had to be left, here and there, in Visayas for the ordinary defence. Before the balance of 300 could be embarked in half-a-dozen places in the south and landed in Manila, the whole province of Cavite was in arms. He could not leave the defence of the city entirely in the hands of untrained and undrilled volunteers and march the whole of his European regular troops into another province.

A severe reverse, on the first encounter, might have proved fatal to Spanish sovereignty. Blanco had the enormous disadvantage (one must live there to appreciate it) of the wet season, and the rebels understood this. He had, therefore, to damp the movement by feigning to attach to it as little importance as possible. Lastly, Blanco was a man of moderate and humane tendencies ; a colonial governor of the Martinez Campos school, whose policy is—when all honourable peaceful means are exhausted, use force.

The Cánovas party was broken up by the assassination of the Prime Minister on the 8th of August, 1897. This ministry was followed by the provisional Azcárraga Cabinet which, at the end of six weeks, was superseded by the Liberal party under the leadership of Práxedes Sagasta, who recalled General Weyler from Cuba, and on the 9th of October appointed General Ramon Blanco, Marqués de Peña Plata, to take the command there.

General Camilo Polavieja (Marqués de Polavieja) arrived in Manila in December, 1896, as the successor of Blanco, and the chosen *Messiah* of the friars. He had made a great name in Cuba as an *energetic* military leader, which, in Spanish colonies, always implied a tinge of wanton cruelty. In Spain he was regarded as the right arm of the ultra-clericals and a possible supporter of Carlism. He was accompanied by General Lachambre, whose acquaintance I made in Havana. In the same steamer with General Polavieja came 500 troops, whilst another steamer simultaneously brought 1,500. Polavieja, therefore, on landing, had about 12,000 European troops and 6,000 native auxiliaries, but each steamer brought fresh supplies until the total European land forces amounted to 28,000. By this time, however, the 6,000 native troops were very considerably reduced by desertion, and the remainder could hardly be relied upon. But Polavieja started his campaign with the immense advantage of having the *whole* of the dry season before him. General Lachambre, as Deputy Commander of the forces, at once took the field against the rebels in Cavite Province. It would be tedious to relate, in detail, the numerous encounters with the enemy over this area. Battles were fought at Naig, Maragondon, Perez Dasmariñas, Nasugbu, Taal, Bacoor, Novaleta, and other places. Imus, which in Manila was popularly supposed to be a fortress of relative magnitude, whence the rebels would dispute every inch of ground, was attacked by a large force of

loyal troops. On their approach the rebels set fire to the village and fled. Very few remained to meet the Spaniards, and as these few tried to escape across the paddy fields and down the river they were picked off by musketry fire. It was a victory for the Spaniards, inasmuch as their demonstration of force scared the rebels into evacuation. But it was necessary to take Silan, which the insurgents hastened to strengthen, closely followed up by the Spaniards. The place was well defended by earthworks and natural parapets, and for several hours the issue of the contest was doubtful. The rebels fought bravely, leaping from boulder to boulder to meet the foe. In every close-quarter *mêlée* the bohio-knife had a terrible effect, and the loyal troops had suffered heavily when a column of Spaniards was marched round to the rear of the rebels' principal parapet. They were lowered down with ropes on to a rising ground facing this parapet, and poured in a continuous musketry fire until the rebels had to evacuate it, and the general rout commenced with great slaughter to the insurgents, who dispersed in all directions. Their last stronghold, south of Manila, being taken, they broke up into small detachments which were chased and beaten wherever they made a stand. The Spaniards suffered great losses, but they gained their point, for the rebels, unable to hold any one place against this onslaught, were driven up to the Laguna Province and endeavoured unsuccessfully to hold the town of Santa Cruz. It is interesting to remark, in order to show what the rebel aim at that time was, that they entered here with the cry of "Long live Spain; Death to the Friars!" After three months' hard fighting, General Lachambre was proclaimed the Liberator of Cavite and the adjoining districts, for, by the middle of March, 1897, every rebel contingent of any importance in that locality had been dispersed.

Like every other Spanish General in supreme command abroad, Polavieja had his enemies in Spain. The organs of the Liberal party attacked him unsparingly. Polavieja, as everybody knew, was the chosen executive of the Friars, whose only care was to secure their own position. He was dubbed the "General Cristiano." He was their ideal, and worked hand-in-hand with them. He cabled for more troops to be sent with which to garrison the reconquered districts, and have his army corps free to stamp out the rebellion, which was confined to the Northern Provinces. Cuba, which had already drained

the Peninsula of over 200,000 men, still required fresh levies to replace the sick and wounded, and Polavieja's demand was refused. Immediately after this he cabled that his physical ailments compelled him to resign the commandship-in-chief, and begged the Government to appoint a successor. The Madrid journals hostile to him thereupon indirectly attributed to him a lie, and questioned whether his resignation was due to ill-health, or his resentment of the refusal to send out more troops. Still urging his resignation, General Fernando Primo de Rivera was gazetted to succeed him, and Polavieja embarked in Manila for Spain on the 15th of April, 1897. General Lachambre, as the hero of Cavite, followed to receive the applause which was everywhere showered upon him in Spain. As to Polavieja's merits, public opinion was very much divided, and as soon as it was known that he was on the way, a controversy was started in the Madrid press as to how he ought to be received. *El Imparcial* maintained that he was worthy of being honoured as a nineteenth century conquering hero. This gave rise to a volley of abuse on the other side, who raked up all his antecedents and supposed tendencies, and openly denounced him as a dangerous politician and the supporter of theocratic absolutism. According to *El Liberal* of the 11th of May, Señor Ordax Avecilla, of the Red Cross Society, stated in his speech at the Madrid Mercantile Club, "If he (the General) "thought of becoming dictator, he would fall from the height of his "glory to the Hades of nonentity." His enemies persistently insinuated that he was really returning to Spain to actively support the clericals, but perhaps the bitterest satire was levelled against him in *El País* of the 10th of May, which, in an article headed "The Great Farce," said: "Do you know who is coming? Cyrus, King of "Persia; Alexander, King of Macedonia; Caesar Augustus; Scipion "the African; Gonzalo de Córdoba; Napoleon, the Great Napoleon, "conqueror of worlds. What? Oh! unfortunate people, do you not "know? Polavieja is coming, the incomparable Polavieja, crowned "with laurels, commanding a fleet laden to the brim with rich "trophies; it is Polavieja, gentlemen, who returns, discoverer of new "worlds, to lay at the feet of Isabella the Catholic his conquering "sword: it is Polavieja who returns after having cast into obscurity "the glories of Hernan Cortés; Polavieja, who has widened the "national map, and brings new territories to the realm—new thrones "to his queen. What can the people be thinking of that they remain

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“ thus in silence ? Applaud ! imbeciles. It is Narvaez who is “ resuscitated. Now we have another master ! ” No Spanish general who had arrived at Polavieja’s position would find it possible to be absolutely neutral in politics, but to compare him to Narvaez, the military dictator, proved, in a few days, to be the grossest absurdity. On the 13th of May Polavieja arrived in Barcelona physically broken, half blind, and with evident traces of a disordered liver. His detractors were silent ; an enthusiastic crowd welcomed him for his achievements. He had broken the neck of the rebellion, but by what means ? Altogether, apart from the circumstances of legitimate warfare, in which probably neither party was more merciful than the other, he initiated a system of striking terror into the non-combatant population by barbarous tortures and wholesale executions. On the 6th of February, 1897, in one prison alone (Bilibid) there were 1,266 suspects, most of whom were brought in by the volunteers, for the forces in the field gave little quarter and rarely made prisoners. The functions of the volunteers, organised originally for the defence of the city and suburbs, became so elastic that, night after night, they made men and women come out of their houses for inspection conducted most immorally. The men were escorted to the prisons by pure caprice, and subjected to horrible maltreatment. Many of them were liberated in the course of a few days, declared innocent, but maimed for life and for ever unable to get a living. Some of these victims were well known to everybody in Manila, for instance Dr. Zamora, Bonifacio Arévalo the dentist, Antonio Rivero (who died under torture), and others. The only apparent object in all this was to disseminate broadcast living examples of Spanish vengeance, in order to overawe the populace. Under General Blanco’s administration such acts had been distinctly prohibited on the representation of General Carlos Roca.

I must here give an outline of the career and fate of the most notable Filipino. This victim of the Friars and General Polavieja, Dr. José Rizal y Mercado, born in the sixties, was a native of Calamba (Laguna), three hours’ journey from Manila. Often have I, together with the old native parish priest, Father Leoncio Lopez, spent an hour with José’s father, Tomas Mercado, and heard the old man descant, with pride, on the intellectual progress of his son at the Jesuits’ school in Manila. But young José yearned to set out on a wider field of study. His ambition was to go to Europe, and he went. He studied

medicine and entered the Madrid University, where he graduated as Doctor of Medicine and Philosophy. He subsequently continued his studies in Paris, and at several seats of learning in Germany, where he obtained another degree, notwithstanding the fact that he had the difficulty of a foreign language to contend with. As happened to many of his *confrères* in the German Universities, a career of study had simultaneously opened his eyes to a clearer conception of the rights of humanity. Thrown among companions of socialistic tendencies, his belief in and loyalty to the monarchical rule of his country were yet unshaken by the influence of such environment; he was destined only to become a disturbing element, and a would-be reformer of that time-worn institution which rendered secular government in his native land a farce. To give him a party name, he became an anti-clerical, strictly in a political and legal sense. He was a Roman Catholic, but his sole aim, outside his own profession, was to save his country from the baneful influence of the Spanish Friars who there held the Civil and Military Government under their tutelage. He sought to place his country on a level of material and moral prosperity with others, and he knew that the first step in that direction was to secure the expulsion of the Monastic Orders. He sympathized with that movement which, during his childhood, culminated in the Rising of Cavite (*vide* page 113). Dr. Rizal looked profoundly into the causes of his country's unhappiness, and to promote their knowledge, in a popular form, he wrote and published in Germany, in the Spanish language, a so-called novel entitled "*Noli me tangere*." It was really an *exposé* of the arrogance, the immorality, and the despotism of the Friars in their relations with the natives. I have read the book myself. Then, during his sojourns in France and Belgium, he produced another political novel "*El Filibusterismo*," of which I have a copy. A year after the publication of these works he returned to the Islands and we met at the house of the Lieutenant of the Civil Guard, whose guest I was. As an oculist Rizal performed some very clever operations, but he had another mission—one which brought upon him all the odium of the clerical party, but which as quickly raised him in popular esteem in native circles. He led a party in his town who dared to dispute the proprietorship of the Dominican Order to a large tract of agricultural land. He called upon the Order to show their title deeds and was only met with Marshal MacMahon's famous reply "*J'y suis et j'y reste*." At

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length prudence dictated a return to Europe. I remember the farewell lunch we had together at the Restaurant de Paris. During his absence his own relations and the chief families in his town became the objects of persecution. They were driven from the lands they cultivated and rented from the religious order without compensation for improvements and Spaniards took their holdings. In 1893 Rizal arrived in Hong-kong, where he contemplated remaining to follow his profession, but communications passed between him and the Governor-General, through the Spanish Consul, respecting his return to Manila. Rizal avowed that he had been given to understand that he could return to the Islands without fear for his personal safety and liberty. He arrived in Manila and was arrested. His baggage was searched in the Custom House, and a number of those seditious proclamations to which I have referred at page 220 were found, it was alleged, in his trunks. It is contrary to all common sense to conceive that a sane man, who had entertained some doubts as to his personal liberty, would bring with him, into a public department of scrutiny, documentary evidence of his own culpability. He was arraigned before the supreme authority, in whose presence he defended himself right nobly. The clerical party wanted his blood. Governor-General Despujols would not yield. Rizal was guilty or innocent, and should have been fully acquitted or condemned, but to meet the matter half way, he was banished to Dapitan, a town on the north shore of Mindanao Island. I saw his bungalow at the extremity of a pretty little horse-shoe bay. There he remained four years in bondage. His bright intelligence, his sociability, and his scientific attainments had won him the respect and admiration of both the civil and religious local authorities. He had such a well-justified good repute as an oculist that many travelled down across the seas to seek the benefits of his talent. The Cuban insurrection being in full operation, he sought the opportunity of proving to Spain that his anti-clerical views had, in no way, undermined his loyalty. He always gratefully acknowledged the advantages of a civilized dominion. He was mentally weighed down with *ennui* from inactivity, and he solicited, through the local Governor, permission to go to Cuba as an army doctor in the Spanish service. The favour was granted on the 28th of July, 1896, and on his way to Manila he passed through Cebu, where crowds of natives and half-castes went on board to congratulate him. Unfortunately, his arrival in Manila coincided with the outbreak

of the rebellion. He had become the idol of the people in his exile ; his ideas were *then* the reflection of all Philippine aims and ambitions ; the very name of Rizal raised their hopes to the highest pitch. Most fantastic reports were circulated concerning him. Deeds in Europe, almost amounting to miracles, were attributed to his genius, and became current talk among the natives when they spoke *sotto voce* of Rizal's power and influence. He was looked up to as the future regenerator of his race, capable of moving armies and navies for the cause of liberty. Their very reverence was his condemnation in the eyes of the priests. His presence in Manila was regarded as such a danger that he was at once put on board the Spanish cruiser *Castilla* lying in the bay. Thence he was transferred to the mail steamer *Isla de Panay* bound to Barcelona. He carried with him letters of recommendation to the Ministers of War and the Colonies, courteously sent to him by General Blanco with the following letter :—

(*Translation.*)

Dr. José Rizal.

My dear Sir,

Manila, 30th August, 1896.

Enclosed I send you two letters, for the Ministers of War and the Colonies respectively, which I believe will ensure to you a good reception. I cannot doubt that you will show me respect in your relations with the Government, and by your future conduct, not only on account of your word pledged, but because passing events must make it clear to you how certain proceedings, due to extravagant notions, can only produce hatred, ruin, tears and bloodshed. That you may be happy is the desire of

Yours, &c.,

RAMON BLANCO.

(*Translation of Letter of Recommendation to the Minister of War.*)

H. E. Don Marcelo de Azcárraga.

Manila, 30th August, 1896.

Esteemed General and distinguished Friend,

I recommend to you with real interest Dr. José Rizal, who leaves for the Peninsula to place himself at the disposal of the Government as volunteer army doctor in Cuba. His conduct during the four years he has been in exile in Dapitan has been

exemplary, and he is, in my opinion, the more worthy of pardon and benevolence, because he is in no way associated with the extravagant attempts which we are now deploring, neither in conspiracy nor in the secret societies which have been formed.

I have the pleasure to reiterate to you my high esteem,

And remain

Your affectionate friend and comrade,

RAMON BLANCO.

The letter addressed to the Minister of the Colonies was in similar terms.

He had as travelling companion Pedro Rojas, already referred to, and had he chosen, he could have left the steamer at Singapore as Rojas did. Not a few of us who saw the vessel leave wished him "God speed." But the clerical party were eager for his extermination. He was a thorn in the side of monastic sway; he had committed no crime, but he was the Friars' arch-enemy and *bête noir*. The lay authorities always had to yield to the monks, and history herein repeated itself. Dr. Rizal was cabled for to answer certain accusations, so on his landing in the Peninsula he was incarcerated in the celebrated fortress of Montjuich (the scene of so many horrors), pending his re-shipment by the returning steamer. He reached Manila as a State prisoner in the *Colon*, isolated from all but his jailors. It was materially impossible for him to have taken any part in the rebellion, whatever his sympathies may have been. Yet, once more, the wheel of fortune turned against him. Curiously enough the parish priest of Mórang was murdered at the altar whilst celebrating mass on Christmas Day, 1896. The importunity of the Friars could be no longer resisted: this new calamity seemed to strengthen their cause. The next day Rizal was brought to trial for *sedition* and *rebellion*, before a court martial, composed of eight captains under the presidency of a lieutenant-colonel. No reliable testimony could be brought against him. How could it be when, for years, he had been a State prisoner in forced seclusion? He defended himself with logical argument, but, what mattered? he was condemned beforehand to ignominious death as a traitor, and the decree of execution was one of Polavieja's foulest acts. During the few days which elapsed between sentence and death, he refused to see any priest but a Jesuit. In his last moments his

demeanour was in accordance with his oft-quoted saying, "What is death to me? I have sown the seed, others are left to reap." In his condemned cell he composed a poem of 14 verses ("My last Thought"), and hid the paper in a stewpan. It was found by his wife and published. I give the first and last verses.

MI ÚLTIMO PENSAMIENTO.

Adios. Pátria adorada, region del sol querida,
Perla del Mar de Oriente, nuestro perdido Eden.
A darte voy alegre la triste mística vida,
Y fuera mas brillante, mas fresca, mas florida,
Tambien por ti la diera, la diera por tu bien.

Adios. padres y hermanos, trozos del alma mia.
Amigos de la infancia en el perdido hogar.
Dad gracias que descanso del fatigoso dia ;
Adios, dulce extranquera, mi amiga, mi alegria,
Adios, queridos seres, morir es descansar.

The woman who had long responded to his love, was only too proud to bear his illustrious name, and in the sombre rays which fell from his prison grating, the vows of matrimony were given and sanctified with the sad certainty of widowhood on the morrow. Fortified by purity of conscience and the rectitude of his principles, he felt no felon's remorse, but walked with equanimity to the place of execution. About 2,000 regular and volunteer troops formed the square where he knelt facing the seashore. After an officer had shouted the formula, "In the name of the King! Whosoever shall raise his voice to crave clemency for the condemned, shall suffer death," four bullets, fired from behind, did their fatal work. This execution took place at 6 a.m. on the 30th of December, 1896. An immense crowd witnessed, in silent awe, this sacrifice to priestcraft. The Friars, too, were present *en masse*, many of them smoking big cigars, jubilant over the extinction of that bright intellectual light which, alas! can never be rekindled.

The circumstances under which Rizal, in his exile, made the acquaintance of Josephine Tañer, who became his wife, are curious. The account was given me by Mrs. Rizal's foster-father as we crossed the China Sea together. The foster-father, who was an American resident in Hongkong, found his eyesight gradually failing him. After exhausting all remedies in that colony, one day he heard of a famous oculist in Manila named Rizal, a Filipino of reputed Japanese

origin. So, in August 1894, he went to Manila to seek the great doctor, taking with him a Macao servant, his daughter, and a girl whom he had adopted from infancy. The Philippine Archipelago was such a *terra incognita* to the outside world that little was generally known of it save the capital, Manila. When he reached there he learnt, to his dismay, that the renowned practitioner was a political exile who lived in an out-of-the-way place in Mindanao Island. Intent on his purpose, he took ship and found the abode of Dr. Rizal. The American had been forsaken by his daughter in Manila, where she eventually married a young native who had neither craft nor fortune. The adopted daughter, therefore, was his companion to Dapitan. When they arrived at the bungalow the bright eyes of the lovely Josephine interested the doctor far more than the sombre diseased organ of her foster-father. The exile and the maiden, in short, fell in love with each other, and they mutually vowed never to be parted but by force. The old man's eyes were past all cure, and in vain he urged the girl to depart with him; love dissented from the proposition and the patient found his way back to Manila, and thence to Hongkong with his Macao servant—a sadder, but a wiser man. The foster-child remained behind to share the hut of the political exile. When, an hour after her marriage, she became Widow Rizal, her husband's corpse, which had received sepulture in the cemetery, was guarded by soldiers for four days lest the superstitious natives should snatch the body and divide it into a thousand relics of their lost idol. Then Josephine started off for the rebel camp at Imus. On her way she was often asked, "Who art thou?" but her answer "Lo! I am thy sister, the widow of Rizal!" not only opened a passage for her, but brought low every head in silent reverence. Amidst mourning and triumph she was conducted to the presence of the rebel commander-in-chief, Emilio Aguinaldo, who received her with the respect due to the sorrowing relict of their departed hero. But the formal tributes of condolence were followed by great rejoicing in the camp. She was the only free white woman within the rebel lines. They lauded her as though an angelic being had fallen from the skies; they sang her praises as if she were a modern Joan of Arc sent by heaven to lead the way to victory over the banner of Castile. But she chose, for the time being, to follow a more womanly vocation, and having been escorted to San Francisco de Malabon, she took up

her residence in the convent to tend the wounded for about three weeks. Then, when the battle of Perez Dasmariñas was raging, our heroine sallied forth on horseback with a Mäuser rifle over her shoulder and—as she stated with pride to an old friend of mine who interviewed her—she had the satisfaction of shooting dead one Spanish officer and then retreated to her convent refuge. Again, she was present at the battle of Silan, where her heroic example of courage infused a new life into her brother rebels. The carnage on both sides was fearful, but in the end the rebels fell back and there, from a spot midst mangled corpses, rivulets of blood and groans of death, Josephine witnessed many a scene of Spanish barbarity—the butchery of old inoffensive men and women—children caught up by the feet and dashed against the walls, and the bayonet charge on the host of fugitive innocents. The insurgents having been beaten everywhere when Lachambre took the field, Josephine had to follow in their retreat, and after Imus and Silan were taken, she, with the rest, had to flee to another province, tramping through 23 villages on the way. She was about to play another *rôle*, being on the point of going to Manila to organise a convoy of arms and munitions, when she heard that certain Spaniards were plotting against her life. So she sought an interview with the Governor-General, who asked her if she had been in the rebel camp at Imus. She replied fearlessly in the affirmative, and relying on the security from violence afforded by her sex and foreign nationality, there passed between her and the Governor-General quite an amusing and piquant colloquy. “What did you go to Imus for?” inquired the General. “What did you go there for?” rejoined Josephine. “To fight,” said the General. “So did I,” answered Josephine. “Will you leave Manila?” asked the General. “Why should I?” queried Josephine. “Well,” said the General, “the priests will not leave you alone if you stay here, and they will bring false evidence against you. I have no power to overrule theirs.” “Then what is the use of the Governor-General?” pursued our heroine, but the General dismissed the discussion, which was becoming embarrassing, and resumed it a few days later by calling upon her emphatically to quit the Colony. At this second interview the General fumed and raged, and our heroine too stamped her little foot, and, woman-like, avowed “she did not care for him; she was not afraid of him.” It was temerity born of inexperience, for one word of command from the General could have sent her the way many others

had gone, to an unrevealed fate. Thus matters waxed hot between her defiance and his forbearance, until visions of torture—thumb-screws and bastinado—passed so vividly before her eyes that she yielded, as individual force must, to the collective power which rules supreme, and reluctantly consented to leave the fair Philippine shores in May, 1897, in the ss. *Yuensang*, for a safer resting-place on the British soil of Hongkong.

The execution of Dr. Rizal was a most impolitic act. It sent into the field his brother Ponciano with a large following, who eventually succeeded in driving every Spaniard out of their native province of Laguna. They also seized the lake gunboats, took an entire Spanish garrison prisoner, and captured a large quantity of stores. Ponciano rose to the rank of general before the Rebellion ended.

General Fernando Primo de Rivera, Marqués de Estella, arrived in Manila, as the successor of General Camilo Polavieja, in the spring of 1897. He knew the country and the people he was called upon to pacify, having been Governor-General there from April, 1880, to March, 1883. A few days after his arrival he issued a proclamation offering an amnesty to all who would lay down their arms within a prescribed period. Many responded to this appeal, for the crushing defeat of the rebels in Cavite Province, accompanied by the wanton cruelties of the soldiery during the last Captain-Generaley, had damped the ardour of thousands of would-be insurgents. The rebellion was then confined to the north of Manila, but, since Aguinaldo had evacuated Cavite and joined forces with Llaneras, the movement was carried far beyond the Provinces of Bulacan and Pampanga. Armed mobs had risen in Pangasinan, Zambales, Ilocos, Nueva Ecija and Tárlac. Many villages were entirely reduced to ashes by them; crops of young rice too unripe to be useful to anybody were wantonly destroyed; pillage and devastation were resorted to everywhere to coerce the peaceful inhabitants to join in the movement. On the other hand, the nerves of the priests were so highly strung that they suspected every native, and, by persistently launching false accusations against their parishioners, they literally made rebels. Hence at Candon (Ilocos Sur), a town of importance on the N.W. coast of Luzon, five influential residents were simply goaded into rebellion by the iniquitous action of the Bishop of Vigan, Father José Hévia de Campomanes and his friars. These residents killed the parish priest, and without arms fled for

safety to the mountain ravines. A few months before, at the commencement of the rebellion, this same Austin friar, Father Rafael Redondo, had ignominiously treated his own and other native curates by having them stripped naked and tied down to benches, where he beat them with the prickly tail of the ray-fish to extort confessions relating to conspiracy. In San Fernando de la Union the native priests Adriano Garcés, Mariano Gaerlan, and Mariano Dacanaya were tortured with a hot iron applied to their bodies to force a confession that they were freemasons. The rebels attacked Bayambang (Pangasinan), drove out the Spanish garrison, seized the church and convent in which they fortified themselves, made prisoner the Spanish priest, burnt the Government stores, Court-house and Spanish residences, but carefully avoided all interference with the British-owned steam rice-mill and paddy warehouses. Troops were sent against them by special train from Tárlac, and they were beaten out of the place with a loss of about 100 individuals, but they carried off their clerical prisoner. General Monet operated in the north against the rebels with Spanish and native auxiliary forces. He attacked the armed mobs in Zambales Province, where encounters of minor importance took place almost daily, with no decisive victory for either party. He showed no mercy and took no prisoners; his troops shot down or bayoneted rebels, non-combatants, women and children indiscriminately. The cruellest barbarities were inflicted on every native who fell into his power. Tillage was carried on at the risk of one's life, for men found going out to their lands were seized as spies. He carried this war of extermination up to Ylocos, where, little by little, his forces deserted him. His auxiliaries went over to the rebels in groups. Even a few Spaniards passed to the other side, and, after a protracted struggle which brought no advantage to the Government, he left garrisons in several places and returned to Manila. In Aliaga (Nueva Ecija) the Spaniards had no greater success. The rebels assembled there in crowds, augmented by the fugitive mobs from Pangasinan, and took possession of the town. The Spaniards, under General Nuñez, attacked them on two sides, and one of the most desperate battles of the North was fought there. It lasted about six hours. The slaughter on both sides was enormous. The place was strewn with corpses, and the rebels were about to retreat when General Nuñez advanced to cut them off, and was so severely wounded that he had to relinquish the

command on the field. But the flight of the insurgents was too far advanced to rally them, and they retired South towards Pampanga.

In Tayabas the officiousness of the Governor almost brought him to an untimely end. Two well-known inhabitants of Pagsanjan (Laguna) were accused of conspiracy and, without proof, court-martialled and executed. The Governor went to witness the scene, and returning the next day with his official suite, he was waylaid near Lugbang by a rebel party, who killed one of the officers and wounded the Governor. Filipinos returning to Manila were imprisoned without trial, tortured, and shipped back to Hongkong as deck passengers. The wet season had fully set in, making warfare in the provinces exceedingly difficult for the raw Spanish recruits who arrived to take the place of the dead, wounded and diseased. Spain was so hard pressed by Cuban affairs that the majority of these last levies were mere boys, ignorant of the use of arms, ill clad, badly fed, and with months of pay in arrear. Under these conditions they were barely a match for the sturdy islanders, over mountains, through streams, mud pools and paddy fields. The military hospitals were full; the Spaniards were as far off extinguishing the KATIPUNAN as the rebels were from being able to subvert Spanish sovereignty. The rebels held only two impregnable places, namely Angat and San Mateo, but whilst they carried on an interminable guerilla warfare they as carefully avoided a pitched battle. The Governor-General, then, had resort to another edict, dated the 2nd of July, 1897, which read thus :—

EDICT.

Don Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Marquis of Estella, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

Whereas the unlimited amplitude given to my former edicts by some authorities who are still according the benefits of the amnesty to those who present themselves after the expiration of the conceded time, imperatively calls for a most absolute and positive declaration that there is a limit to clemency and pardon, otherwise the indefinite postponement of the application of the law may be interpreted as a sign of debility; and

Whereas our generosity has been fully appreciated by many who have shown signs of repentance by resuming their legal

status, whilst there are others who abuse our excessive benevolence by maintaining their rebellious attitude, and encroach on our patience to prolong the resistance ; and

Whereas it is expedient to abolish the spectacle of a few groups, always vanquished whilst committing all sorts of felonies under the protection of a fictitious political flag, maintaining a state of uneasiness and corruption.

Now, therefore, the authorities must adopt every possible means of repression, and I, as General-in-Chief of the Army,

ORDER AND COMMAND

Article 1.—All persons having contracted responsibilities up to date on account of the present rebellion who fail to report themselves to the authorities or military commanders before the 10th of July will be pursued and treated as guilty.

Article 2.—Commanding generals in the field, military and civil governors in districts where the rebels exist, will prohibit all inhabitants from leaving the villages and towns, unless under absolute necessity for agricultural purposes, or taking care of rural properties or other works. Those comprised in the latter class will be provided by the municipal captains with a special pass, in which will be noted the period of absence, the place to be visited, and the road to be taken, always provided that all persons absenting themselves from the villages without carrying such passes, and all who, having them, deviate from the time, road, or place indicated, will be treated as rebels.

Article 3.—After the 10th instant all persons will be required to prove their identity by the personal document (*cédula personal*), together with the pass above-mentioned, and neither the amnesty passes already granted nor any other document will have any legal validity.

All who contravene these orders will be tried by court martial.

FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA.

The indiscreetness of this measure was soon evident. It irritated the well-disposed inhabitants, from whom fees were exacted by the Governor-General's venal subordinates ; the rigorous application of the edict drove many to the enemy's camp, and the rebels responded to this

document by issuing the following Proclamation in Tagalog dialect, bearing the pseudonyme of "Malabar." It was extensively circulated in July, 1897, but bears no date. The Spanish authorities made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to confiscate it. It is an interesting document because (1°) It admits how little territory the KATIPUNAN itself considered under its dominion. (2°). It sets forth the sum total of the insurgents' demands at that period. (3°). It admits their impotence to vanquish the loyal forces in open battle.

TO THE BRAVE SONS OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The Spaniards have occupied the towns of Cavite Province because we found it convenient to evacuate them. We must change our tactics as circumstances dictate.

We have proved it to be a bad policy to be fortified in one place awaiting the enemy's attack. We must take the offensive when we get the chance, adopting the Cuban plan of ambush and guerilla warfare. In this way we can, for an indefinite period, defy Spain, exhaust her resources, and oblige her to surrender from poverty, for it must be remembered that the very Spanish newspapers admit that each soldier costs a dollar a day, and adding to this his passage money, clothing and equipment, the total amounts to a considerable sum. Considering that Spanish credit abroad is exhausted, that her young men, to avoid conscription, are emigrating to France and elsewhere in large numbers, Spain must of necessity yield in the end. You already know that Polavieja resigned because the Government were unable to send him the further 20,000 men demanded. The Cubans, with their guerilla system, avoiding encounters unfavourable to themselves, have succeeded in wearying the Spaniards, who are dying of fever in large numbers. Following this system, it would be quite feasible to extend the action of the KATIPUNAN to Ylocos Pangasinan, Cagayan and other provinces, because our brothers in these places, sorely tyrannized by the Spaniards, are prepared to unite with us.

The Provinces of ZAMBALES, TÁRLAC, TAYABAS, etc., are already under the KATIPUNAN Government, and to complete our success, the revolutionary movement should become general, for the ends which we all so ardently desire, namely :—

(1°). Expulsion of the Friars and restitution to the townships of the lands which the Friars have appropriated, dividing the

incumbencies held by them, as well as the episcopal sees equally between Peninsular and Insular secular priests.

(2°). Spain must concede to us, as she has to Cuba, Parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, toleration of all religious sects, laws common with hers and administrative and economic autonomy.

(3°). Equality in treatment and pay between Peninsular and Insular civil servants.

(4°). Restitution of all lands appropriated by the Friars to the townships, or to the original owners, or in default of finding such owners, the State is to put them up to public auction in small lots of a value within the reach of all and payable within four years, the same as the present State lands.

(5°). Abolition of the Government authorities' power to banish citizens, as well as all unjust measures against Filipinos; legal equality for all persons, whether Peninsular or Insular, under the Civil as well as the Penal Code.

The war must be prolonged to give the greatest signs of vitality possible, so that Spain may be compelled to grant our demands, otherwise she will consider us an effete race and curtail, rather than extend our rights.

MALABAR.

Shortly after this Emilio Aguinaldo, the recognised leader of the rebels, issued a *Manifiesto* in somewhat ambiguous terms which might imply a demand for independence.

In this document he says :—

We aspire to the glory of obtaining the liberty, *independence*, and honour of the country . . . We aspire to a Government representing all the live forces of the country, in which the most able, the most worthy in virtue and talent, may take part without distinction of birth, fortune, or race. We desire that no monk, or friar, shall sully the soil of any part of the Archipelago, nor that there shall exist any convent, etc., etc.

Every month brought to light fresh public exhortations, edicts and proclamations from one side or the other, of which I have numerous printed copies before me now. About this time the famous Philippine painter, Juan Luna (*vide* page 194), was released after six months' imprisonment as a suspect. He left Manila *en route* for Madrid in the

Spanish mail steamer *Covadonga* in the first week of July and returned to Manila the next year (November, 1898).

In the field there were no great victories to record, for the rebels confined themselves exclusively to harassing the Spanish forces and then retreating to the mountains. To all appearances trade in Manila and throughout the islands was little affected by the war, and as a matter of fact, the total exports showed a fair average when compared with previous years. The sugar production was, however, slightly less than in 1896, owing to a scarcity of hands, because, in the ploughing season, the young labourers in Negros were drafted off to military service. Total imports somewhat increased, notwithstanding the imposition of a 6 per cent. *ad valorem* tax.

But the probability of an early pacification of the islands was remote. By the unscrupulous abuse of their functions the volunteers were obliging the well-intentioned natives to forsake their allegiance, and General Primo de Rivera was constrained to issue a decree, dated the 6th of August, forbidding all persons in military service to plunder, or intimidate, or commit acts of violence on persons, or in their houses, or ravish women under penalty of death. In the same month the General commissioned a Filipino, named Pedro Alejandro Paterno, to negotiate terms of capitulation with the rebels. By dint of bribes and liberal expenditure of money (*vide* Paterno's own letter at page 559) Paterno induced the minor chiefs in arms to accept, in principle, the proposal of peace on the basis of reforms and money. Paterno was appointed by the Governor-General sole mediator in the discussion of the terms to be made with Emilio Aguinaldo, and the General's private secretary, Don Niceto Mayoral, was granted special powers to arrange with Paterno the details of the proposed treaty. He visited Aguinaldo in his mountain retreat in Bulacan Province, and on the 9th of August, 1897, Aguinaldo signed a power of attorney in favour of Paterno, stating his terms, which were tantamount to a Protocol of Peace, and which was to serve as a basis for the treaty. The General then consulted with the Home Government, sending particulars by mail, and the Madrid Cabinet approved of the negotiations. Meanwhile, it soon became evident that there were three distinct interests at stake, namely, those of Spain and the Spanish people; those of the Friars, and the claims of the Rebels. Consequently the traditional feud between the Archbishop of Manila and the Captain-General was revived.

General Primo de Rivera urged the Madrid Government to grant certain reforms, in any case, which could not fail to affect the hitherto independent position of the friars in governmental affairs. He also drew the attention of the Government to the defenceless condition of the capital in the event of a foreign attack. The friars were exceedingly wroth and combined to frustrate the General's efforts to come to an understanding with the rebels. They secretly paid natives to simulate the KATIPUNAN in the provinces, and the plot only came to light when these unfortunate dupes fell into the hands of the military authorities and confessed what had happened. Nevertheless the General pursued the negotiations with Paterno as intermediary. In the Protocol Aguinaldo stipulated that \$3,000,000 should be paid to the KATIPUNAN, but this was finally reduced to \$1,700,000, and other amendments were accepted through Paterno, all of which were embodied in a new power of attorney granted by Aguinaldo dated the 7th of November.

The terms of the Preliminaries of Peace having been mutually agreed upon, a treaty, known as the PACTO DE BIAC-NA-BATÓ, was signed at Biac-na-bató¹ on the 14th of December, 1897, between Emilio Aguinaldo and others of the one part, and Pedro A. Paterno, as attorney for the Captain-General, acting in the name of the Spanish Government, of the other part. Under this treaty the rebels undertook to deliver up their arms and ammunition of all kinds to the Spaniards; to evacuate the places held by them; to conclude an armistice for three years for the application and development of the reforms to be introduced by the other part, and not to conspire against Spanish sovereignty in the Islands, nor aid or abet any movement calculated to counteract the reforms. Emilio Aguinaldo and 34 other leaders undertook to quit the Philippine Islands and not return to them until so authorised by the Spanish Government.

On behalf of the Spanish Government it was agreed to pay, through the medium of Pedro A. Paterno, to the rebels the sum of \$1,000,000, and to the families who had sustained loss by reason of the war \$700,000, in instalments and conditionally (*vide* the Primo de Rivera-Paterno Agreement on next page).

¹ Biac-na-bató is a mountain fastness in the vicinity of the well-known Sulphur Springs of Sibal, close to Angat in the Province of Bulacan, and about 60 miles distant from Manila.

It is further alleged that on behalf of the Spanish Government it was agreed to either expel the Friars from the Islands, or secularize the Religious Orders ; to grant Parliamentary representation in the Spanish Córtes ; to establish legal equality for Spaniards and Filipinos ; to appoint natives as Directors of Civil Administration ; to declare native priests eligible for the incumbencies ; to reform the taxes, and to grant liberty of the press and right of assembly ; and lastly, that General Primo de Rivera undertook to retain his post of Captain-General during the said three years' armistice as a personal guarantee for the execution of the reforms.

The rebels also allege that, extra-officially, the Governor-General promised to obtain a general amnesty, and to allow no person in the Islands to be molested on account of his former participation in the Rebellion. This last condition would, naturally, follow any Treaty of Peace.

It is a remarkable fact that neither in the Madrid parliamentary papers (to copies of which I have referred), nor in the numerous rebel proclamations and edicts, nor in the published correspondence of Pedro Paterno, is the full text of this Treaty given. It is singular that the rebels should have abstained from publishing to the whole world the precise terms which they say were accepted and not fulfilled by the Spanish Government, which denies their existence.

The promised Reforms, whatever they were, were purely governmental matters which required no mediator for their execution, but as to the money payments to be made, Paterno was to receive them from the Government and hand them over to Aguinaldo and his followers. An Agreement to this effect was, therefore, signed by General Primo de Rivera and Pedro A. Paterno in the following terms, viz. :—

In the peace proposals presented by the sole mediator, Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, in the name and on behalf of the rebels in arms, and in the Peace Protocol which was agreed to and submitted to His Majesty's Government, *which approved of the same*, there exists a principal clause relating to the sums of money which were to be handed over to the rebels and their families as indemnity for the loss of their goods consequent on the war, which sums amounted to a total of \$1,700,000, which the mediator, Señor Paterno, was to distribute absolutely at his discretion, but the payment of the said sum will have to be

subject to the conditions proposed by the representative of the Government, H. E. the General-in-Chief of this Army. These conditions were agreed to be as follows, viz. :—

(1°) For the rebels in arms a draft for the sum of \$400,000 will be handed to Señor Paterno, payable in Hongkong, as well as two cheques for \$200,000 each, payable only on the condition of the Agreement being fulfilled on the other part. (2°) For the families of those who were not rebels in arms, or engaged in rebellion, but who have likewise suffered the evils of war, the balance of the sum offered shall be paid in three equal instalments, the last to be paid six months after the date on which the *Te Deum* shall be sung, assuming the peace to become an accomplished fact. Peace shall be held to be effectively concluded if, during the interval of these instalment periods, no party of armed rebels, with recognized leader, shall exist, and if no secret society shall have been discovered as existing here or abroad with the proved object of conspiracy by those who benefit by these payments. The representative of the rebels, Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, and the representative of the Government, the Captain-General Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, agree to the above conditions, in witness whereof each representative now signs four copies of the same tenor and effect, one being for the Government, another for the archives of the Captain-Generalcy, and one copy each for the said representatives.

¹ Done in Manila on the 15th of December, 1897.

FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA,
The General-in-Chief.

PEDRO A. PATERNO,
The Mediator.

In the course of a few days a military deputation was sent by the Governor-General, under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Primo de Rivera, to meet Aguinaldo and his 34 companions-in-arms at a place agreed upon in the Province of Pangasinan. They had a repast together, and Aguinaldo called for cheers for Spain, in which all

¹ The original of the above document was read in public session of Congress in Madrid, on the 16th of June, 1898, by the Deputy Señor Muro.

heartily joined. Thence they proceeded in vehicles to Sual to await the arrival of the s.s. *Uranus*, in which they embarked for Hongkong on Monday, December 27th, 1897. Aguinaldo had very rightly stipulated that a Spanish officer of high rank should accompany him and his followers to Hongkong as a guarantee against foul play. The Governor-General, therefore, sent with them his two nephews, Lieutenant-Colonel Primo de Rivera and Captain Celestino Espinosa, and Major Antonio Pezzi. Aguinaldo and eight other chiefs, namely, Gregorio H. del Pilar, Wenceslao Vinegra, Vito Belarmino, Mariano Llaneras, Antonio Montenegro, Luis Viola, Manuel Fino, and Escolástico Viola, stayed at the Hongkong Hotel, whilst the remainder took up their abode elsewhere in the city.

There was great rejoicing in Manila, in Madrid, and in several Spanish cities, and fêtes were organized to celebrate the conclusion of peace. In Manila particularly, amidst the pealing of bells and strains of music, unfeigned enthusiasm and joy were everywhere evident. It was a tremendous relief after sixteen months of persecution, butchery, torture, and pecuniary losses. General Primo de Rivera received the thanks of the Government, whilst the Queen Regent bestowed on him the Grand Cross of San Fernando, with the pension of 10,000 pesetas (nominal value £400). According to a letter of Pedro A. Paterno, dated 7th of March, 1898, published in *El Liberal* of Madrid on the 17th of June, 1898, it would appear that not even the first instalment had (up to the former date) been paid to the rebel chiefs. The letter says :—

As a matter of justice, I ought to have received the two instalments, amounting to \$600,000. Why is this obligation not carried out, and why has General Primo de Rivera not followed my advice by arresting Yocson and his followers from the 5th of last February? I have my conscience clear respecting the risings in Zambales and Pangasinan Provinces and those about to take place in Laguna and Tayabas.

Before Primo de Rivera left Manila (in April, 1898) one instalment (\$300,000) was paid to the chiefs in Hongkong. Whatever were the means employed, the rebellion was disorganized for a long time to come, but the Spanish authorities had not the tact to follow up this *coup* by temperate and conciliatory measures towards their wavering quondam foes. Persons who had been implicated in the rebellion were

re-arrested on trivial trumped-up charges and imprisoned, whilst others were openly treated as seditious suspects. The priests started a furious campaign of persecution, and sought, by all manner of intrigue, to destroy the compact, which they feared would operate against themselves. More executions took place. Instead of the promised general amnesty, only a few special pardons were granted.

There had been over two months of nominal peace ; the rebels had delivered up their arms, and there was nothing to indicate an intention to violate their undertakings. Primo de Rivera, who believed the rebellion to be on the wane, shipped back to Spain 7,000 troops. The Madrid Government, still under the tutelage of the clergy, at once appointed two friars of the orders which (according to the rebel version of the Treaty) were to be expelled or secularized to vacant bishoprics. Rafael Comenge, the President of the Military Club, was rewarded with the Grand Cross of Military Merit for the famous speech which he had delivered at the Club. It was generally lauded by Spaniards, whilst it filled all classes of natives with indignation. Here are some extracts from this oration :—

You arrive in time ; the cannibals of the forest are still there ; the wild beast hides in his lair (*bravo*) ; the hour has come to finish with the savages ; wild beasts should be exterminated ; weeds should be extirpated. (*Great applause.*) Destruction is the purport of war ; its civilizing virtue acts like the hot iron on a cancer, destroying the corrupt tendons in order to arrive at perfect health. No pardon ! (*Very good, very good.*) Destroy ! Kill ! Do not pardon, for this prerogative belongs to the monarch, not to the army. . . . From that historical, honoured, and old land Spain, which we all love with delirious joy, no words of peace come before this treason, but words of vigour and of justice, which, according to public opinion, is better in quality than in quantity. (*Frantic applause, several times repeated, which drown the voice of Señor Comenge.*) Soldiers ! you are the right arm of Spain. Execute ; exterminate if it be necessary. Amputate the diseased member to save the body ; cut off the dry branches which impede the circulation of the sap, in order that the tree may again bring forth leaves and flowers. (*Señor Peñaranda interposed, shouting, “ That is the way to speak.” Frantic applause.*)

Thirty thousand dollars were subscribed at the Military Club for the benefit of General Primo de Rivera. Admiral Patricio Montojo, who had co-operated against the rebels by firing a few shots at them when they occupied the coast towns of Cavite Province and transporting troops to and from Manila, was the recipient of a sword of honour on the 17th of March. It was presented to him, on behalf of the Military Club, by Señor Comenge (who escaped from Manila as soon as the Americans entered the port) as a "perpetual remembrance" of the triumph of our ships off the coast of Cavite," although no deed of glory on the part of the fleet had come to the knowledge of the general public.

The promised reforms were a subject of daily conversation and no State secret, yet when the *Diario de Manila* published an article on the 17th of March, demanding autonomy for the Islands and urging the immediate application of the reforms (which the rebels allege included liberty of the press), General Primo de Rivera astonished everybody in Manila by suspending the publication of the newspaper. Some were inquisitive enough to ask, Has a treaty been signed or a trick been played upon the rebels?

The expatriated ex-rebels became more and more alarmed as it dawned upon them that they had been miserably duped. A committee of Filipinos, styled *La Junta Patriótica*, was formed in Hongkong. They were in frequent communication with their friends in the islands. The seed of discontent was again germinating under the duplicity of the Spanish authorities and the monks. Thousands were ready to take the field again (this was proved to be the case a few months later), but their chiefs were absent, their arms surrendered, and the rebellion disorganized. Here and there roving parties appeared, but having no recognized leaders, their existence did not invalidate the treaty. The Spaniards, indeed, feigned to regard them only as a remnant of the rebels who had joined the ever-existing brigand bands. The Volunteers were committing outrages which might have driven the people again into open revolt, and General Primo de Rivera had, at least, the sagacity to recognize the evil which was apparent to everybody. The Volunteers and guerilla battalions were consequently disbanded, not a day too soon for the tranquillity of the city. On the 25th of March the tragedy of the Calle de Camba took place. This street lies just off the Calle de San Fernando in Binondo, a few hundred yards from

the river. In a house frequented by seafaring men a large number of Visayan sailors had assembled, and were, naturally, discussing the topics of the day with the warmth of expression and phraseology peculiar to their race, when a passer-by, who overheard the talk, informed the police. The Civil Guard at once raided the premises, accused these sailors of conspiracy, and, without waiting for proof or refutation, shot down all who could not escape. The victims of this outrage numbered over 70; the news dismayed the native population; the fact could no longer be doubted that a reign of terrorism and revenge had been initiated with impunity, under the assumption that the rebellion was broken for many a year to come. How the particulars of this crime were related by the survivors to their fellow islanders we cannot know, but it is a coincidental fact that only now the flame of rebellion spread to the Southern Island of Cebú. Nine days after this occurrence, on the 3rd of April, 1898, a party of about 5,000 disaffected natives from around Mandaue, Maboló, Talisay, Pardo, San Nicolás, and Guadalupe, made a raid on the city of Cebú. The leaders were armed with rifles, but the rank and file carried only bolie-knives. At the first alarm the Spanish residents escaped to the fort known as the *Cotta*, leaving everything behind them. The rebels had cut the telegraph wires connecting Cebú with Manila. Opportunely the gunboat *Paragua* came in this afternoon from Yligan (Mindanao). Two small steamers were sent to Yloilo and Yligan respectively in search of troops. The next day, at sunrise, the rebels attempted to reach the Fort, but were fired upon from the Governor's house by the Spanish garrison, consisting of 40 regular troops and about the same number of Volunteers. The Government House is situated in front of the fort. The rebels then withdrew along the shore road and the gunboat *Maria Cristina* opened fire on them. The rebels retreated to the Chinese quarter of Lutao, around the Cathedral and the Santo Niño Church. The Spaniards remained under cover whilst the rebels were in possession of the whole city except the Fort, Government House, the College, and the foreigners' houses. During the whole day there was an incessant fusillade. The rebels' chief stronghold was the Recoleta Convent. Groups of rebels were all over the place, plundering the shops and Spanish houses and offices. On the 5th of April a small force of Spanish regulars, volunteers, and sailors made a sortie and fired on the insurgents in Lutao from a long range. They soon

retired, however, as the Fort was in danger of being attacked from another side. The same afternoon the steamer sent to Yligan for troops returned with 240 on board. During the night the Spanish troops ventured into the open and shots were exchanged. On the 6th of April the *Venus* arrived with 50 soldiers from Yloilo and was at once sent on to Bojol Island in search of rice and cattle, which were difficult to procure as that island was also in revolt. Native women were not interfered with by either party, so they were useful in procuring supplies of food for the foreigners, many of whom took refuge at the British Consulate. The rebels wished to advance from Lutao, but were kept back by the fire from the gunboat. The Spanish troops did not care to venture past a block of buildings in which were the offices and stores of a British firm. On the 7th of April reinforcements arrived from Manila, under the command of General Tejeiro, in the cruiser *Don Juan de Austria* and the chartered merchant steamer *Churruca*. At 9 a.m. the Governor ordered the foreigners to go to the Fort, and at once the 73rd Native Regiment and a regiment of Spanish *Cazadores* were disembarked and drove the enemy out of Lutao at the point of the bayonet, then, crossing the square in front of the British Consulate, they carried all before them at the Recoleta Convent, inflicting a crushing defeat on the rebels. At the same time the rebels were attacked at the *mestizo* quarter called the Parian and at Tiniago, whence they had to retreat, with severe loss, towards San Nicolás, which practically adjoins Cebú and is only separated therefrom by a narrow river. Then the cruiser *Don Juan de Austria* bombarded all that part of the city immediately facing the sea. Lutao caught fire and was totally destroyed; the towers of the Austin Friars' Church and San Nicolás (the ancient watch-tower) were demolished; the Parian was razed to the ground, and fires spread in all directions. An attempt was made to procure supplies from the little Island of Magtau, which lies only half-a mile off the coast of Cebú, but the expedition had to return without having been able to effect a landing at the capital town of Opon, which had risen in rebellion.

The rebels having been forced out of the city, foreigners were permitted to leave the Fort for their homes. On the 8th of April the loyal troops continued their pursuit of the rebels, who suffered severe losses at San Nicolás and Pili, on the road south of Cebú city. Just outside the city there were large heaps of corpses. Practically

the whole of the east coast of the island had risen against the Spaniards, but the rebels were careful not to interfere with foreigners when they could distinguish them as such. A large force of insurgents made another stand at Labangan, where they were almost annihilated; they are estimated to have left quite a thousand dead on the field. The loyal troops followed up the insurgents towards the mountain region, whilst the *Don Juan de Austria* cruised down the coast with the intention of bombarding any town which might be in rebel hands. The material losses in Cebú amounted to about \$1,725,000 in Lutaos, represented by house property of Chinese and half-castes and their stock-in-trade. The *Compañía Tabacalera* lost about \$30,000 in cash whilst their offices and all they contained were completely wrecked. Rich natives and Chinese lost large sums of money, the total of which cannot be ascertained. From the Recoleta Convent \$19,000 in cash, were stolen, and there, as well as in most of the Spanish residences, everything valuable and easily movable was carried off, and what was of no use to the insurgents was smashed or torn up. To this must be added the Parian, which was chiefly half-caste house property, San Nicolás, etc., etc. The only foreigner who lost his life was my late Italian friend Signor Stancampiano, who is supposed to have died of shock, for when I last saw him he was hopelessly ill. As usual, a considerable number of well-known residents of the city were arrested and charged with being the prime movers in this affair.

Up on the hills on the west coast of Cebú, near Toledo town, some American friends of mine experienced a series of thrilling adventures. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, mother and son, to whom I am indebted for their generous hospitality, resided on a large sugar estate at Calumampao, of which Mr. Wilson is part owner. They were, naturally, in ignorance of what had taken place in Cebú city. The rebellion spread to their district, and many of the natives on and about the estate were eager to join in the movement. Mr. Wilson did his utmost to point out to them the futility of the attempt, but they indulged in all sorts of superstitions about the invulnerability of their chief, Claudio, and the charm attached to a red flag he carried, and they were determined to take their chance with him. On the 19th of April an insurgent force came on to the plantation, compelled the labourers to join their standard, and coolly quartered themselves in the out-buildings and warehouses. They did no harm to the Wilsons, but they

kidnapped a Spanish gentleman who lived close by, and shot him, in spite of Mr. Wilson's entreaties to spare his life. The insurgents moved off, taking with them the estate hands, and in a couple of days a company of Spanish soldiers, under the command of Captain Suarez, arrived at the estate-house. The officer was very affable, and Mr. and Mrs. Wilson treated him as hospitably as they did all their friends and European passers-by. Naturally the conversation fell on the all-absorbing topic of the day and the object of his mission. After he and his men had been well refreshed they started down the hill to meet some cavalry reinforcements, and as the Wilsons watched their departure, to their astonishment they saw Claudio, at the head of a couple of hundred rebels, rushing down the hill with the red flag floating in the air. Simultaneously a body of Spanish horse approached through the valley; Claudio and his followers, caught between the Spanish cavalry and infantry, retreated to a storehouse in the valley. The result was that some 40 rebels were killed, others taken prisoners, and the remainder escaped into the planted fields. Every leader was killed, and every peaceful native whom the Spaniards met on their way was unmercifully treated. Mr. Wilson was then asked to go on board a Spanish vessel, and when he got there he was charged with being in league with the rebels. He was allowed to return to shore to fetch his mother—a highly educated, genial old lady—and when they both got on board they found there two Englishmen as prisoners. Their guest of a few days previous treated them most shamefully. When they were well on the voyage to Cebú the prisoners were allowed to be on the upper deck, and Mrs. Wilson was permitted to use an armchair. The soldiers insulted them; they leaned their backs to Mrs. Wilson's chair, and whilst some sang ribald songs, others debated whether they should be shot on the beach or at the *Cotta* in Cebú. Sometimes they would draw their swords and look viciously towards them. At last, after a series of intimidations, they reached Cebú, where, after being detained on board several hours, they were all taken before the Governor and the Chief Justice, and were only saved from further miseries through the intercession of the American Vice-Consul. War had been declared between America and Spain. The estate had to be left to the mercy of the rebels, whilst my friends took passage to Singapore on the *Gulf of Martaban*.

In the provinces north of Manila the rebellion was again in full

vigour, and all trust in Spanish promises was irrevocably lost. The Spanish quarters at Subig (Zambales) and Apalit (Pampanga) were attacked and looted in the first week of March. The new movement bore a more serious aspect than that under Aguinaldo and his colleagues. At least they were men of certain intelligence, inspired only with a wish to secure reforms, most of which would appear to be reasonable. Their successors in revolt, however, were men of far less mental capacity, seeking, apparently, only retaliation for the cruelties inflicted on the people. It is possible, too, that the premium of one million dollars per 35 rebel chiefs inflamed the imagination of the new leaders, who were too ignorant to appreciate the promised reforms linked with the same bargain. During the month of February the permanent way of the Manila-Dagupan Railway had been three times torn up to prevent the transport of loyal troops. At the same time the villages around were looted and burnt. Early in March the rebels, under the chief leadership of Yocson, of Malolos, attacked and killed the garrisons and the priests in the north of Pangasinan and Zambales, excepting six soldiers who managed to escape. Some of the garrison troops were murdered after surrender. The telegraph line between Lingayen and a place a few miles from Bolinao was cut down and removed. A lineman was sent out to repair it under escort of Civil Guards, who were forced by the rebels to retire. On the 7th of March, about 2 a.m., the Eastern Extension Telegraph Co.'s cable station at Bolinao (Zambales) was besieged by rebels. The village was held by about 400 armed natives, who had killed one native and two European soldiers on the way. The lighthouse keeper and the Inspector of Forests safely reached Santa Cruz, 40 miles south, in a boat. The other civilian Spaniards and priests got away in another boat, but were pursued and captured by the insurgents, who killed two of the civilians and brought the European women and Friars into the village as prisoners at 4.30 the same afternoon. Eight soldiers had taken refuge in the cable station, and at 6 a.m. a message was sent to the British staff requiring them to turn out the soldiers or quit the premises themselves. They refused to take either course, and declared their neutrality. A similar message was sent several times with the same result. By 4 p.m. the soldiers had fortified the station as well as they could, and the rebels attacked, but were repulsed with a few shots. Nothing transpired during the night, but the next day (8th March)

another message was sent to the British staff urging them to withdraw as the rebels would renew the assault at 10 a.m. The staff again refused to comply. Then it appears that the rebels delayed their attack until the arrival of their chief, hourly expected. An ultimatum was, at length, received at the station, to the effect that if all arms were given up they would spare the soldiers' lives. They also demanded the surrender of the two rebels held prisoners by these soldiers. At this stage one of the Company's staff, who were allowed to go and come as they pleased, volunteered to interview the rebels, but matters could not be arranged, as the Spanish corporal (a plucky youth of 20 years of age) in the station refused to surrender anything at any price. Still parleying was continued and on the 11th of March one of the Company's staff again visited the rebel camp to state that if the regular bi-monthly steamer failed to arrive on the morrow the corporal would surrender arms. Then the rebel chief proposed that the corporal should meet him half way between the Company's office and the rebel camp, the rebel pledging his word of honour that no harm should befall the corporal. The corporal, however, could not do this, as it would have been contrary to the Spanish military code to capitulate on his own authority, but he confirmed his willingness to surrender arms if no steamer arrived the next day. The Company's employé returned to the camp to notify this resolution, but in a few minutes he observed a commotion among the insurgents; some one had descried a war-ship approaching, and the native canoes were very busy making ready for escape or attack. The British delegate, therefore, hastened back to the station, and at 3 p.m. a Spanish gunboat arrived, to their immense relief, and landed 107 marines. Heavy firing continued all that afternoon, inflicting great loss on the rebels, whilst the Spaniards lost one soldier. On the 12th of March a Spanish cruiser anchored off the Bay of Bolinao; also a merchant steamer put into port bringing the Company's Manila Superintendent with apparatus for communicating with Hongkong in case the station were demolished. The next day H.M.S. *Edgar* entered and Bolinao was again perfectly safe.

In consequence of this threatened attack on the cable-station the cable was detached from Bolinao and carried on to Manila in the following month (*vide* page 304).

As soon as the news reached Manila that Bolinao was menaced, General Monet proceeded north with one thousand men whilst three

thousand more followed by railway as far as they could reach. On the way the General had five engagements with the enemy, between Lingayen (Pangasinan) and Bolinao, where he arrived on the night of the 14th of March, having routed the insurgents everywhere with great loss to them. On the Spanish side one lieutenant and one soldier were killed. After leaving a garrison of 300 men in Bolinao, General Monet returned to Manila in the Spanish cruiser the next day.

On the 31st of March, Father Moises Santos, who had caused all the members of the Town Council of Malolos to be banished in 1895, was assassinated. He had been appointed vicar of the Augustine Order and was returning to Malolos station, en route for Manila, in a buggy which stuck fast in a mud pool (the same in which I have found myself several times), where he was stabbed to death. His body was recovered and taken by special train to Manila, where it was interred with great pomp in the Church of St. Augustine. He was 44 years of age and had been 19 years in the Colony.

Notwithstanding the alleged terms of the Treaty of Biac-na-bató, the Home Government recalled General Primo de Rivera, appointing in his stead General Basilio Augusti, who had never before held that rank in the Islands. Primo de Rivera was no doubt anxious to be relieved of a position which he could not well continue to hold, with dignity to himself, after the Madrid Government had shelved his recommendations for reforms. His subsequent speeches in the Senate incline one to draw this conclusion. The Colonial Minister, Segismundo Moret, warmly supported the proposed reforms, but monastic influences, ever predominant in the Peninsula, were brought to bear which Práxedes Sagasta had not the moral courage to resist.

Pedro A. Paterno, the peacemaker, was sorely disappointed, too, that the Government had failed to remunerate him for his services. His position will be best understood from the subjoined translation of the letter which he addressed to a high authority on the subject. The original document was read in public session of Congress in Madrid on the 16th of June, 1898, by the Deputy Señor Muro.

Manila, 23rd of February, 1898.

My esteemed Friend,

As it appears that, at last, one is thinking of giving me something for the services rendered by me, and as, according to you, the recompense is going to be a title of Castile, I wish to

speaking frankly, in secret, on the subject. I do not wish to fall into ridicule, because in such a material and mercantile place as Manila a title without rent-roll, or grandeur, or anything of the nature of an employment, or Cross of Maria Christina, or rewards such as have been showered broadcast by three Captain-Generals would, in Philippine circles, make me appear as the gullible boy and the laughing-stock of my fellows. To express my private opinion, I aspire, above all, to the preservation of my name and prestige, and if I were asked to renounce them for a childish prize, even though it be called a title of Castile, despised by serious statesmen in Europe, I think I should be obliged to refuse it. But I am willing to meet half way the state of Spanish society in the Philippines, and as I belong to the family of the *Maquinong* Paterno, I must express myself in another way. That title of Castile might become the cherished ideal in the Philippines if it were valued as I desire.

In the first place, it *must not be less than that of Duke*, because the natives have obeyed me as the *Great Maquinong*, or Prince of Luzon, and the ex-revolutionists call me the arbiter of their destinies.

The reward from Spain must not be less than the Philippine public already award to me.

In the second place, the reward, to be accepted by me with dignity and preservation of prestige, must be presented to me in the sense that it is for the general welfare of the Philippines as implied in the title of *Grandee of Spain of the First Class* with the consequent right to a seat in the Senate to defend the interests of the Colony, seeing that we have no Members of Parliament, and parliamentary representation is anxiously desired.

I can show that I possess an income of \$25,000 and more if necessary.

In the third place, it must be in the nature of a gift and not a purchase, that is to say, the patent of nobility must be a free gift.

In the fourth place, it must be valued in dollars, so that the reward may not be held in contempt by the public, who know my liberality when I pay, with splendid generosity, sea voyages, river and land journeys for myself and for my emissaries, or when

I distribute with abundant profusion pecuniary and material recompenses *to buy over the wills of and unite all the insurgent chiefs to bring them to surrender to Spain*. Up to the present, I have not received a cent from the revolutionists or from the Spanish Government to cover these expenses.

It is notorious that I have worked so grandly that no one can now ask me to sink into insignificance.

The recent concessions made by the Spanish Government have been seen by the Philippine public. The grade of Captain-General was given for subjecting a few Moslem chiefs of Mindanao; promotions and grand crosses with pensions have been awarded, and I, who have put an end to the war at a stroke, saving Spain many millions of dollars—I, who, amidst inundations and hurricanes have assaulted and conquered the barracks and military posts of the *enemy*, causing them to lay down their arms to Spain without bloodshed and at my command surrender all their chiefs and revolutionary Government with their brigades and companies, I think I have good right to ask Spain, if she wishes to show herself a mother to me, to give me as much as she has given to other sons for lesser services.

To conclude, for family reasons, *I want a title of Castile, that of Prince or Duke, if possible, and to be a Grandee of the first class*, free of nobility patent fees and the sum of \$—— once for all.

I think that the title of Castile, or Spain's reward, if it reaches me without the mentioned formalities, will be an object of ridicule, and Spain ought not to expose me to this, because I wish to serve her always, in the present and in the future.

I also recommend you very strongly to procure for my brother Maximino Melo Agustin Paterno y Debera Ignacio the title of Count or a Grand Cross free of duties, for he has not only rendered great services to the nation, but he has continually sustained the prestige of Spain with the natives.

I am, etc., etc.,

PEDRO A. PATERNO.

N.B.—1°. I told you verbally that if my merits did not reach two millimetres, it is the friend's duty to amplify them and extend them and make others see them as if they were so many metres, especially as they have *no equal*.

Prince of Limasaba is the first title of Castile conceded to a native of the Philippines. He was the first king of the Island of Limasaba in the time of Maghallanes, according to Father José Fernandez Cuevas, of the Company of Jesus, in his "Spain and Catholicism in the Far East," folio 2 (years 1519 to 1595). In Spain, in modern times, Prince of Peace, Prince of Vergara, etc.

2^o and 3^o. Verbally I mentioned *one million* of dollars, and that Parliament should meet sometimes for the Philippines and for extraordinary reasons. Take note that out of the 25,000 men sent here by Spain on account of the insurrection, statistics show 6,000 struck off the effective list in the first six months and many millions of dollars expenses. The little present, or the Christmas box (*mi Aguinaldo*) is of no mean worth.

In the second week of April, 1898, General Primo de Rivera left Manila for Spain, on the arrival of his successor in the Captain-Generalcy, General Basilio Augusti, in the s.s. *Isla de Mindanao*.¹ Some days before General Primo de Rivera's departure the American Consul at Manila had received despatches from his Government to prepare to quit the Islands, as war was imminent between Spain and the United States. He was further instructed to hand over his consulate archives to the British Consul, who would take charge of American interests. But without the concurrence of the Spanish authorities no official transfer could be made from one consulate to the other, and the General professed ignorance of the existing relations between his country and America. He cabled to Madrid for information, but managed to delay matters until his successor assumed office, when the transfer was duly made. Consul Williams was in no way molested. He passed to-and-fro in the city without the least insult being offered him by any Spaniard. The Governor-General courteously proposed to send a large bodyguard to his consulate, but it was not necessary. Yet, as soon as Consul Williams closed his office and went on board the s.s. *Esmeralda*, the American Consulate escutcheon was painted out and the notice boards outside the doors were kicked about the streets.

¹ This steamer came into Manila flying the French ensign, and painted to resemble one of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, to avoid capture on the way.

General Primo de Rivera must have been well aware of the strained relations between Spain and America, for the s.s. *Leon XIII.*, in which he travelled to Barcelona, was armed as a cruiser, in Manila, with two 4-inch Hontoria guns mounted aft of the funnel and two Nordenfeldts in the bows. This steamer, crowded with refugee Spanish families, some of whom slept on the saloon floors, made its first stoppage at Singapore on the 17th of April. At the next port of call General Primo de Rivera learnt that the United States of America had presented an ultimatum to his Government. Before he reached Barcelona, in the third week of May, war between the two countries had already broken out (23rd of April, 1898). There were riots in Madrid; martial law was proclaimed; the Parliamentary session was suspended; a strict censorship of the Press was established; the great disaster to Spanish arms in Philippine waters had taken place; the Prime Minister Sagasta had intimated his willingness to resign, and Primo de Rivera entered Madrid when it was too late to save the Philippine Islands for Spain, even had the rebel version of the Treaty of Biac-na-bató been fulfilled to the letter.

The leaders of the principal political parties were hastily summoned to the palace to consult separately with the Queen Regent on the situation, and they were unanimous on one point, namely, that the Prime Minister who had accepted war should carry them through the crisis. Spain was, apparently, more concerned about the salvation of the Antilles than her Far Eastern Colony.

The Friars, fully alive to their moral responsibility towards the nation for the loss of the Philippines, were, nevertheless, desirous of finding a champion of their cause in the political arena, and Deputy Uria was willing to accept this onerous task. The Bishop-elect of Porto Rico (an Austin friar) was a fellow passenger with General Primo de Rivera. According to *El Liberal* of the 3rd of June, 1898, when he arrived in Madrid he went with the Procurator of his Order to interview the Colonial Minister, Señor Romero Girón, on the prospects of Deputy Uria's proposed debate when Congress should meet again. The Minister pointed out to them the attendant difficulties, and referred them to the Prime Minister. They immediately went to Señor Sagasta's residence, where they were promptly given to understand that *if anyone could be found to defend them, there might well be others who would oppose them*, so their champion withdrew.

N N

When, months later, Parliament was re-opened, the Minister of War denied in Congress that the Treaty of Biac-na-bató had ever existed, and in support of his contention he cited a cablegram which the Governor-General Primo de Rivera is alleged to have sent to the Prime Minister Sagasta. It was published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on the 16th of December, 1897, and reads as follows :—

(*Translation.*)

Manila, 12th of December, 1897.

To the President of the Council of Ministers from the
Governor-General.

At the expiration of the time allowed and announced in the *Gazette* of the 28th of November, after which rigorous and active war measures would be taken against the rebels, a deputation from the enemy came to me on behalf of the brothers Aguinaldo, Llanera, and the so-called Republican Government, offering to surrender themselves, their followers, and their arms, on the sole conditions of their lives being spared and that they should receive means with which to emigrate. It appears to me, and to the general officers of this army, that this surrender is the result of the successive combats by which we have held the positions taken in Mórong, Paray, Minuyan, and Arayat, and the enthusiasm displayed by the resolute volunteers in the provinces outside Tagálog sphere. I feel sure of being able to take Biac-na-bató, as well as all the other points occupied by the rebels, but I am not so certain of being able to secure the persons of the chiefs of the rebellion with their followers. The war would then be carried on by roving parties who, from their hiding-places in the forests and mountains, might appear from time to time, and although of little importance, they would sustain the rebellion.

The generals agree with me that this peace will save the honour of Spain and the army, but in view of the importance of the event I consider it necessary to solicit the approval of the Government.

If the Government should accept the proposals, I will bring them to an issue at once, but I so far distrust them that I cannot be sure of anything until I have the men and the arms in my possession. In any case, it is now the unanimous opinion that the situation is saved.

PRIMO DE RIVERA.

(Translation of reply.)

Madrid, 13th of December, 1897.

President of the Council of Ministers to the Governor-General,
Manila.

Colonial Ministry Code. H. M. the Queen has perused with great satisfaction your Excellency's telegram and commands me to congratulate you in the name of the nation. In view of the opinion of your Excellency and the generals under your orders that the honour of the army is saved, the Government fully authorizes your Excellency to accept the surrender of the rebel chiefs and their Government on the terms specified in your telegram. Please advise the surrender as soon as possible in order to give due and solemn publicity to the event. Receive my sincere congratulations and those of the Government.

SAGASTA.

The publication of these documents, however, did little to calm the anger of those Madrid politicians who maintained that Spanish dominion in the Philippines could only be peacefully assured by a certain measure of reform in consonance with the natives' aspirations.

Months afterwards, when Spanish sovereignty in the Archipelago was drawing to a close, the Conde de las Almenas opened a furious debate in the Senate, charging all the Colonial Governor-Generals with incompetency, but its only immediate effect was to widen the breach between political parties.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TAGÁLOG REBELLION OF 1896-98.

SECOND PERIOD.

AMERICAN INTERVENTION.

THE prelude to the American occupation of Manila was the demand made on Spain by the United States Government to evacuate the Island of Cuba.

Generations of Spanish misrule in that island had produced a recurrence of the many attempts to throw off the sovereignty of Spain. In February, 1895, the flag of insurrection was again unfurled, and at Baira a proclamation, claiming independence, was issued at the instance of one of Cuba's most intelligent patriots—Marti. This civil leader, however, died a natural death a few months afterwards, but the chief command of the insurgents in the field was continued by the mulatto Antonio Maceo. The rebellion was assuming a serious aspect when General Martinez Campos, who had been instrumental in duping the Cubans in 1878 by the Treaty of Zanjón, was again sent out as Captain-General of the Island. But the Cubans refused to be caught a second time in the same trap. Martinez Campos' theme of "political action combined with military force" held no weight. During his mild *régime* the insurrection increased rapidly, and in one encounter he himself was very near falling a prisoner. In eight months he was relieved of his post, and General Weyler, who had a reputation for severity, succeeded him in command. He was a man of the Duke of Alba type—the ideal of the traditional Spanish Colonial party who recognized no colonists' rights, and regarded concessions of liberty to the colonies as maternal dispensations to be hoped for only, but never demanded. Cánovas, the ultra-Conservative Prime Minister, had declared that so long as an armed rebel remained in the field he would

not grant reforms, so the prospect of a settlement of the disputes between the Government and the governed was hopeless during that administration. The duration of the civil war had seriously prejudiced American trade interests; the pursuance of a conflict under the conditions imposed by General Weyler, who caused all non-combatant islanders to be "concentrated" in places where they were left to starve, aroused the just indignation of America and Europe alike. The hand of the assassin brought the Cánovas Ministry to an end on the 8th of August, 1897; General Weyler was recalled six weeks later, and the United States Government, which had so repeatedly protested against the indefinite and wanton waste of lives and fortunes in Cuba, dictated to Spain a limit to its continuance. After a Conservative interregnum of six weeks under the leadership of General Azcárraga, Práxedes Sagasta came into power at the head of a Liberal ministry and with a Cuban autonomy bill in his portfolio. The newly appointed Governor-General, Ramon Blanco, of the Martinez Campos school—a more noble and compassionate man than his predecessor—unsuccessfully essayed the policy of coercing the rebels in arms whilst cajoling peaceful autonomists and separatists with the long-talked of self-government. Nevertheless, the separatist movement had in no way abated when the Autonomy Bill was promulgated, and an insular Cuban Government was formed on the 1st of January 1898. In the meantime the incident of the explosion of the American warship *Maine*, the cause of which has not yet been made clear to the satisfaction of the world, had further incensed the war party in the United States. Autonomy had come too late; examined in detail it was but another form of Spanish dominion open to almost similar abuses; it was not the will of the people, and it failed to bring peace. The thousands "concentrated" under Weyler's rule still formed a moribund mass of squalid misery which Spain was still unable or unwilling to relieve. America's offer to materially alleviate their wretchedness was received with suspicion, hemmed in with conditions, and not openly rejected for the want of physical power to do so. Three months of insular government and over 200,000 Spanish troops had effected practically nothing; the prospect of peace was hopeless, and the United States of America formally called upon Spain to evacuate the island. Spain argued the point; America insisted on the course

dictated, and sent an ultimatum to Madrid on the 20th of April, 1898, to be accepted or otherwise within three days. The ministers Polo de Bernabé and General Woodford withdrew from Washington and Madrid respectively, and war broke out between the United States and Spain on Saturday the 23rd of April, 1898.

In anticipation of hostilities, an American fleet had concentrated at Hongkong. On the 23rd of April Major-General Black, the officer administering the Colony, issued a proclamation of neutrality, and Commodore Dewey withdrew his fleet from British waters to Mirs Bay¹ within Chinese jurisdiction.

It was known in Manila that the hostile squadron was on the way to the Philippine capital. Submarine mines were laid, or said to have been laid, for some old cable was purchased for the purpose from the telegraph ship *Sherard Osborn* when the submarine cable was removed from Bolinao and carried on to Manila. Admiral Montojo went with four ships to await the arrival of the enemy off Subig on the W. coast of Luzon. Subig is a fine natural harbour, but with precipitous shores just as nature has made it. For years the "project" had existed to carry a State railway there from Manila and make Subig the principal Government Naval Station and Arsenal instead of Cavite. But personal interests and the sloth of the Government combined to frustrate the plan. Under the pressing circumstances, the military authorities pretended to be doing something there, and sent up a commission. Admiral Montojo expected to find batteries of artillery mounted and 14 torpedoes in readiness, but absolutely nothing had been done, so he at once returned to Manila Bay, and prepared to meet the adversary off Cavite. In Cavite there were two batteries, with three guns between them, but at the last moment two defective guns were put ashore there from the *Don Juan de Austria* and two similar pieces from the *Castilla*.

In Hongkong there was great agitation among the members of the Philippine Patriotic League (*Junta Patriótica*), and the rebel chiefs exiled under the Treaty of Biac-na-bató. The League had presented to several European Governments, through its own agents, a sort of *Memorandum*, to which no official recognition could be given. The

¹ Mirs Bay has *since* become British, being included in the extended Kowloon Concession.

Filipinos were now anxious to co-operate with the Americans in compelling the Spaniards to evacuate the Archipelago. The American Consul in Hongkong, Mr. Wildman, accepted the honorary post of treasurer of the Patriotic League fund. Emilio Aguinaldo and suite went to Singapore, where they found Mr. Howard W. Bray, an Englishman and old personal friend of mine, who had resided some years in the Islands. Aguinaldo and his party were obliged to travel *incognito*, because secret paid agents were on his track to endeavour to fetter his movements, and in Singapore a Malay police sergeant was illegally employed to investigate the private acts of a Filipino. The editor of the *Singapore Free Press* and Mr. Bray had become acquainted. The editor introduced Mr. Bray to the American Consul-General, Mr. Spencer Pratt, and Mr. Bray presented Emilio Aguinaldo to the Consul-General. The midnight meeting of the above-named four persons took place at "The Mansion," River Valley Road, Singapore, on the 24th of April, the day following the outbreak of American-Spanish hostilities. The original idea in making Aguinaldo and the Consul-General known to each other was to utilize Aguinaldo's services and prestige with the armed natives to control them and prevent reprisals when the American forces should appear before Manila. It was hoped that, in this way, the lives of many Spaniards in the Islands would be spared. The result of this Singapore meeting was that a draft Agreement between Consul-General Pratt and Emilio Aguinaldo was drawn up, subject to the approval of Commodore Dewey and subsequent confirmation from Washington. The essence of this provisional understanding was as follows, viz.:—

- (1°.) Philippine Independence to be proclaimed.
- (2°.) A Federal Republic to be established by vote of the rebels ; pending the taking of this vote Aguinaldo was to appoint the members of that Government.
- (3°.) The Federal Republic to recognize a temporary intervention of American and European Administrative Commissions to be appointed by Commodore Dewey.
- (4°.) The American Protectorate to be recognized on the same terms as those fixed for Cuba.
- (5°.) Philippine ports to be open to all the world.
- (6°.) Precautionary measures to be adopted against the influx of Chinese.

(7°.) The existing judicial system to be reformed.

(8°.) Liberty of the press and right of assembly to be proclaimed.

(9°.) Ample tolerance of all religions and sects, but abolition and expulsion of all monastic orders.

(10°.) Measures to be adopted for working up the natural resources of the Archipelago.

(11°.) The wealth of the country to be developed by the construction of high roads and railways.

(12°.) The obstacles operating against the development of enterprises and employment of foreign capital to be removed.

(13°.) The new Government to preserve public order and check all reprisals against the Spaniards.

(14°.) Spanish officials to be transported to another safe and healthy island until there shall be an opportunity for their return to Spain.

(15°.) This Agreement is subject to ratification (by telegraph) by Commodore Dewey and President MacKinley.

Consul-General Pratt thereupon sent Emilio Aguinaldo with his staff to Hongkong with instructions to Consul Wildman to put him in communication with Commodore Dewey, which he did, and Commodore Dewey, before he left China for Manila, gave orders to Consul Wildman to see that Aguinaldo and his staff followed on in an American warship. About the same time the Philippine Patriotic League issued a proclamation which is too long to reproduce here as it covers eight folios of print. This document sets forth that whereas the Treaty of Biac-na-bató has not been fulfilled by the Spanish Government, the Revolutionists consider themselves absolved therefrom and morally free to again take the offensive in open warfare for the security of their rights and liberty. But this document does not quote any of the text of the above Treaty. Proclamations and exhortations to the rebels were issued with such frequency that it would be tedious to cite them all, but I give the following specimen :—

(Translation of Full Text.)

Philippine Patriots.

A nation which has nothing good can give nothing. It is evident we cannot depend on Spain to obtain the welfare we all desire. A country like Spain, where social evolution is at the

mercy of monks and tyrants, can only communicate to us its own instincts of calumny, infamy, inquisitorial proceedings, avarice, secret police, false pretences, humiliation, deprivation of liberties, slavery and moral and material decay which characterize its history. Spain will need much time to shake off the parasites which have grown upon and cling to her; she has no self-dependence so long as her nationality is composed of inquisitorial monks, ambitious soldiers, demoralized civil servants, and a populace bred to support this state of things in silence. It is therefore useless to expect anything from Spain.

During three and a half centuries Spain's policy has been a delusion. Is there a conflict between Spain and England or Holland? Then the Friars come and relate to us preposterous absurdities of the miracles of Saint Francis and of the Image of the Virgin of the Rosary, whilst Simon de Anda calls the Pampango natives his brothers so long as they fight to save the Spanish flag falling into the hands of English or Dutch *savages*! Is the foreign invasion ended? Then the Friars, through their salaried agents in the press, reward us with epithets such as monkey, buffalo, etc. Is there another conflict imminent between Germany and Spain? Then the Friars call the natives Spaniards and the military officers own us as their sons and they dub us brave soldiers. Is the conflict finished? Then we are again overgrown boys, beings of inferior race and incapable of being civilized. Is there now to be a struggle with Americans? Then General Augusti, who is the living symbol of Spanish authority, who ought to be the most prudent of the prudent, the most cultivated of the cultivated, points at America as a nation composed of all social excrescences; the Friars and their enslaved Spaniards want to again cajole and cheat us with offers of participation in public affairs, recognition of the military grades of ex-rebel chiefs, and other twaddle degrading to those who would listen to it. In fact, they have called into their councils the sons of the country, whilst they exclusively carry out their own ideas, and reserve to themselves the right to set aside all the resolutions at a stroke. They offer to enrol in their ranks the insurgents of yesterday, so that they can have them all shot on the morrow of the present difficulty. What irrision! Do you want another trick exposed? Now that Spain is in danger of losing the Philippines, the executioners of the other day.

—the everlasting tyrants—tell us that America will sell the islands to England. No, America has its past and its present. America will preserve a clear intelligence; she is not dominated by friars and tyrants like Spain; she is liberal; she has liberated her slaves against the will of the Spaniards who were, for the most part, their owners. A country is known by its national character; review its past history and it is easy to understand the calumny launched against the Americans. But even though we became English should we not gain by it? The English have conceded self-government to many of their colonies and not of the frail delusive sort that Spain granted to Cuba. In the English colonies there are liberties which Spain never yielded to hers in America or Philippines.

Our country is very rich, and as a last resource we can buy it from the Americans. Do not be deceived by the Spaniards! Help the Americans who promise us our liberty. Do not fall into the error of taking Spain to be a civilized country. Europe and America consider her the most barbarous of the century. There the weakest is the most persecuted. In no country to-day but Spain is the Inquisition tolerated. It is proved by the tortures imposed on the prisoners of Montjuich, of the Philippines, and of Cuba. Spain did not fulfil the agreement entered into with Máximo Gomez at Zanjón, nor that made with Aguinaldo at Biac-na-bató. Spain is a nation always more ready to promise than to perform. But ask for friars, soldiers, and State dependents to come and devour our wealth and instantly you will get them. Spain has nothing else to give, and God grant she will keep what she has. Spain will flatter you under the present circumstances, but do not be deceived. Submit every fawning offer to your conscience. Remember the execution of the innocents, the tortures and atrocities which have been the means of covering with decorations the breasts of those who took the blood of your fathers, brothers, relations and friends. Providence will aid the Americans in their triumph, for the war is a just one for the nation elected to lead us to the goal of our liberty. Do not rail against the designs of Providence; it would be suicidal. Aid the Americans!

(Anonymous.)

On the other side, far richer in poetic imagination and religious fervour, is the Allocution of the Archbishop of Madrid-Alcalá

published in Madrid on the day hostilities commenced. I give the following extract to show how the religious sentiment of the people was appealed to to indirectly make them believe that Spain was defending a noble cause.

Very Beloved Sons :

The cursed hunger for gold and the unquenchable thirst for power have combined to tarnish that flag which the Great Queen Isabella raised, by the hand of Columbus, in the West Indies. With justice trodden under foot, the voice of the Pope unheard and the intervention of the nations despised with arrogance, every road to the counsels of peace has been barred and the horrors of war have become a necessity. Let Heaven be witness that we are not the authors of this disaster, and let the responsibility before God be on that vain people whose dogma seems to be that money is the god of the world There, ploughing the seas, go our soldiers and our sailors. Have no fear, let no one weep, unless indeed it be for fear of arriving too late for the fray. Go, braves, to fight with the blessing of the Fatherland. With you goes all Spain, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, from Irun to Tarifa. With what envy do we contemplate you weighing anchor to leave our shores ! Oh ! why does juvenility, or decrepitude, or duty deprive us of the joy of taking part in your enterprise ? But no ! with you goes our Spanish heart May the Immaculate Virgin, whose scapulary hangs around your necks and whose blessed image floats on your flags, protect you under her mantle in the moment of danger, deliver you from all evil, and shower blessings upon you ! May Saint James, patron of Spain, and the martyr Nicodemus and Saint Telmo and Saint Raymond and the King Saint Ferdinand go before you and ever march in the vanguard wherever you may go and make you invulnerable to the bullets of the enemy, so that you may return victorious to tread once more this noble soil and kiss the cheek of the weeping mother who bore you ! We, who cannot go to take part in the battles, will hold and brandish the arms of prayer, like Moses who prayed on the mountain, whilst Joshua slew his ferocious enemies in the valley God has triumph in His hand and will give it to whom He pleases. He gave it to Spain in Covadonga, in Las Navas, in El Salado, in

the river of Seville, on the plain of Granada, and in a thousand battles which overflow the pages of history. Oh Lord, give it us now ! Let the nations see that against the right of might there is the might of right !

To all beloved sons, from our heart We have pleasure in sending you our pastoral benediction, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Given in our palace in Madrid on the 23rd of April, 1898.

José M^a

Archbishop-bishop of Madrid-Alcalá.

This Allocution calls to mind Spain's last struggle with Mexico. Was it a battle of the saints ? The Spaniards relied on Santa Isabel ; the Mexicans appealed to Santa Guadalupe, and the latter came out victorious.

In Manila, as the critical day approached, Governor-General Augusti issued his general order as to special military service and his proclamation to the Philippine people. The latter is couched in vituperative and erroneously prophetic language, but both can be better appreciated from the following translated texts :—

Special Military Service.

Whereas it is necessary to adopt every possible means for the defence of this territory and to render assistance to the army and the fleet in the approaching operations against the United States of North America, I order :

(1°.) It is hereby declared that a state of war exists.

(2°.) All public functionaries of the State and the municipalities, not exceeding 50 years of age and not physically unfit, are obliged to take up arms in defence of the country and serve whenever they are required. They will proceed, at once, to their offices and lodge their names and serve under their present chiefs.

(3°.) All Spaniards and sons of Spaniards (although not born in the Peninsula) above the age of 20 and not more than 50, living in the Provinces, are also hereby required to take up arms.

(4°.) All those not comprised in the foregoing are at liberty to serve as Volunteers.

(a.) All native Spaniards who are not employed in the public offices.

(b.) All those who are under 20 and more than 50 years of age, and who are strong enough to endure the fatigue of a campaign.

(c.) All foreigners (except North Americans) who are domiciled in Manila or in the capitals of the Provinces.

(5°.) The General Sub-Inspector will organize these Volunteers, and distribute them as required for defensive purposes.

(6°.) Public functionaries will receive their orders for military service from their respective administrative chiefs.

(7°.) From this date no one capable of bearing arms is allowed to leave these Islands. This prohibition does not apply to those who are seriously ill.

PROCLAMATION.

Spaniards.—

Between Spain and the United States of North America hostilities have broken out.

The moment has arrived to prove to the world that we possess the spirit to conquer those who, pretending to be loyal friends, take advantage of our misfortunes and abuse our hospitality, using means which civilized nations consider unworthy and disreputable.

The North American people, composed of all the social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and provoked war with their perfidious machinations, with their acts of treachery, with their outrages against the law of nations and international treaties.

The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of Victories will give us one as brilliant and complete as the righteousness and justice of our cause demand. Spain, which counts upon the sympathies of all the nations, will emerge triumphantly from this new test, humiliating and blasting the adventurers from those States that, without cohesion and without a history, offer to humanity only infamous traditions and the sorry spectacle of Chambers in which appear united insolence and defamation, cowardice and cynicism.

A squadron manned by foreigners, possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this Archipelago with the blackguard intention of robbing us of all that means life, honour, and liberty. Pretending to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable, the North American seamen undertake

as an enterprise capable of realization the substitution of Protestantism for the Catholic religion you profess, to treat you as tribes refractory to civilization, to take possession of your riches as if they were unacquainted with the rights of property, and to kidnap those persons whom they consider useful to man their ships or to be serviceable in agricultural or industrial labour.

Vain designs ! Ridiculous boastings !

Your indomitable bravery will suffice to frustrate the attempt to carry out their plans. You will not allow the faith you profess to be made a mockery of, with impious hands placed on the temple of the true God, the images you adore to be thrown down by unbelief. The aggressors shall not profane the tombs of your fathers, they shall not gratify their lustful passions at the cost of your wives' and daughters' honour, or appropriate the property that your industry has accumulated as a provision for your old age. No, they shall not perpetrate any of the crimes inspired by their wickedness and covetousness, because your valour and patriotism will suffice to punish and abase the people who, claiming to be civilized and polished, have exterminated the natives of North America instead of bringing to them the life of civilization and of progress.

Filipinos, prepare for the struggle, and united under the glorious Spanish banner, which is ever bedecked with laurels, let us fight with the conviction that victory will reward our efforts ; against the shouts of our enemies let us resist with Christian decision and the patriotic cry of "Viva España !"

Manila, 23rd of April, 1898,

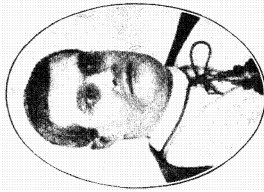
Your General,

BASILIO AUGUSTI Y DAVILA.

The volunteers and guerilla battalions which had been so recently disbanded by General Primo de Rivera, because they terrorized the peaceful inhabitants, were now publicly thanked and praised for their past services and called upon to again serve their country. The Mayor of Manila issued his own proclamation, exhorting the inhabitants to help the Spaniards against the Americans. Archbishop Nozaleda also made his appeal to the people, assuring them that four Spanish battle-ships were on their way out (although, as a matter of fact, only one existed, namely, the *Pelayo* 8,500 tons, built in 1887), and that from



GENERAL AUGUSTI.



ARCHBISHOP NOZALED.



ADMIRAL MONTJO.



direct communication with the Almighty he had learnt that the most Christian Spain would be victorious in the next engagement.

There was a general stampede of those who could get away; numbers of families fled up the river Pasig towards the Lake of Bay; the approaches to Manila from the north were held by the rebels; Cavite Province threw off the cloak of pacification and sent fresh insurgents to invest the high roads leading from the south to the capital. General Augusti's wife and children, who had been conducted to Macabebe (north of Manila Bay), were kidnapped by the rebels. All Americans (about 25), except one family, took refuge on board foreign ships in the bay. The one exception was a Mr. Johnson, who had been travelling through the islands with a cinematograph show, and he refused to remove his wife, who had just given birth. The well-known s.s. *Esmeralda* took on board a crowd of passengers for Hongkong at fancy rates of passage. Refugees offered as much as four times the usual passage money for a saloon berth, and deck-passengers were willing to pay three times the normal rate. The Chinese were leaving the islands by hundreds by any available opportunity, for they had just as much to fear from the loyal as the rebel faction. The rich Chinese were robbed and the labouring class were pressed into service fit for beasts of burden. Despised by the Spaniards and hated by the natives, their lives were not safe anywhere. Foreign families of neutral nationality sought more tranquil asylum far beyond the suburbs or on ships lying in the harbour. Two days before the Americans arrived a native regiment was suspected of disaffection. The Spanish officers, therefore, picked out six corporals and shot them forthwith, threatening to do the same on the morrow if the ringleaders were not handed over. During the night the whole regiment went over to the rebels with their rifles and accoutrements. No intelligent European could entertain any doubt as to the result of the coming contest, but the general fear (which proved to be unfounded) was that it would be followed by an indiscriminate massacre of the Spaniards.

There were warships of several nations in the bay, and the Spanish fleet was moored off Cavite awaiting the arrival of the adversary's squadron. The Spanish men o' war, which were always painted white, had their colour changed to dark gray like the American ships. All coast lights were extinguished. The Island of Corregidor and Punta

Restinga were hastily supplied with a few 6-inch cannons from the *Castilla*. Punta Gorda, Punta Larisi, the rock El Fraile, and Caballo Island had toy batteries compared with the American armament.

The American men o' war left Mirs Bay (opposite to Hongkong Island) on the 27th of April, under the command of Commodore Dewey, and on the way put in at Subig, but finding no opponent there, they steamed on to Manila. With all lights put out the American ships entered the bay, passing Corregidor Island at 3 a.m. on Sunday, May 1st, 1898. The *Olympia*, with Commodore Dewey aboard, led the way. The defenders of Corregidor Island¹ were apparently slumbering, for the *Olympia* had already passed when a solitary cannon shot was heard and responded to. Then a shot or two were fired from the rock El Fraile and from the battery of Punta Sangley. The American squadron kept its course in line of battle; the Spanish ships, under the command of Admiral Montojo, who was on board the *Reina Cristina*, cleared for action, and the respective positions taken up by the opposing fleets were as shown in the accompanying plan.

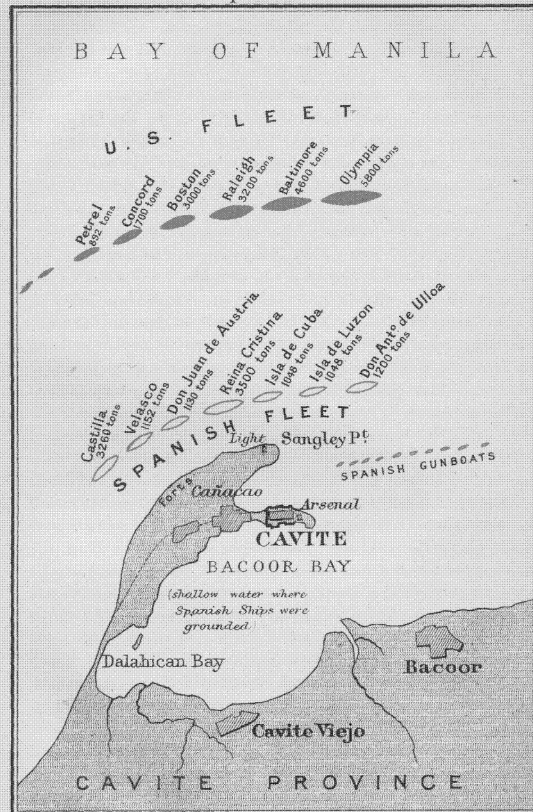
The Americans cannonaded the forts of Cañacao and Punta Sangley, and the Spanish fleet responded with a furious broadside, which being badly directed did little damage. The *Don Antonio de Ulloa* poured a volley towards the enemy's ships with little effect, and simultaneously the drums were beaten whilst the officers and crews shouted "Long live the King, Queen, and Spain!" Firing on both sides then became general; the well-aimed shots of the Americans were beginning to tell forcibly against the Spaniards. The *Don Juan de Austria* advanced towards the *Olympia* and was met with a shower of shot and shell, obliging her to turn back. The *Maria Cristina*, seeing the failure of the *Don Juan de Austria*, went full speed towards the *Olympia*, intending to ram her, but a perfect hurricane of projectiles from the *Olympia* made her retreat with her decks strewn with the dead and dying. The *Baltimore* was damaged by the Montoria guns of Punta Sangley and had to retire from the combat. The *Boston* was slightly damaged. Further than that the American ships suffered little. By 7.30 a.m. the Spanish flagship *Reina Cristina* was in flames, so a boat was lowered to transfer the Admiral and his staff to the *Isla de Cuba*. The captain of the *Reina Cristina*, Don Luis Cadarso,

¹ The distance from Corregidor Island to Manila City is 27 miles.



1

THE BATTLE OF CAVITE May 1st 1898.
Position of Spanish and U. S. Fleets.



TOTAL TONNAGE. U.S. 19,192; SPAIN 12,338. GUNS U.S. 67; SPAIN 31.

although mortally wounded, heroically commanded his men up to the moment of death. By 8 a.m. the Spanish ships were decidedly crippled and the American squadron withdrew to another place in the bay behind a number of foreign war and merchant ships, where they had left two supply transports from which they took fresh ammunition. Meantime the little Spanish gunboats *Lezo*, *Duero*, *Manila*, *Velasco*, and *Argos*, which were quite unfit for action, ran ashore at Cavite Viejo. At 10 a.m. the Americans returned in line of battle and opened fire on the Spanish ships which still had their flags flying. The fight lasted about one hour. Of the Spanish ships the *Castilla* and *Reina Cristina* were burnt; the *Don Juan de Austria* was blown up, and the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, pierced all over with shot, sunk after the action and about half of her crew which had survived the battle were drowned. Only the two cruisers *Isla de Cebú*¹ and *Isla de Luzon* remained in fighting condition, but the position was so hopeless that the Admiral ordered them to run aground in the Bay of Bacoar.

The Americans then opened fire on the Arsenal and Fort of Cavite which had not a single cannon left in place. Soon a Spanish officer, named Loston, signalled for a truce to save the women, children, and wounded. An American officer met him and replied that having destroyed the fleet his mission was ended for the present and agreed to suspend firing, provided the shore batteries at the river mouth were silent. General Augusti was consulted as to this condition, and agreed to it. The mail steamer *Isla de Mindanao* was aground off Las Piñas, and being armed as a cruiser the Americans fired on her and she was soon ablaze. There was still another parley with reference to Cavite. The Americans demanded the surrender of the Arsenal, the Admiral, and the surviving crews of the destroyed fleet. As General Peña declined to surrender Cavite, the Americans gave the Spaniards two hours to evacuate, under the threat of bombarding Manila if the demand were not complied with. Again the answer was negative, and five hours were allowed so that General Peña could consult with the Captain-General. General Augusti authorized the evacuation, and in less than two hours Cavite and the whole isthmus, including San Roque, Caridad, Estanzuela and Dalahican, were under American control. All the Spanish families returned to

¹ Subsequently got off and repaired by the Hongkong and Whampoa Dock Co. for the American authorities and made her trial trip in December, 1898, at a speed of 11½ knots.

Manila by land. The next day (2nd of May) the *débris* were cleared away from Cavite and the environs, and the dwellings were cleansed and put in order for indefinite occupation.

The evacuation of Corregidor Island was demanded by the Americans, and the 100 men composing the garrison were allowed to depart in boats for Naig on the W. coast of Cavite. Their commander, however, surrendered himself prisoner and went on board the *Baltimore* with his family. He was at once offered (but wisely refused) his liberty, and later on he was put ashore at Balanga (Bataan Province).

On the Spanish side the losses in men amounted to about 400 (including Captain Cadarso and the Chaplain Novo), out of a total of about 1,000 Spaniards and natives. It was a decisive victory for the Americans; the entire Spanish fleet in Philippine waters was destroyed, excepting a few small gunboats stationed about the southern islands. After a 15 months' cruise, one of these—the *Callao*—steamed into Manila Bay on the 12th of May in complete ignorance of what had happened. The Americans fired a warning shot, and ordered her to lower her flag. With little hesitation she did so, in view of the immensely superior force displayed. The vessel became a prize, and the commander a prisoner of war. But he was shortly offered his liberty on parole, which he unfortunately accepted, for the Spaniards in Manila had so lost their heads that they accused him of cowardice in not having fought the whole American squadron! He was actually court-martialled and condemned to death, but afterwards reprieved. The Spaniards exhibited great bravery in the battle of Cavite, and man for man they proved themselves to be in no way inferior to their opponents. Considering the wretched condition of their old-fashioned ships and armament compared with the splendid modern equipment which the Americans brought, no other result could have been expected.

Long before sunset Admiral Patricio Montojo and his surviving officers found their way to Manila. In the evening the Admiral serenely passed the hours in his suburban villa, whilst the Americans were in possession of the Port of Manila, and the stars and stripes floated over the town and arsenal of Cavite, and the forts of Cañacao and Punta Sangley. So little did the people and the ignorant Spanish priests understand how a modern military occupation was conducted that when Commodore Dewey landed his marines, a deputation of friars and nuns met him to humbly crave clemency for the vanquished.

The entry of the American squadron, without opposition, into the Bay of Manila, was a great surprise to the inhabitants of the capital. Whilst the women and children were driven off to the suburbs of the city and near-lying villages, male Spaniards, from the highest to the lowest—merchants, State dependents, Spanish troops, and even those native auxiliaries who still remained loyal—hastened to assure the Governor-General that “the enemy should not land in Manila without “passing over their dead bodies.” Subsequent facts, however, proved these pompous vows to be merely a figure of speech. From the city walls, the terraces of houses, the church towers, and every available height, thousands of curious sightseers witnessed the brave defence and the complete defeat of the Spaniards. As the American fleet advanced in line of battle the Spanish transport *Cebú* was scuttled at the mouth of the Pasig River to bar the entrance. All the small steamers and sailing craft in the river moved up as near as possible to the Puente de España. The obsolete cannons on the Luneta fort fired a few solitary shots without the least effect; the fort of Santiago, defending the entrance to the Pasig River, was silent, although cannons, said to be over a century old, had been hastily mounted there, notwithstanding the fact that the colonel, who was instructed to have the rust chipped off these ancient pieces of artillery, committed suicide in despair. Not a single torpedo had been brought into action by the Spaniards. There were several in stock at Cavite Arsenal, but, when wanted, each had an important piece missing, so they were unserviceable. About 4.30 p.m. the American ships changed their position and moved towards Manila City. A formal demand was made on the Governor-General Augusti to surrender the capital. The British Consul, who had received instructions to look after American interests pending hostilities, served as the medium of communication between the representatives of the conflicting parties. The Consuls had an interview with the Captain-General, who, after a brief consultation with his colleagues, gave the customary Spanish reply to the effect that he would resist until the last drop of blood was in his veins. Frequent intercourse took place between the Spanish Governor-General and the American Commodore through the intermediary of the British Consul. The same afternoon another British, another French, and another German man-o'-war entered the Bay. Rear-Admiral Dewey (for he had just been promoted in rank) declared the port blockaded.

On the 2nd of May he demanded to be put in possession of the telegraph station, and on this being refused he ordered the cable connecting Luzon with Hongkong to be cut. The Spanish authorities had just time before this measure was taken to report to Madrid by cable the bare facts. The news came to the Spanish capital like a thunderbolt. The whole city was instantly in uproar. Mobs of people filled the streets, wildly denouncing the incapability of a Government which could lead them to such disaster. The newspaper offices were thronged. Special supplements were issued as quickly as possible. The cafés, clubs and other public meeting-places were besieged. General Borbon drove out in a carriage from which he harangued the populace, and was, in consequence, sent to a fortress for three months. There was an attempt at holding a mass meeting in the Puerta del Sol, but the surging crowd started down the Calle de Sevilla and the Carrera de San Gerónimo shouting, "Long live Weyler!" "To the house of Weyler!" They reached his residence, and after a series of frantic *rivas* for the army, navy, etc., they called on General Weyler to appear at the balcony. But being himself in somewhat strained relations with the existing Government, he did not think it prudent to show himself. Then some one having set up the cry of "Down with the whole Government!", which was responded to with frenzied applause, the rioters set out for Sagasta's house, returning by the Carrera de San Gerónimo. At that moment the mounted civil guard met and charged the crowd. Many were trodden under foot and arrests were made. The Civil Governor, Señor Aguilera, followed up in his carriage, and when the military police had dispersed the general mass, leaving only here and there a group, the Civil Governor stepped out of his carriage and addressed them. His words were hissed from the balcony of a club, and it was already past midnight when the first outburst of public indignation and despair had exhausted itself. On the 2nd of May, the *Heraldo* of Madrid, calmly reviewing the naval disaster, commented as follows:—

It was no caprice of the fortune of war. From the very first cannon shot our fragile ships were at the mercy of the formidable hostile squadron; were condemned to fall one after the other under the fire of the American batteries; they were powerless to strike, and were defended only by the valour and breasts of their sailors. What has been gained by the illusion that Manila was fortified?

What has been gained by the intimation that the broad and beautiful bay on whose bosom the Spanish Fleet perished yesterday had been rendered inaccessible? What use was made of the famous island of Corregidor? What was done with its guns? Where were the torpedoes? Where were those defensive preparations concerning which we were requested to keep silence?

Several merchant vessels were seized in and about Manila Bay, and supplies from seawards were cut off from the city, which was quite at the mercy of Admiral Dewey, who could have bombarded it and forced surrender the same day. But it was not easy to foresee what might follow. Admiral Dewey had full discretion to act as circumstances might seem to guide him, but it was evident that whatever the surrender of the Captain-General of the Archipelago might theoretically imply, a military occupation of Manila was far from being tantamount to possession of the Islands. Hemmed in everywhere on land by the insurgent forces which now occupied and collected taxes in several Luzon provinces, the Spaniards could have been shelled out of the capital and forced to capitulate, or driven to extermination by the thousands of armed natives thirsting for their blood. The Americans had, consequently, a third party to consider. The natives' anxiety to oust the Spaniards was far stronger than their wish to be under American, or indeed any foreign, control. But whilst a certain section of the common people was perfectly indifferent about such matters, others, wavering at the critical moment between their opposition to the Spaniards and repulsion of the foreign invader whoever he might be, proclaimed their intention to join issue with the former. Lastly, there was Aguinaldo's old rebel party which rallied to the one cry "Independence." "Nothing succeeds like success," and if the rebel version of the Treaty of Biac-na-bató had been fulfilled in the spirit, no doubt Aguinaldo would have been revered as a great reformer. But the relinquishment of the strife by the leaders, the money transaction and the immediate renewal of Spanish severities, together created an impression on the minds of the rebel rank and file that, in some way, their general welfare had been sacrificed to personal interest. It was doubtful, therefore, how Aguinaldo would be received on his return to the Islands. With the object of investigating the feelings of the old rebel party, the leader José Alejandrino (son of my late friend José

Alejandrino, a rich planter at Matamó, near Arayat, Pampanga), and two other rebels accompanied the American expedition to Cavite, where they disembarked. Several days passed in convincing the rebels of Aguinaldo's good faith in all that had transpired, and in the meantime Aguinaldo himself arrived on the 19th of May with 12 other insurgent leaders in the American despatch boat *Hugh McCulloch*. It yet remained doubtful whether he still held the confidence of the insurgents, but, when he at length landed at Cavite, his old companions in arms and many more rallied to his standard with the greatest enthusiasm. The rebels, at that date, were computed to number 30,000, and Aguinaldo, on taking the command, declared himself Dictator. Aguinaldo was, naturally, at that period, on the most amicable terms with Admiral Dewey, who supplied him with two modern field pieces, 500 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition, enjoining on him the strict observance of his engagement to repress reprisals against the Spaniards.

To prepare the natives for the arrival of the Americans, Aguinaldo sent over in advance of the American Fleet the following proclamation :—

Compatriots,

Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, in a manner most acceptable to a free and independent people.

The Americans, not for mercenary motives but for the sake of humanity, in response to the woes of the persecuted, have thought fit to extend their protecting arm to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever their relations with Spain on account of the tyranny practised in Cuba, to the great prejudice of the large commercial interests which the Americans have there. An American squadron is at this moment preparing to sail for the Philippines. We, your brothers, fear you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow out your own brains than treat with enmity those who are your liberators.

Your natural enemies, your executioners, the authors of your misery and your woe, are the Spaniards who rule you. Raise against these your weapons and your hatred. Understand well, against the Spaniards ; never against the Americans. Do not heed the Governor-General's decree, calling you to arms, even

though it cost you your lives. Die rather than be ungrateful to our American liberators. The Governor-General calls you to arms. Why? To defend your Spanish tyrants? To defend those who have despised you and in public speeches called for your extermination—those who have treated you little better than savages? No! no! a thousand times, no!

Glance at history and you will see that in all Spain's wars undertaken in the Far East, Philippine blood has been sacrificed; we were sent to fight for the French in Cochin China over a matter which in no way concerned us; we were forced to spill our blood by Simon de Anda against the English, who, in any case, would have been better rulers than the Spaniards; every year our sons are taken away to be sacrificed in Mindanao and Sulu against those who, we are led to believe, are our enemies when, in reality, they are our brothers, fighting, like us, for their liberty. After such a sacrifice of blood against the English, the Annamites, the Mindanaos, etc., what reward or thanks have we received from the Spanish Government? Obscurity, poverty, the slaughter of our dear ones. Enough, brothers, of this Spanish tutelage!

Note that the Americans will attack by sea and prevent any reinforcements coming from Spain, therefore the insurgents must attack by land.

You will, probably, have more than sufficient arms, because the Americans, having arms, will find means to help us. Wherever you see the American flag, there flock in numbers. They are our redeemers.

Our unworthy names are nothing, but we all invoke the name of the greatest patriot our country has seen, certain in the hope that his spirit will be with us and guide us to victory, our immortal JOSÉ RIZAL.

Cavite being occupied by the American forces, foreign Manila residents were permitted to take refuge there, for no one could tell when the Spaniards would be forced to capitulate, or what might happen if they did. Meantime the rebels had cut off, to a considerable extent but not entirely, supplies of food to the capital, which was, however, well stored, and at no time, during the three and a half months' siege was there a danger of famine among the civilian

population, although prices of commodities gradually advanced to about double under the circumstances. Even the hotels in the city only charged double prices. The Spanish troops fared far worse. Their condition became more and more deplorable. All were badly and insufficiently fed, as much from disorganized commissariat arrangements as from actual want of supplies. The latest arrivals of youthful raw recruits particularly felt the pangs of hunger, and as the swarming rebels took one outpost after another from its emaciated defenders and raided the adjacent provinces, the Spanish prisoners in their hands (soldiers, friars, and civil servants) reached the figure of thousands. Among them was Brigadier-General Garcia Peña (lately in command of Cavite), a colonel, several other officers, a civil governor, etc., and some hundreds of volunteers.

Of the neutral warships in the bay, Germany had sent the largest number, and the actions of their commanders caused much anxiety to the blockading forces. In the city the German Consul made little secret of his sympathies for Spain, and was in frequent consultation with the Captain-General. German and Spanish officers fraternised freely in the streets and cafés. On the 18th of May a German steamer, with cargo and provisions, was reported outside Manila Bay, but her entry into the port was forbidden by the Americans. Later on the commander of a German man-o'-war and his staff were received and fêted by the Captain-General. These German officers were invited to a picnic at San Juan del Monte accompanied by several general and other high Spanish military officers. The German commander's post-prandial oration at the feast was much commented upon, for he is said to have declared (presumably on his own responsibility), that so long as William II. was Emperor of Germany the Philippines should never come under American sway. The party then rode back to Manila, watched by the rebels, who were too wise to intercept them and so jeopardise their own cause by creating international complications. There is little doubt that the attitude taken up by the Germans nurtured the hope entertained by Spaniards all over the world that, at the last hour, some political entanglement between the other Powers might operate for Spain's interests.

The city and commercial suburb of Binondo wore their usual aspect, although trade was almost at a standstill. The undisguised sympathies of Great Britain for America stirred up the old feeling of distrust and

ill-will towards the British residents, which became so marked that the Captain-General issued a proclamation commanding due respect to be paid to neutral foreigners. Even this did not prevent a Spanish officer spitting in the face of an Englishman. Indeed, there was far more danger to all civilian classes, at any time, from the Spanish soldiery than from the rebels, who were strictly prohibited by Admiral Dewey to attempt to enter the city. Had they done so, certainly their choicest prize would have been the Archbishop Nozaleda, who, well aware of this, escaped, long before the capitulation of the city, to Shanghai on board the German warship *Darmstadt*.

The Volunteers, too, were constantly giving trouble to the Spanish authorities, from whom they demanded their pay, and once when this was refused they threatened to seize the stores.

Although trade in and with Manila had been more or less suspended and at intervals absolutely so since the great naval engagement, just a few profited by the circumstances of war. One British firm there, figuratively speaking, "coined" money. They were able frequently to run a steamer, well known in Chinese waters (in which I have travelled myself), between Manila and Hongkong carrying refugees, who were willing to pay abnormally high rates of passage. In ordinary times fares range from \$50 saloon accommodation to \$8 a deck passage. On one trip, for instance, this steamer, with the cabins filled at \$125 each, carried 1,200 deck passengers (no food) at \$20 and 30 deck passengers (with food) at \$30. Their unsold cargoes on the way in steamers when Manila was blockaded came in for enormously advanced prices. Shiploads of produce which planters and native middlemen were glad to convert into dollars at panic rates were picked up "dirt cheap," leaving rich profits to the buyers. When steamers could not leave Manila, a Britisher, Mr. B—, walked for several days under the tropical sun to reach Yloilo with trade news, and steamers were run at high war rates in and out of Borneo, Hongkong, and the Philippine southern ports. One British firm obtained a special licence to run a steamer between Hongkong and the port of Dagupan, hitherto closed to foreign traffic. These were, naturally, the exceptions, for, upon the whole, the dislocation and stoppage of trade entailed very serious losses to the general body of merchants. A few days after the bombardment of Cavite the natives refused to accept the notes of the *Banco Español* (the

Spanish bank), and a run was made on the bank to convert them into silver. However, the managers of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, came to the rescue of the *Banco Español* and agreed to honour the paper issue in order to check the scare. The three banks thereupon opened their doors and satisfied the noteholders, ordinary business being, meanwhile, suspended.

Aguinaldo had not only been busy organizing his forces, but had, in several engagements with the Spaniards, driven them back with loss, made prisoners and replenished his own armories. He then issued a proclamation, of which the following is a translation :—

Filipinos :

The Great North American nation, example of true liberty, and, as such, [the friend of freedom for our country oppressed and subjugated by the tyranny and despotism of its rulers, has come to offer its inhabitants protection as decisive as it is disinterested, regarding our unfortunate country as gifted with sufficient civilization and aptitude for self-government. In order to justify this high conception formed of us by the great American nation, we ought to abstain from all acts which would destroy that opinion, such as pillage, robbery and every kind of outrage against persons or property. So as to avoid international conflicts during the period of our campaign I order as follows :—

Article 1°.—The lives and properties of all foreigners shall be respected, including in this denomination the Chinese and all Spaniards who have not directly or indirectly contributed to the bearing of arms against us.

Article 2°.—Those of the enemy who shall surrender their arms shall be, in like manner, respected.

Article 3°.—Medical establishments and ambulances shall also be respected as well as the persons and effects connected therewith, provided they show no hostility.

Article 4°.—Persons disobeying the above three articles shall be summarily tried and executed if their disobedience shall lead to assassination, incendiarism, robbery or rape.

Given at Cavite, 24th of May, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

On the 8th of June at 5 p.m. a Philippine deputation waited on the American Consul-General in Singapore, Mr. Spencer Pratt, at his residence, and presented him with an address congratulating him on the American successes in the war with Spain. The editors of the *Straits Times* and the *Singapore Free Press*, as well as Mr. Howard W. Bray, were present. After the deputation had been formally introduced to the Consul-General by Mr. Bray, Dr. Santo, the representative Filipino, read the following address in French :—

(*Translation.*)

To the Hon. Edward Spencer Pratt,
Consul-General of the United States
of North America, Singapore.

Sir,

The Philippine colony resident in this port, comprising representatives of all social classes, have come to present their respects to you as the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American Republic, with the desire to express our eternal gratitude for the moral and material protection extended by Admiral Dewey to our trusted leader General Emilio Aguinaldo, who has been compelled to take up arms in the name of eight millions of Filipinos in defence of these same principles of justice and liberty of which your country is the foremost champion.

Our countrymen at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our beloved fatherland, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy, will efficaciously second the programme arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States.

Our deepest gratitude is especially due to you, sir, personally, for having been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo, and arrange for his co-operation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations, which time and subsequent events have developed and found the applause and approbation of your nation.

Finally, we request you to convey to your illustrious President and the American people and to Admiral Dewey our sentiments

of sincere gratitude and our most ardent wishes for their prosperity.

Singapore, 8th of June, 1898.

Mr. Spencer Pratt replied to this in French, in the following sense :—

Gentlemen,

The honour you have paid me was so unexpected that I cannot find words with which to adequately thank you in reply to the eloquent address you have just read to me. You may rest assured that I fully understand and appreciate the motives which have prompted your present action in giving expression to words which have sunk deep into my heart. These words shall be faithfully transmitted to the President, to Admiral Dewey and to the American people, who will not fail to greet them with a generous response. A month ago the world echoed the praises due to Admiral Dewey and his comrades for a glorious victory won by the American Asiatic squadron in Manila Bay. To-day we have the news of the brilliant achievements of your own distinguished chief, General Emilio Aguinaldo, co-operating on land with the Americans at sea. You have just reason to be proud of the deeds of General Aguinaldo and your compatriots under his orders. When I heard, six weeks ago, that General Aguinaldo had arrived in Singapore *incognito*, I at once sought him. One hour's interview convinced me that he was the man for the occasion, and I arranged for him to join Admiral Dewey at Cavite. You know what followed. I am glad I was the accidental means of bringing about this arrangement, which has resulted so fortunately. I trust the final outcome will be all that the Filipinos can desire. My parting words to General Aguinaldo were "General, when you have proved yourself great, prove yourself magnanimous," and from the generous way he has treated the Spanish prisoners he has proved to be both.

The deputies then responded to the call for cheers for the President of the United States and their sympathisers who were present. Mr. Spencer Pratt presented an American flag to Dr. Santos for the

deputation with some appropriate remarks, and after repeated cheers from the Filipinos, a band of Philippine musicians played a selection of airs of their native isles.

During the first few weeks following the Cavite naval battle nothing remarkable transpired between the belligerents. The British Consul and Vice-Consul were indefatigable in the services they rendered, as intermediaries between Admiral Dewey and General Augusti. The American fleet was well supplied with coal from British vessels. The Manila-Dagupan Railway was in working order and bringing supplies into the city. The Spanish authorities issued a decree regulating the price of meat and other commodities. American vessels made occasional trips outside the Bay and brought in captive sailing vessels. Neutral passenger steamers were allowed to take away refugees, other than Spanish subjects. The rebels outside Manila were very active in the work of burning and pillaging churches and other property. Streams of smoke were daily seen rising from the valleys. In the outskirts of the city skirmishes between Spanish troops and rebels were of frequent occurrence. The Spaniards still managed to preserve routes of communication with the country districts, although, little by little, the rebels were closing in upon them. Aguinaldo and his subordinate leaders were making strenuous efforts to effectually cut off all supplies to the city, with the view of co-operating with the Americans to starve the Spaniards into capitulation. The hospitals in the capital were crowded with wounded soldiers, brought in at great risk from the rural districts. Spanish soldiers sauntered about the city and Binondo—sad spectacles of emaciation in which body and soul were only kept together by small doles of rice and dried fish. The volunteers who had enlisted on the conditions of pay, food and clothing, raised an unheeded cry of protest, and threatened revolt, whilst the officers whiled away the time in the cafés with resigned indifference. The Archbishop issued his Pastoral Letter, in which he told the natives that if the foreigners got possession of the Islands there would be an end to all they most dearly cherished. Their altars would be desecrated; the churches would become temples of heresy; Christian morality would be banished and vice would become rampant. He reminded them (with the proviso “circumstances permitting”) that he had appointed the 17th of June as the day on which the consecration of these Islands to the “Heart of Jesus” would be solemnly confirmed.

To draw the remnant of loyalty to his side, the Governor-General instituted a reformed "Consulting Assembly" composed of fifteen half-castes and natives, under the nominal presidency of Pedro A. Paterno, the mediator in the Biac-na-bató negotiations. Paterno, who had not yet lost hope of gaining his reward, issued a *Manifesto* of which the following is a translation (published in *El Comercio* of Manila on the 2nd of June, 1898):—

Filipinos : Beloved Brethren.

I love our country as none other does. I want it to be great, free, and happy, and to shape its own destinies according to its desires and aspirations. Therefore, I respect all the vital forces in it at the cost of my life and my fortune. A long time ago I risked my existence for the rights and liberties of the Philippine people, who were sorely agitated, by bringing the majority together and directing the salvation of their interests based on liberty and justice. My ideas are neither strange nor new ; they are the *result of study and political experience*, and not recently conceived under the existing circumstances. I desire, with all the vehemence of my soul, to see my country strong and great—its honour and dignity respected and in the enjoyment of the greatest happiness. But however great our efforts may be we need an ally. Let us imitate the example of the Great Powers ; they cannot exist alone, however strong and great they may be. They need help, and the union of strength increases their power. Russia seeks France ; Germany seeks Italy and Austria. Unhappy is the Power that isolates itself !¹ And what better ally can we have than Spain, a nation with which we are united for nearly four centuries in religion, laws, morals, and customs, understanding full well her virtues and her defects ? The evil days of Spanish colonization are over, and by dint of experience and the sacrifice of blood Spain has understood that we are already of age and require reforms in our territory such as the formation of Philippine Militia, which gives us the force of arms, and the Consulting Assembly, which gives us the power of speech, participation in the higher public employments, and the ability to

¹ N.B.—Great Britain, for instance, which has no ally.

control the peaceful development and progress of society. Spain is at war with the United States, we neither know that nation nor its language. The Americans will endeavour by all imaginable means to induce us to help them against Spain. And then, alas ! they, the all-powerful, will absorb us and reward our treachery to Spain by betraying us, making us slaves and imposing upon us all the evils of a new colonization. On the other hand, by helping Spain, if we die, we do so in the fulfilment of our duty ; if we live, we shall obtain the triumph of our aspirations without the dangers and risks of a civil war. We shall not die ! No ! By side of the flag which shields us and our garrisons, fighting with faith, decision, and ardour, as a country does which yearns to be free and great, the enemy will disappear like the wave which washes the seashore. Let us hope to obtain from Spain all the good that the American stranger can offer to us. Let us help our old ally, our old friend Spain and realize, with her, more quickly our aspirations. These are they :—With the greatest decentralization possible consistent with national unity, the organization and attributions of public powers must be based on three principles :—(1°) Spanish sovereignty. (2°) Local representation. (3°) Colonial Government responsibility. Three institutions correspond to these three principles, viz. : (1°) The institution of the General Government of the Philippines. (2°) The Insular Deputation or Philippine Assembly. (3°) The Governative Council. In this way the rights of the Government and those of the Colony are harmonized. Let us shun the policy of suspicion and doubt. With these firm and solid guarantees let us establish civil and political liberty. The Assembly, representing the will of the people, deliberates and resolves as one would treat one's own affairs in private life and thus constitutes the legislative power of the Archipelago. Its resolution will be put into practice with all fidelity by the executive power in its character of responsible government. There are only Spaniards in the Archipelago ; we are all Filipinos and all European Spaniards. Such is *the programme of the party who want home rule for the Philippines—ever Spanish !* Thus shall we see the destinies of this country guided under the orange and red flag. Thus will my beloved country be governed, without detriment to the integrity

of Spain. Finally, under Spain our future is clear, and with all certainty we shall be free and rule. Under the Americans our future is cloudy ; we shall certainly be sold and lose our unity ; some provinces will become English, others German, others French, others Russian or Chinese. Let us struggle, therefore, side by side with Spain, we who love the Philippines united and free. Long live Spain !

PEDRO ALEJANDRO PATERNO.

Manila, 31st of May, 1898.

This *Manifesto* was replied to a week later by the Rebel Party, who published a Refutation, of which the following is a translation :—

REFUTATION of the *Manifesto* of Señor Paterno.

“ Actions speak louder than words.”

A better phrase, or idea, could not be found with which to reply to the *Manifesto* of Don Pedro A. Paterno, published in *El Comercio* of the 2nd instant, than the epigraph which heads these lines.

Señor Paterno begins by saying that he loves his country as none other does ; he wants it to be great, free, and happy, and to shape its own destinies according to its own desires and aspirations. *Would to God such beautiful language represented the truth*, for it is just what we wish and what we have, long ago, been aiming at, at the risk of our lives and property, as proved by our actions and our arguments, especially since the middle of the glorious year of 1896, the period in which we commenced the conquest, by force of arms, of our most cherished liberties. May Señor Paterno forgive us if we cite a little of the history of this movement, so that he may see that neither are we ungrateful, nor are we acting with precipitation, but as a logical and undeniable consequence of the vile conduct and bad faith of the Spanish Government.

For over 300 years the country slumbered in ignorance of all that referred to its rights and political liberties. It was resigned to the Spanish governmental system of spoliation, and no one thought of reforms. But when the Revolution of September 1868 broke out in Spain and overthrew the throne of Isabella II., the first revolutionary leaders, inspired by ideas of humanity and justice, caused an Assembly of Reformists to be established here,

one of the members of which, if we remember rightly, was Don Máximo Molo Paterno, father of Don Pedro. The Assembly agreed to and proposed good and appropriate reforms, amongst which was that relating to the incumbencies which were monopolised by the Friars. What did the Spanish Government do with these reforms? What did the Friars do? Ah! though it may appear cruel to Señor Paterno, historical facts oblige us to remind him that the Government, in agreement with the Friars, engineered the military rising of the City of Cavite in January, 1872, and at the instigation of its authors and accomplices, sentenced the secular priests Father José Burgos, Father Jacinto Zamora, Father Mariano Gomez, parish priests of Manila, Santa Cruz (suburb), and Bacoor (Cavite) respectively, to be garroted. Moreover, another secular priest, Father Agustin, the Philippine lawyers and landed proprietors, Don Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Don Antonio Regidor, Don Pedro Carrillo, Don José Basa, and others, amongst whom was Don Máximo Molo Paterno, the father of Don Pedro, were banished to the Ladrone Islands. This virtuous grand old man (Don Máximo Paterno) did indeed (and we proclaim it with pride) make sacrifices of health and fortune for the advancement of the liberties of his native country. From the year 1872 the Spanish Government carried on a persistent persecution of all the Philippine reformers by unjust imprisonment and banishment. In 1888 the authorities went so far as to prosecute 700 representative men of the suburbs of Manila, simply for having presented a petition of rights and aspirations to the Governor-General Don Emilio Terrero. There is not a single insalubrious island or gloomy corner in the country which has not been the forced home of some banished Filipino. No one was sure of his personal liberty; none were safe in their homes, and if three or four Filipinos met together for an innocent purpose, they were spied, arrested, and banished. Calumny has brought about enough banishments to Fernando Po, Chafarinas Islands, Ceuta, and other African and Spanish places to demonstrate the bad faith, cruelty, and injustice of the Spanish Government with respect to the Philippine people. This virile, intelligent people received the supreme decree of reforms with joy and enthusiasm, sharing the feelings of those who felt in their souls the flame of liberty.

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This people worked, through legitimate channels, to advance its ideal, inspired by the purest loyalty to Spain. How did the Spanish Government fulfil, on its part, the decree spontaneously issued in 1868? By prosecuting and banishing the reformists, and employing a system of terror to damp the courage of the Filipinos. Vain, ridiculous fallacy!—for it ought to have known better after two years of rule of that country of intelligence, birthplace of Rizal, Luna, Rosario and other living examples of Philippine energy. The Filipinos, lovers of their liberty and independence, had no other recourse open to them than an appeal to arms, to bring force against force, terror against terror, death for death, resolute and sworn to practise the system of fire and blood, until they should attain for the whole Philippine Archipelago absolute freedom from the ignominious sovereignty of Spain. Now let us continue our comments on the *Manifiesto*.

Señor Paterno says that a long time ago he risked his existence for the rights and liberties of the Philippine people, even at the cost of his health and his fortune. We, however, do not see how he put into practice such magnificent ideas, for what we do know is that Señor Paterno passed his younger days in Madrid where, by dint of lavish expenditure, he was very well treated by the foremost men in Spanish politics, without gaining from Spain anything whereby the Philippine people were made free and happy during that long period of his brilliant existence. On the contrary, the very epoch of the persecutions narrated above coincided with the period of Don Pedro A. Paterno's brilliant position and easy life in Madrid, where because he published a collection of poems under the title of "*Sampaguitas*" he became distinguished by the nickname of *Sampaguitero*. We know, also, that Señor Paterno came back to this, his native soil, appointed director of a Philippine Library and Museum not yet established, without salary, but with the decoration of the Grand Cross of Isabella the Catholic. This was no gain to us, no distinction to him, seeing that the same decoration was given to the Chinaman Palanca and two others, without their leaving their homes to get them.

How are we then to understand those generous sacrifices of health and fortune for the cause of Philippine liberty? Perhaps he refers to the recently created Philippine Militia and Consulting

Assembly. Well, admitting for argument sake, that with such Militia and Consulting Assembly the liberty and happiness of the Philippines were assured (a doubtful hypothesis, Señor Paterno), this happiness is not due to Señor Paterno's efforts, but simply to the circumstances. Spain is at war with North America, and now offers us this sugar-plum to draw us to her side and defend her against invasion.

We ask you again, Señor Paterno, where are those sacrifices ?

We do not see them, although we seek them with the light of impartiality, for, as the splendour of justice shines on our flag, we should not fail to do this even for our greatest enemies, amongst whom we do not count you.

Do you allude to the Peace of Biac-na-bató ? If so, we ask, what have you done with that peace to which we subscribed in good faith, and which you and General Primo de Rivera together have stupidly and scandalously torn into shreds ? You have, indeed, bungled the amnesty when many of the banished are, up to now, suffering the miseries of their sad and unjust fate.

You have put off the promised reforms which, even yet, have not come.

You have delayed the payment of the \$400,000 for the second and third instalments of the agreed sum.

You have not delivered into the hands of our chief, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, the money as agreed upon.

Ah ! You thought that when we had surrendered to you our arms and our garrisoned strongholds—when our forces were dispersed and we were absent, you could turn back to the Government of iniquity without reflecting that Divine Providence could permit, in the hour of great injustice, her emissary Don Emilio Aguinaldo to return resolved to chastise energetically the immoral and impotent Spanish Government.

Then comes Señor Paterno, telling us that however great our efforts may be in the cause of liberty, we cannot live without an ally, and that we can find no better alliance than the sovereignty of Spain. Frankly, we must say that this is inconceivably incompatible with Señor Paterno's clear intelligence. How do you understand an alliance with sovereignty ? How can you imagine a people great, free and happy under the sovereignty of Spain ?

Señor Paterno cites, as examples, the alliances between Russia and France, Germany and Italy and Austria, but, so far, we do not know that Russia is the sovereign power of the French, nor the Germans that of the Italians and Austrians. Señor Paterno further says that by helping Spain in the war with the United States, if we die, we do so in the fulfilment of our duty ; if we live, we shall obtain the triumph of our aspirations without the dangers and risks of a civil war. Know, Señor Paterno, and let all know, that in less than six days' operations in several provinces we have already taken 1,500 prisoners, amongst whom is the Brigadier-General García Peña, one Colonel, several Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and officers, besides the Governor of the Province of Balacan, his wife and all the civil service staff of that province. We also have about 500 Philippine volunteers as prisoners, of which 10 have died and 40 are wounded, whilst amongst the European prisoners there is only one wounded. This goes to prove that the Europeans were too cowardly to defend the sovereignty of Spain in these Islands, therefore we do not understand the appeal you make to the Filipinos to defend Spain as a duty, when the Spaniards themselves are heedless of that which ought to be a more rigorous and strict obligation with them, seeing that they defend their own possession which brings them so much lucre and profit. This does not say much for the duty when the favoured ones themselves forget it and trample upon it. To die to-day for cowardly Spain ! This implies not only want of dignity and delicate feeling, but also gross stupidity in weaving a sovereignty of frightened Spaniards over the heads of brave Filipinos. It is astonishing that in face of such an eloquent example of impotence there should still be a Filipino who defends the sovereignty of Spain.

Remember, Señor Paterno, that we make war without the help of any one, not even the North Americans ; but no ! we have the help of God, who is the eternal ally of the great and just causes such as that which we defend against Spain—our beloved independence ! ! !

Señor Paterno concludes by explaining his political and administrative principles on the basis of Spanish sovereignty, but, as we have charged that sovereignty with cowardice and immorality, we dismiss this detail.

To conclude, we will draw the attention of Señor Paterno to two things, viz. :

(1°) That he commits an injustice in imputing to the North Americans the intention of taking possession of these Islands as soon as we have conquered the Spaniards, for, besides having no grounds on which to make such an allegation against a nation distinguished for its humanity like the Federal Republic, there is the fact that its own constitution prohibits the absorption of territory outside America, in accordance with that principle laid down by the immortal Monroe, of America for the Americans. There is, moreover, the historical antecedent that the independence of South America, once under Spanish dominion, is largely due to the protection of the United States ; and

(2°) That Señor Paterno should reflect on the fact that the Spaniards would never have allowed him to publish his *Manifiesto* had it not been for the existence and attitude of our Dictator, Don Emilio Aguinaldo. This ought to serve Señor Paterno as further proof of the cowardice of the Spaniards, who, notwithstanding all that has been shown, insist on creating discord by provoking civil war : on their heads will fall the responsibilities of the moment and of the historical past.

Cavite, 9th of June, 1898.

THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

The feeling against Pedro A. Paterno in the rebel camp was very strong, because of his complicity in the alleged Biac-na-bató fraud. The rebels stopped all the traffic on the Malabon steam tramway line, and shortly afterwards the railway trains had to temporarily cease running. General Monet had been so long in the northern provinces unsuccessfully trying to hold them against the rebels, that his fate was for a while despaired of in Manila. He tried hard to reach the capital, seeing that every day the Spaniards anticipated a bombardment. Monet's forces, however, were checked everywhere by the insurgents, with whom he had many encounters, at each of which he was deserted by some of his men, whilst others were made prisoners, until he was so reduced that he had to beat a retreat with the remnant of his Spanish troops. Eventually he got into Manila alone. General Augusti's wife and family were chivalrously saved through the efforts of a loyal

Philippine volunteer named Blanco (the son of a planter in Pampanga) who now holds effective rank of Colonel in Spain. They were conducted from the Hagonoy marshes to the Bay of Manila and found generous protection from the Americans, who allowed them to quit the Islands. The Spanish garrisons in the whole of Laguna and Pampanga had surrendered to the rebels, who were in practical possession of two-thirds of Luzon Island. General Augusti was personally inclined to capitulate, but was dissuaded from doing so by his officers.

The American Generals Merritt, Otis, and Anderson had arrived with reinforcements and more were *en route*. On the way out from San Francisco to Manila some American ships called at the Ladrone Islands and brought the Spanish garrison of about 40 men prisoners. The surrender of the city had been again demanded and refused, for the Spaniards were far from being starved out, and the American Commander had strictly forbidden Aguinaldo to make an attack on the city. Aguinaldo, however, elsewhere had been wonderfully active. In several engagements, the Spaniards were completely routed and in one encounter Aguinaldo's party took over 350 prisoners, including 28 officers; in another 250 prisoners and four cannons, and 150 Spaniards who fled to Cavite Viejo church were quietly starved into surrender. Amongst the prisoners were several provincial governors, one of whom attempted to commit suicide. At Bacoer a hotly contested battle was fought which lasted about nine hours. The Spaniards were surprised very early one morning, and by the afternoon they were forced to retreat along the Cavite-Manila road to Las Piñas. The Spanish loss amounted to approximately 250 troops wounded, 300 dead, and 35 officers wounded or dead. The rebels are said to have lost more than double that number, but whatever may have been the sacrifice, the victory was theirs. The Spaniards would probably have come better out of this combat but for the fact that a native regiment, hitherto loyal, suddenly murdered their officers and went over to the insurgents. The Spaniards, undoubtedly, suffered much from unexpected mutinies of native auxiliaries and volunteers at the critical moment, whilst in no case did rebels pass over to the Spanish side.¹ They were not long left in possession of Las Piñas,

¹ N.B.—It seems almost incredible that, even at this crisis, the Spaniards still counted on native auxiliaries to fight against their own kith and kin.

where they were subsequently attacked in overwhelming numbers and the survivors were driven still nearer to the capital.

Long before the capitulation of Manila the rebels were as well armed as they could wish from three sources, that is to say, the Americans, the Spanish arms' seized in warfare, and consignments from China. They also made good use of their field-pieces, and ever and anon the booming of cannon was heard in the streets of Manila. The old city walls were cleaned, the moats were cleared of the mud and shrubs which had flourished in them for years, and every tree around which might possibly afford shelter to the besiegers was cut down. The Spaniards, hard pressed on all sides, seemed determined to make their last stand in the old citadel. The British banks shipped away their specie to China, and the British community, whose members were never united as to the course they should adopt for general safety, was much relieved when several steamers were allowed, by the mutual consent of Admiral Dewey and General Augusti, to lie in the bay to take foreigners on board in case of bombardment. Emilio Aguinaldo, on his return to the Islands, had declared himself Dictator. The Dictatorial Government administered the provinces as they were conquered from the Spaniards, collected taxes and enacted laws. In a couple of months the management of these rural districts had so far assumed shape that Aguinaldo convened deputies therefrom and summoned a Congress on the 18th of June. He changed the name of Dictatorial to Revolutionary Government, and proclaimed the Constitution of that provisional government on the 23rd of June, of which the statutes are as follows :—

(Translation.)

DON EMILIO AGUINALDO Y FAMY,

President of the Philippine Revolutionary Government and
Commander-in-Chief of its army.

This Government, desirous of demonstrating to the Philippine people that one of its objects is to abolish with a firm hand the inveterate vices of Spanish administration, substituting a more simple and expeditious system of public administration for that

superfluity of civil service and ponderous, tardy and ostentatious official routine, I hereby declare as follows, viz. :—

CHAPTER I.

Of the Revolutionary Government.

Article 1°.—The Dictatorial Government shall be henceforth called the Revolutionary Government, whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippines, until all nations, including Spain, shall expressly recognize it, and to prepare the country for the establishment of a real Republic. The Dictator shall be henceforth styled the President of the Revolutionary Government.

Article 2°.—Four Government Secretaryships are created : (1°) of Foreign Affairs, Navy and Trade ; (2°) of War and Public Works ; (3°) of Police, Public Order, Justice, Public Education and Health ; (4°) of Finance, Agriculture, and Manufactures. The Government has power to increase the number of secretaryships when experience has shown that the above distribution of public offices is insufficient to meet public requirements.

Article 3°.—Each Secretary shall assist the President in the administration of affairs concerning his particular branch. The Secretary at the head of each respective department shall not be responsible for the Presidential Decrees, but shall sign the same to give them authenticity. But if it should appear that the decree has been issued on the proposal of the Secretary of the corresponding branch, then the Secretary shall be jointly responsible with the President.

Article 4°.—The Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs shall be divided into three centres, one of Diplomacy, one of Navy, and another of Trade. The first centre shall study and execute all affairs which concern the direction of diplomatic negotiations with other Powers and the correspondence of this Government connected therewith. The second shall study all that relates to the formation and organization of our Navy, and the fitting out of whatever expeditions the circumstances of the Revolution may require ; and the third shall attend to all matters concerning home and foreign trade and the preliminary work in connection with the Treaties of Commerce to be made with other nations.

Article 5°.—The Secretaryship of War shall be divided into two centres, the one exclusively of War and the other exclusively of Public Works. The first centre shall be divided into four sections, one of Campaign, one of Military Justice, one of Military Administration, and the other of Military Health.

The Campaign section shall draw up and attend to all matters concerning the service and enlistment of the Revolutionary Militia, the direction of campaigns, the making of plans, fortifications, and the editing of the announcements of battles, the study of military tactics for the Army, and organization of the respective staffs, artillery, and cavalry corps, and all other matters concerning campaigns and military operations.

The section of Military Justice shall attend to all matters concerning court-martials and military sentences, the appointment of judges and assistant judges in all military-judicial affairs. The military administrator shall take charge of the commissariat department and all Army equipment, and the Military Health department shall take charge of all matters concerning the health and salubrity of the militia.

Article 6°.—The other secretaryships shall be divided into so many centres corresponding to their functions, and each centre shall be sub-divided into sections as the nature and importance of the work requires.

Article 7°.—The Secretary of each department shall inspect and watch over the work therein and be responsible to the President of the Government. At the head of each section there shall be a director, and in each section there shall be an official in charge assisted by the necessary staff.

Article 8°.—The President shall have the sole right to appoint the secretaries, and in agreement with them he shall appoint all the staff subordinate to the respective departments. Nevertheless, in the election of individuals favouritism must be avoided on the understanding that the good name of the fatherland and the triumph of the Revolution need the services of the most really capable persons.

Article 9°.—The secretaries can take part in the sessions of the Revolutionary Congress, whenever they have a motion to present in the name of the President, or on the interpellation of any deputy,

but when the question under debate, or the motion on which they have been summoned is put to the vote, they shall retire and not take part in that voting.

Article 10°.—The President of the Government is the personification of the Philippine people, and as such he cannot be held responsible for any act whilst he holds that position. His position is irrevocable until the Revolution shall triumph, unless extraordinary circumstances should compel him to tender his resignation to Congress, in which case only Congress shall elect whomsoever is esteemed most fit.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Revolutionary Congress.

Article 11°.—The Revolutionary Congress is the assembly of those deputies from the Philippine provinces, elected in due form, as prescribed in the Decree of the 18th inst. Nevertheless, if any province could not elect deputies because the majority of its towns had not yet been able to free themselves from Spanish dominion, the Government can nominate provisional deputies chosen from the persons of highest consideration by reason of their education and social position up to the number fixed by the said Decree, always provided that such persons shall have been born or have resided for a long time in the provinces to be represented.

Article 12°.—When the deputies shall have met in the town and in the building to be provided by the Revolutionary Government the preliminary act shall be the election by majority of votes of a commission of five persons who shall examine the documents accrediting the personality of each person, and another commission of three persons who shall examine the documents exhibited by the first commission of five.

Article 13°.—The next day the said deputies shall again meet and the two commissions shall read their respective reports on the validity of the said documents, all doubts on the same to be resolved by an absolute majority of votes. They shall then at once proceed to the election, by absolute majority, of a president, a vice-president, and two secretaries, to be chosen from among the same deputies, after which the Congress shall be held to be constituted, and notice of the same shall be given to the Government.

Article 14°.—The meeting-place of Congress is sacred and inviolable, and no armed force can enter therein except on the summons of the President of the Congress for the purpose of restoring order, should the same have been disturbed by those who know not how to honour themselves and their solemn functions.

Article 15°.—The powers of Congress are :—To look after the general interests of the Philippine people and the fulfilment of the revolutionary laws ; to discuss and vote laws ; to discuss and approve, before ratification, all treaties and loans ; to examine and approve the accounts of the general expenses which shall be presented annually by the Finance Secretary and to fix the extraordinary taxes, and others which, in future, may be imposed.

Article 16°.—The voice of Congress shall also be heard in all matters of grave importance the resolution of which will admit of delay, but the President of the Government can resolve questions of an urgent character, rendering an account of his acts to Congress by means of a message.

Article 17°.—Any Deputy can present a bill in Congress and any Secretary can do so by order of the President of the Government.

Article 18°.—The sessions of Congress shall be public, and only in cases where reserve is necessary shall secret sessions be held.

Article 19°.—The order of debate and parliamentary usages shall be determined by instructions to be formulated by Congress. The President shall lead the debate, but shall not vote, unless there fail to be a majority, in which case he shall give his casting vote.

Article 20°.—The President of the Government cannot, in any manner, impede the meeting of Congress, nor interfere with the sessions of the same.

Article 21°.—Congress shall appoint a permanent judicial commission, to be presided over by the Vice-President, assisted by one of the Secretaries and composed of these persons and seven assessors, elected by majority of votes, from among the deputies. This commission shall revise the sentences given in criminal cases by the provincial councils, and shall judge and sentence, without right of further appeal, cases brought against the Government Secretaries, Provincial Chiefs and Provincial Councillors.

Article 22°.—In the office of the Secretary to Congress there shall be a Book of Honour, in which shall be noted the great

services rendered to the Fatherland and esteemed as such by Congress. Any Filipino, military or civil, can solicit of Congress inscription in the said book on producing the documents which prove the praiseworthy acts performed by him for the good of the Fatherland since the present Revolution began. For extraordinary services which may, in future, be rendered, the Government will propose the inscription, the proposal being accompanied by the necessary justification.

Article 23°.—Congress shall determine, on the proposal of the Government, the money rewards to be paid, once for all, to the families of those who were victims to duty and patriotism in the execution of heroic acts.

Article 24°.—The resolutions of Congress shall not be binding until they have received the sanction of the President of the Government. When the said President shall consider any resolution undesirable, or impracticable, or pernicious, he shall state his reasons to Congress for opposing its execution, and if Congress still insisted on the resolution the said President can outvote it on his own responsibility.

CHAPTER III.

Of Military Justice.

Article 25°.—When any commandant of a detachment shall receive notice of an individual in the service having committed a fault or having performed any act reputed to be a military misdemeanour, he shall inform the Commandant of the District of the same, and this officer shall appoint a judge and secretary to constitute a Court of Enquiry in the form prescribed in the instructions dated 20th instant. If the accused held the rank of lieutenant, or a higher one, the same Commandant shall be the judge, and if the Commandant himself were the accused the Superior Commandant of the Province shall appoint as judge an officer of a higher rank, and if there were none such the same Commandant of the Province shall open the enquiry. The judge shall always hold the rank of chief.

Article 26°.—When the Court of Enquiry has finished its labours, the Superior Commandant shall appoint three assistant judges of equal or superior rank to the judge, and a Court-Martial shall be

composed of the three assistant judges, the judge, the assessor, and the president. The Commandant of the District shall be the judge if the accused held the rank of sergeant, or a lower one, and the Superior Commandant shall be judge if the accused held the rank of lieutenant, or a higher one. This court shall pass sentence in the same form as the Provincial Courts, but the sentence can be appealed against before the Superior Council of War.

Article 27°.—The Superior Council of War shall be composed of six assistant judges, who shall hold the minimum rank of Brigadier-General, and the War Office adviser. If the number of generals residing in the capital of the Revolutionary Government were insufficient, the number shall be made up by deputies to be appointed on commission by Congress. The President of this Council shall be the general of the highest rank amongst them, and if there were more than one of the same rank, one shall be elected by themselves by majority of votes.

Article 28°.—The Superior Council shall judge and sentence, without right of further appeal, Superior Commandants, Commandants of Districts, and all officers who hold rank of Commandant, or a higher one.

Article 29°.—Military misdemeanours are the following :—

(1°.) Violation of the immunity due to foreigners, both as to their persons and their goods, and violation of the privileges appertaining to sanitary establishments and ambulances, as well as the persons and effects in, or belonging to, one or the other, and persons employed in the service of the same so long as they commit no hostile act. (2°.) Want of respect for the lives, money, and jewellery of the enemy who surrenders his arms, and for prisoners of war. (3°.) The entry of Filipinos into the service of the enemy as spies, or to discover war secrets, make plans of the revolutionists' positions and fortifications, or present themselves to parley without proving their mission or their individuality. (4°.) Violation of the immunity due to those who come with this mission, duly accredited, in the form prescribed by international law.

The following persons also commit military misdemeanours :—

(1.) Those who endeavour to break up the union of the revolutionists, fomenting rivalry between the chiefs, and forming

divisions and armed bands. (2°.) Those who collect taxes without being duly authorized by Government, or misappropriate public funds. (3°.) Those who, being armed, surrender to the enemy or commit any act of cowardice before the same; and (4°.) Those who sequester any person who has done no harm to the Revolution, or violate women, or assassinate, or seriously wound any undefended persons, or commit robbery or arson.

Article 30°.—Those who commit any of the above-named misdemeanours shall be considered declared enemies of the Revolution and shall be punished in the highest scale of punishment provided for in the Spanish Penal Code. If the misdemeanour were not provided for in the said code, the culprit shall be confined until the Revolution has triumphed, unless his crime shall have caused an irreparable injury which, in the opinion of the court, would justify the imposition of capital punishment.

Additional Clauses.

Article 31°.—The Government shall establish abroad a Revolutionary Committee, composed of an indefinite number of the most competent persons in the Philippine Archipelago. This Committee shall be divided into three sections, viz. :—Of diplomacy; of the navy, and of the army. The diplomatic section shall negotiate with the foreign cabinets the recognition of belligerency and Philippine independence. The naval section shall be intrusted with the study and organization of a Philippine navy and prepare the expeditions which the circumstances of the Revolution may require. The army section shall study military tactics and the best form of organizing staff, artillery and engineer corps, and all that is necessary to put the Philippine army on a footing of modern advancement.

Article 32°.—The Government shall dictate the necessary instructions for the execution of the present decree.

Article 33°.—All decrees of the Dictatorial Government which may be in opposition to the present one are hereby rescinded.

Given at Cavite, 23rd of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the Revolutionary Government was accompanied by a message from Emilio Aguinaldo, of which the following is a translation :—

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION.

It is an established fact that a political Revolution, judiciously carried out, is the violent means employed by nations to recover the sovereignty which naturally belongs to them, when the same has been usurped and trodden under foot by tyrannical and arbitrary government. Therefore, the Philippine Revolution cannot be more justifiable than it is, because the country has only resorted to it after having exhausted all peaceful means which reason and experience dictated.

The old Kings of Castile were obliged to regard the Philippines as a sister nation united to Spain by a perfect similarity of aims and interests, so much so that in the Constitution of 1812, promulgated at Cádiz, as a consequence of the Spanish War of Independence, these Islands were represented in the Spanish Parliament. But the monastic communities, always unconditionally propped up by the Spanish Government, stepped in to oppose the sacred obligation, and the Philippine Islands were excluded from the Spanish Constitution, and the country placed at the mercy of the discretionary or arbitrary powers of the Governor-General.

Under these circumstances the country clamoured for justice, demanding of the metropolis the recognition and restitution of its secular rights, through reforms which should gradually assimilate it to Spain. But its voice was soon stifled, and its children were rewarded for their abnegation by punishment, martyrdom and death. The religious corporations, whose interests were always at variance with those of the Filipinos and identified with the Spanish Government, ridiculed these pretensions, calmly and persistently replying that liberty in Spain had only been gained by the sacrifice of blood.

What other channel, then, was open to the country through which to insist upon the recovery of its lawful rights? No other remedy remained but the application of force, and convinced of this, it had recourse to revolution.

Now its demands are no longer limited to assimilation with the Spanish Constitution. It asks for a definite separation therefrom; it struggles for its independence, with the certainty that the time has arrived when it is able and ought to rule itself.

Hence, it has constituted a Revolutionary Government, based on wise and just laws, suited to the abnormal circumstances it is passing through, preparatory to the founding of a real Republic. Accepting Right as the only standard of its acts, Justice as its sole aim, and honourable Labour as its sole means, it calls upon all Filipinos, without distinction of birth, and invites them to solidly unite with the object of forming a noble society, not by bloodshed, nor by pompous titles, but by labour and the personal merit of each one; a free society where no egoism shall exist,—where no personal politics shall overthrow and crush, nor envy nor partiality debase, nor vain boasting nor charlatany throw it into ridicule.

Nothing else could be expected from a country which has proved by its long suffering and courage in tribulation and danger, and industry and studiousness in peace, that it is not made for slavery. That country is destined to become great; to become one of the most solid instruments of Providence for ruling the destinies of humanity. That country has resources and energy sufficient to free itself from the ruin and abasement into which the Spanish Government has drawn it, and to claim a modest, though worthy, place in the concert of free nations.

Given at Cavite, 23rd of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

These public documents were supplemented by the issue, on the 27th of June, of "Instructions," signed by Emilio Aguinaldo, which, as they relate solely to working details of the Revolutionary Government offices, are of minor interest to the general reader.

Since the 30th of June the rebels were in possession of Coloocan (the first station—past Manila—on the Manila-Dagupan Railway) and the Manila suburbs of Santa Cruz and Tondo. The insurgents purchased four vessels in Singapore and armed them, but, later on, Admiral Dewey forbade them to fly their flag pending the ultimate settlement of the whole Philippine problem. They also took possession

of the waterworks of Santólan (near San Juan del Monte), but did not cut off the water supply to the capital. Dissensions arose in the rebel camp between Emilio Aguinaldo and the leaders Joeson, Sandico and Artachio. Joeson was the chief who carried on the war in the northern provinces during the absence of Aguinaldo and his companions. Aguinaldo ordered Joeson and Artachio to be shot, and one of them went on board an American warship for safety. The Americans, indeed, had no less difficulty in dealing with the natives than with the Spaniards. There were frequent altercations between individual rebels and American soldiers which, in one case at least, near Cavite, resulted very seriously. The rebels were irritated because they considered themselves slighted, and that their importance as a factor in the hostilities was not duly recognized; in reality, there was nothing for them to do in co-operation with the Americans, who at any time could have brought matters to a crisis without them (by shelling the city) but for considerations of humanity. Aguinaldo's enemies were naturally the Spaniards, and he kept his forces actively employed in harassing them in the outlying districts; his troops had just gained a great victory in Dagúpan (Pangasinan), where, on the 22nd of July, the whole Spanish garrison and a number of civilian Spaniards had to capitulate in due written form. But experience had taught him that any day an attempt might be made to create a rival faction. Such a contingency had been actually provided for in Article 29 of the Statutes of the Revolutionary Government already cited. Presumably with a view to maintaining his prestige and keeping his individuality well before the people, he was constantly issuing edicts and proclamations. He was wise enough to understand the proverbs, "L'union fait la force," and "A house divided against itself shall surely fall." Not the least of his talents was that of being able to keep united a force of 30,000 to 40,000 Filipinos for any object. His proclamation of the Constitution of the Revolutionary Government on the 23rd of June implied a declaration of independence. He really sought to draw the American authorities into a recognition of it, but he did not seem to see, what others saw, the inopportunity of their doing so at that stage of America's relations with Spain. The generals were not the arbiters of the *political* situation. Then Aguinaldo adopted a course quite independently of the Great Power which had undertaken the solution of the Philippine question, and addressed a Memorandum to the

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foreign Governments, with a copy of an Act of Independence.¹ The result was altogether negative. Not a single Power chose to embarrass America, especially at that critical period,² by a recognition of Aguinaldo's party. The MEMORANDUM read as follows :—

(*Translation.*)

To the Powers :

The Revolutionary Government of the Philippines on being constituted, explained, by means of a message of the 23rd June last, the real causes of the Philippine Revolution, and went on to show that this popular movement is the result of those laws which regulate the life of a nation ardently desiring progress, and the attainment of perfection by the only possible road of liberty.

The Revolution, at the present moment, is predominant in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Laguna, Mórong, Bulacan, Bataan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tárlac, Pangasinan, Union, Infanta and Zambales, and is besieging the capital, Manila. In these provinces the most perfect order and tranquillity reign ; they are administered by the authorities elected by themselves in conformity with the decrees of the 18th and 23rd of June last.

Moreover, the Revolution has about 9,000 prisoners of war, who are treated with the same consideration observed by cultured nations, agreeably with the sentiments of humanity, and a regular organized army of more than 30,000 men fully equipped on a war footing.

Under these circumstances the representatives of the townships comprised within the provinces above mentioned, interpreting the popular will of those who have elected them, have proclaimed the Independence of the Philippines, and requested the Revolutionary Government to petition and solicit of the foreign Powers an acknowledgment of their belligerency and independence, under the conviction that the Philippine nation has arrived at that state

¹ This Act was ratified by Congress at Malolos with great pomp on the 29th of September. Emilio Aguinaldo walked through the town, surrounded by his chief officers, followed by a procession of rebel troops and bands of music. Malolos was *en fête*, and this day was declared by Congress to be a public holiday in perpetuity.

² The Spanish-American Commissioners were to meet in Paris in a few weeks.

in which it can and ought to govern itself. As a consequence, the annexed document has been signed by the said representatives. Wherefore the undersigned, using the faculties reserved to him as President of the Revolutionary Government of the Philippines, and in the name and representation of the Philippine nation, implores the protection of all the Powers of the civilized world, and beseeches them to formally recognize the belligerency, the Revolutionary Government, and the Independence of the Philippines, because these Powers are the bulwarks designated by Providence to maintain the equilibrium amongst nations by sustaining the weak and *refraining the ambitions of the more powerful*, in order that the most faultless justice may illuminate and render effective indefinitely the progress of humanity.

Given under my hand and seal in Bacoar, in the Province of Cavite, this 6th day of August 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO,
*The President of the Revolutionary
Government.*

The accompanying Act of Independence, dated August 1st, 1898, was couched in the flowery language of his former edicts and proclamations, and was signed by those Filipinos who had been appointed local presidents of the townships in the provinces referred to. The allusion to "the ambitions of the more powerful" could well be understood to signify an invitation to intervene and counteract America's projects, which might, hereafter, clash with the Aguinaldo party's aspirations. At the same time a group of agitators, financed by the priests in and out of the Islands, was straining every nerve to disseminate false reports and create discord between the rebels and the Americans in the hope of frustrating their coalition. But, even then, with a hostile host before Manila and the city inevitably doomed to fall, the fate of Spanish sovereignty depended more on politicians than on warriors.

In the absence of a Spanish Ambassador at Washington, the French Government had accepted to look after Spanish interests there and carry on any negotiations with the American Government which might become necessary. In August the city of Santiago de Cuba was beleaguered by the Americans under General Shafter; the forts had

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been destroyed by Admirals Schley and Sampson ; General Linares, in command there, had been wounded and placed *hors de combat* ; the large force of Spanish troops within the walls was well armed and munitioned, but being half-starved, the *morale* of the rank and file was at a low ebb, and General Toral, who succeeded General Linares, capitulated. The final blow to Spanish power and hopes in Cuba was the destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet outside the port of Santiago de Cuba. Cuba was lost to Spain. The cry for help from the Philippines, together with the riotous denunciation in Spain, of the Government's prostration, morally compelled the Government to do something, and a fleet was fitted out under Admiral Cámara and sent to the Suez Canal with the ostensible object of relieving Manila. It was, probably, never intended to let it leave Europe. In a slight measure it appeased the people and saved the honour of the Spanish Cabinet, but, fortunately, America threatened to send a fleet under Admiral Watson to bombard the Spanish ports, affording the Spanish Government a good excuse for ordering back Admiral Cámara's fleet at once. No material advantage could then possibly accrue to Spain by a prolongation of hostilities.

Through the intermediary of the French Ambassador at Washington, M. Cambon, peace negotiations were entered into and a Protocol was signed by him and Mr. Secretary Day for the respective Governments they represented at 4.25 p.m. on the 12th of August, 1898. It is interesting to note the exact hour and date, in view of subsequent events.

The provisions of the Protocol were as follows, viz. :—

(1°.) Spain will relinquish all her claim of sovereignty over or title to Cuba.

(2°.) Puerto Rico and the other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter.

(3°.) *The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbour of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.*

(4°.) Cuba, Puerto Rico and the other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the

signing of the Protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan respectively, to arrange and execute the details of evacuation.

(5°.) The United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a Treaty of Peace. The commissioners are to meet at Paris not later than October 1st.

(6°.) On the signing of the Protocol hostilities will be suspended, and notice to that effect will be given as soon as possible by each Government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

During a month before the Protocol was signed the relations between Spaniards and Americans were verging towards a crisis. The respective land forces were ever on the point of precipitating the end. General F. V. Greene had his brigade encamped along the Cavite-Manila road, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Spanish fort of Malate, with outposts thrown forward to protect the camp. The insurgent lines were situated nearer to Manila, between the Americans and Spaniards. On July 28th General Greene took possession of a line, from the road already occupied by his forces, in front of the insurgents' advanced position, to be ready to start operations for the reduction of Manila. The American soldiers worked for three days at making trenches, almost unmolested by the Spaniards, who had a strong line of breastworks not more than 1,000 yards in front. No Americans were killed or wounded whilst so working.

On July 31st at 11 p.m. the Spaniards opened a furious infantry and artillery fire upon the American lines and kept it up for two hours. Fort Malate with five guns, Blockhouse No. 14 with two guns, and connecting infantry trenches, concentrated fire upon the American breastworks, which caused considerable annoyance to the Americans. The night was pitch dark, it rained in torrents, there was mud and water everywhere and the ground was too flat to drain. The 10th Pennsylvania Regiment and four guns of the Utah batteries occupied the American line, with two batteries of the 3rd Foot Artillery in reserve. The last was brought up under a heavy fire, and taking up a position on the right, silenced the Spaniards, who were pouring in a flanking fire. The whole camp was under arms, and ammunition and reinforcements were sent. The regiments were standing expectantly in the rain. The 1st California was ordered forward, the bugle sounded

the advance, the whole camp cheered, and the men were delighted at the idea of meeting the enemy. Over a flat ground the American troops advanced under a heavy Spanish fire of shell and Mäuser rifles, but they were steady and checked the Spaniards' attack.

General Greene went forward to the trenches, firing was exchanged, and the wounded were being brought back from the front in *carromatas*. The Spaniards and Americans were separated by bamboo thickets and swamps. The Americans lost that night 10 killed and 30 wounded. The Spanish loss was much heavier. Most of the Americans killed were shot in the head. The Mäuser bullet has great penetrating power, but does not kill well, in fact it often makes a small wound which does not bleed. As already pointed out at page 517, the four Mäuser bullets passed right through Sancho Valenzuela at his execution and left him still alive. Captain Hobbs, of the 3rd Artillery, was shot through the thigh at night and only the next morning saw the nature of the wound.

During the following week the Spaniards made three more night attacks. The total killed and wounded Americans amounted to 10 men. The American soldiers were not allowed to return the fire, unless the Spaniards were evidently about to rush the breastworks. There was some grumbling in the camp. The Spaniards, however, got tired of firing, apparently to no purpose, for no Americans were wounded, and at the end of the third night there was silence. Meanwhile, in the day time the Americans went on strengthening their line without being molested.

On August 7th Admiral Dewey and General Merritt sent a joint note to the Captain-General of Manila, giving him 48 hours to remove women and children, as, at any time after that, the city might be bombarded. The Captain-General replied thanking the Admiral and General for their kind consideration, but pointed out that he had no ships, and to send the women and children inland would be to place them at the mercy of the rebels. On the expiration of the 48 hours' notice, i.e., at noon on the 9th of August, another joint note was addressed to General Augusti, pointing out the hopelessness of his holding out and formally demanding the surrender of the city, so that life and property of defenceless persons might be spared. The Captain-General replied requesting the American commanders to apply to Madrid, but, this proposal being rejected, the correspondence ceased.

On August 11th a Council of War was held between Generals Merritt, Anderson, McArthur and Greene, and the plan of combined

attack arranged between General Merritt and Admiral Dewey was explained. For some hours a storm prevented the landing of more American troops with supplies, but these were later on landed at Parañaque when the weather cleared up, and were hurriedly sent on to the camp, where preparations were being made for the assault on the city.

Whilst the Protocol was being signed in Washington the American troops were entrenched about 350 yards from the Spaniards, who were prepared to make their last stand at the fort of Malate. From the morning of that day there were signs of an impending attack by the Spaniards, and, in view of this, the rebels marched towards the American lines, but were requested to withdraw. Night came on, and, under cover of darkness, the Spaniards, in superior numbers, charged the Americans, who resisted courageously, and drove the Spaniards back to their second trenches. The Americans then occupied the first Spanish trench and continued the fight, but the Spaniards made such a furious bayonet charge that the Americans were forced to retreat to their own trench, which, subsequently, they also had to abandon, leaving four field pieces in it. The insurgents then advanced, and the Spaniards being no longer in overwhelming numbers, were forced to precipitately retreat to their own positions, and the American cannons were recovered by the insurgents.

Why the Spaniards were still holding the city of Manila at this date is perhaps best understood by the Americans. To the casual observer it would have appeared expedient to have made the possession of Manila a *fait accompli* before the Protocol of Peace was signed. The Americans had a large and powerful fleet in Manila Bay; they were in possession of Cavite, the arsenal and forts, and they had a large army under Major-General Merritt and his staff. General Augusti was, for weeks previous, personally disposed to surrender, and only refused to do so as a matter of form, hence the same means as were finally employed could apparently have brought about the same result at an earlier date.¹ The only hope the Spaniards could entertain was a

¹ Captain T. Bentley Mott, A.D.C. to General Merritt, writing in *Scribner's Magazine* (December, 1898) says :—" Neither the fleet nor the army was, at this time, ready for a general engagement. The army did not have, all told, " enough ammunition for more than *one day* of hard fighting, and only a part of " this was in the camp." Admiral Dewey had then been in possession of Manila bay and port three months and 12 days.

possible benefit to be derived from international complication. From the tone of several of the Captain-General's despatches, published in the Madrid papers, one may deduce that capitulation to a recognized Power would have relieved him of the tremendous anxiety as to what would befall the city if the rebels did enter. It is known that, before the bombardment, Admiral Dewey and his colleagues had given the humane and considerate assurance that the city should not be left to the mercy of the natives.

The next day, Saturday, the 13th of August, the Americans again demanded the surrender of the city within an hour, and on this being refused, according to Spanish custom, operations commenced at 9.45 a.m. The ships present at the attack were the *Olympia* (flag-ship), *Monterey*, *Raleigh*, *McCulloch*, *Petrel*, *Charleston*, *Baltimore*, *Boston*, and *Concord*, with the little gunboat *Rápido*, and the captured (Spanish) gunboat *Callao*, and the armed steam launch *Barceló*. The *Concord* watched the fort of Santiago at the Pasig River entrance. The American commanders confined the bombardment to the forts and trenches situated to the south of the city. The whole of the walled city and the trading quarter of Binondo were undamaged. The fighting line was led by the *Olympia*, which sent 4-inch shells in the direction of the fort at Malate (San Antonio de Abad). A heavy shower of rain made it difficult to get the range, and every shell fell short. The *Petrel* then took up a position and fired towards the fort, followed by the *Raleigh*. The *Rápido* and the *Callao*, being of light draught, were able to lie close in shore and pour in a raking fire from their small calibre guns with considerable effect. The distance between the ships and the fort was about 3,500 yards, and, as soon as this was correctly ascertained, the projectiles had a telling effect on the enemy's battery and earthworks. The *Olympia* hurled about 70 5-inch shells and 16 8-inch shells, and the *Petrel* and the *Raleigh* about the same number each. There was rather a heavy wash in the bay for the little *Callao* and the *Barceló*, but they were all the time capering about, pouring a hail of small shell whenever they got a chance. The Spaniards at Malate returned the fire and struck the *Callao* without doing any damage. The transport *Zafiro* lay between the fighting line and the shore, having on board General Merritt, his staff, and a coloured regiment. The transport *Kwonghoi* was also in readiness with a landing party of troops on board. In another steamer were the

correspondents of the *London Times* and *New York Herald*, and the special artists of the *Century Magazine* and the *Herald*. The shore mounted artillery did not take part in the operations. The shelling of Malate fort from the ships lasted until about 11 a.m., when the general signal was given to cease firing. The field batteries carried away a deal of the Malate fort stonework. One shell, from Malate, reached the American camp. The firing from the ships had caused the Spaniards to fall back. General Greene then ordered the 1st Colorado regiment to advance. Two companies deployed over a swamp and went along the beach under cover of the Utah battery. Two other companies advanced in column towards the Spanish entrenchments with colours flying and bands of music playing lively tunes. The first and second companies fired volleys towards the Spaniards to cover the advance of the other columns. They crossed the little creek, near Malate, in front of the fort; then, by rushes, they got to the fort which they entered, and the other troops swarmed in only to find it deserted. The Spaniards had retreated to a breastwork at the rear of the fort, and kept up a desultory fire at the Colorado troops, killing one man and wounding several. Fort Malate was then in possession of the 1st Colorado under Lieutenant-Colonel McCoy, who climbed up the flag-pole, took down the Spanish flag, and hauled up the Stars and Stripes amidst cheers from the army and fleet.

Four companies of the 1st Colorado advanced across the fields, entered the Spanish trenches, crossed the bridge and moved up the road. The Spaniards still kept up an ineffective fire from a long range.

The 3rd Battalion Colorado came up with a band of music, and then the whole regiment deployed in skirmishing order and kept up a continual musketry fire until they halted on the Luneta. The band took up a position in an old Spanish trench and played as the troops filed past up the beach. The Spaniards were gradually falling back on the city, and the rebels who were located near the Spanish lines continued the attack, but the Americans gave them the order to stop firing, which they would not heed. The Americans thereupon pointed their guns towards the rebels, who did the same, but neither cared to fire the first shot, so the rebels, taking another road, drove the Spaniards, in confusion, as far as Hermita, when Emilio Aguinaldo ordered them to cease firing as they were just outside the city walls. The rebel commander had received strict orders not to let his forces enter Manila. The American

troops then followed up the charge, and the Spaniards made, at first, a stubborn resistance, apparently for appearance sake, for the fight lasted barely an hour when the Spaniards in the city hoisted the white flag on a bastion of the old walls. Orders were then given to cease firing, and by 1 o'clock the terms of capitulation were being negotiated. General Greene then sent an order to the troops for the rear regiments to muster on the Luneta, and there half the American army waited in silent expectation. The Spanish entrenchments extended out from the city walls in different directions as far as three miles. The defenders were about 2,500 in number, composed of Spanish regular troops, volunteers and native auxiliaries, about the same number of troops being in the hospitals inside the city. The attacking force amounted to about 15,000 rebels and 10,000 Americans ashore and afloat. The attacking guns threw heavier shot and had a longer range than the Spanish. The Americans were also better marksmen than the Spaniards. They were, moreover, better fed and in a superior condition generally. The Americans were buoyed up with the moral certainty of gaining an easy victory, whereas the wearied Spaniards had long ago despaired of reinforcements coming to their aid, hence their defence in this hopeless struggle was merely nominal for the "honour of the country."

For some time after the white flag was hoisted there was street fighting between the rebels and the loyalists. The rattling of musketry was heard all round the outskirts. The rebels had taken three to four hundred Spanish prisoners and seized a large quantity of stores. Before hostilities ceased, General Basilio Augusti jumped on board a German steam launch which was waiting for him and conveyed him to the German cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta*, which immediately steamed out of the bay northwards. General Fermin Jáudenes remained as Acting-Captain-General. Flag-Lieutenant Brumby then went on shore in the Belgian Consul's launch, together with Inspector-General Whittier, of General Merritt's staff, and at an interview with General Jáudenes the draft terms of Capitulation were agreed upon. Lieutenant Brumby returned to General Merritt, and the two went back on shore. In the meantime General Jáudenes had taken refuge in the sacristy of a church which was filled with women and children, presumably with the wise object of keeping clear of the unrestrained mobs fighting in the suburbs. For some time the Spanish officers refused to reveal his whereabouts to General Merritt, but eventually they met, and the

terms of the Capitulation were signed between General Nicolás de la Peña y Cuellas and Colonels José Maria Olaguer Tellin and Cárlos Rey y Rich, as Commissioners for Spain, and Generals Greene and Whittier, Colonel Crowder and Captain Lamberton, as Commissioners for the United States. The most important conditions embodied in the CAPITULATION are as follows, viz. :—

- (1°) The surrender of the Philippine Archipelago.
- (2°) Officers to be allowed to retain their swords and personal effects, but not their horses.
- (3°) Officers to be prisoners of war on parole.
- (4°) The troops to be prisoners of war and deposit their arms at a place to be appointed by General Merritt.
- (5°) All necessary supplies for their maintenance to be provided from the public Treasury funds, and after they are exhausted by the United States.
- (6°) All public property to be surrendered.
- (7°) The disposal of the troops to be negotiated, later on by the United States and Spanish Governments.
- (8°) Arms to be returned to the troops at General Merritt's discretion.

The Capitulation having been signed, Lieutenant Brumby immediately went to Fort Santiago with two signalmen from the *Olympia* and lowered the Spanish flag, which had been flying there all day. Many Spanish officers and a general crowd from the streets stood around, and as he drew near to the flagstaff he was hissed by the onlookers. When the orange and red banner was actually replaced by the Stars and Stripes, many in the crowd shed tears. The symbol of Spanish sovereignty had disappeared for ever. The attitude of the mob was not reassuring, so Lieutenant Brumby asked an infantry officer who was present to bring his detachment as a guard. A company of infantry happened to be coming along, and presented arms whilst the band, playing "The Star-spangled Banner," enlivened this melodramatic ceremony. Whilst this was going on the Spaniards hoisted the Spanish flag in the gunboat *Cebú*, and brought it down to the mouth of the River Pasig, where they set fire to it. A party of American marines boarded her, hauled down the Spanish flag, and tried to save the hull, but it was too far consumed. The Spaniards also destroyed barges and other Government property lying in the river.

In the official reports handed in by Generals Anderson and McArthur and published in America, the total casualties on the American side are stated to be as follows, viz. :—On the 13th of August, five killed and 43 wounded. Previous to this in the trenches there were 14 killed and 60 wounded, making a total of 122.

The approximate number of European Spanish troops in the Archipelago during the year 1898 would stand thus :—

Total of troops under General Primo de Rivera in	
January, 1898, say	25,000

Shipped back to Spain by General Primo de Rivera	
in the spring	7,000

At the date of the Capitulation of Manila.

Prisoners in hands of the rebels	8,000
Detachments in the Luzon Provinces (subsequently surrendered to, or killed by, the rebels)	1,000
Killed or mortally wounded in general combat	1,000
Wounded and diseased in Manila hospitals	2,600
Approximate total in Visayas and Mindanao (General Rios' jurisdiction)	3,000
Approximate total of able-bodied troops in Manila, prisoners of war (to America), up to the 10th of December, 1898	2,400
	<u>25,000</u>

General Greene marched his troops down the *Calzada* and entered the walled city, where he amassed his forces in the Plaza Calderon de la Barca. Sentinels were placed at all the city gates ; some rebels got inside the city, but were disarmed and sent out again. At 7 p.m. the American troops took up their quarters in public buildings, porches and even on the streets, for they were tired out. One might have imagined it was a great British festival, for the streets were bedecked everywhere with the British colours displayed by the Chinese who were under British protection. And that night General Merritt, General Greene and staff officers were served at dinner by the late Captain-General's servants in the Town Hall (Plaza de la Catedral), the splendid marble entrance of which became temporarily a depôt for captured arms, ammunition, and accoutrements of war.

No hostile feeling was shown by Spaniards of any class. The inhabitants of the city looked remarkably well after the 105 days' siege. Trade was absolutely at a standstill, and American troops were drafted out of the walled city to occupy the commercial quarter of Binondo on the opposite side of the river. The government of the city was at once taken over by Major-General Merritt, appointments being made by him to the principal departments as follows, viz. :—

By General Order, dated the 15th of August, Brigadier-General T. M. Anderson became Commandant of the Cavite district, the garrison of which would be increased on the arrival of the transports on the way. Brigadier-General Arthur McArthur became Military Commandant of the walled city of Manila and Provost-Marshal of the city of Manila, including all the suburbs, his barracks and staff-quarters to be within the walled city. The Commandant was to take over the offices, staff, and functions of the late Civil Governor. Colonel Ovenshine became Deputy Provost-Marshal of the walled city south of the river. Colonel James S. Smith became Deputy Provost-Marshal of Binondo and all districts situated south of the river.

By General Order, dated the 16th of August, Brigadier-General F. V. Greene became Treasurer-General ; Lieutenant-Colonel of Volunteers C. A. Whittier became Commissioner of Customs.

By General Order, dated the 15th of August, it was provided that within 10 days, a complete list should be sent to Washington of all public establishments and properties of every description, including horses ; that all private property, including horses, would be respected, and that lodging for the prisoners of war would be provided by the Military Commandant of the city in the public buildings and barracks not required for the American troops. Colonel C. M. C. Reeve was appointed Chief of Police with the 13th Regiment of Volunteer Minnesota Infantry for this service.

On the 16th of August a notice was put up outside the General Post Office to the effect that, as all the Spanish staff had refused to work for the Americans, the local and provincial correspondence could not be attended to. This was, however, soon remedied.

In an order issued on the 22nd of August it was enacted that all natives and all Spanish soldiers were to be disarmed before they were admitted into the walled city. The insurgent troops were included in the above category, but their arms were restored to them on their

leaving the city. An exception was made in favour of the native insurgent officers, from the grade of lieutenant upwards, who were permitted to enter and leave Manila with their swords and revolvers.

On the 25th of August a provisional agreement was entered into between the American authorities and Emilio Aguinaldo, to remain in force pending the result of the Paris Peace Commission, whereby their respective spheres were defined. The Americans retained jurisdiction over Manila City, Binondo, the right bank of the River Pasig up to the Calzada de Iris and thence to Malacañan, which was included. The remaining districts were necessarily in the hands of the rebels, there being no recognised independent government in the islands, other than the American military occupation of the capital and environs.

The British Consul, Mr. E. A. Rawson Walker, who had rendered such excellent service to both the contending parties, died of dysentery in the month of August, and was buried at Paco cemetery.

Philippine refugees returned to the Islands in large numbers, but the American authorities notified the Consul in Hongkong that only those Chinese who could prove to his satisfaction previous residence in Manila would be allowed to return there.

Trading operations were resumed immediately after the capitulation, and the first shipment of cigars made since that date consisted of 140,000 cigars shipped to Singapore in the first week of September and consigned to the *Tabaqueria Universal*. Business in Manila, little by little, resumed its usual aspect. The old Spanish newspapers continued to be published, and some of them, especially *El Comercio*, were enterprising enough to print alternate columns of English and Spanish, and, occasionally, a few advertisements in very amusing broken English. Two rebel organs, *La Independencia* and *La República Filipina*, soon appeared. They were shortly followed by a number of periodicals of minor importance, such as *El Soldado Español*, *La Restauracion* (a Carlist organ), *Thé Kon Leche*, *El Cometa* and *El Motin* (satirical papers) and two papers, in English, viz., *The American* and *The Manila Times*. Liberty of the press was such a novelty in Manila that *La Voz Española* over-stepped the bounds of prudence and started a press campaign against the Americans. Delgado, the editor, after repeated warnings from the Provost-Marshal, was at length arrested. The paper was suppressed for abusing the Americans from the President downwards, and publishing matter calculated to incite

the Spanish inhabitants to riot. On November 6th the first Philippine Club was opened.

For some weeks before the capitulation there had been a certain amount of friction between the American soldiery and the rebels, who resented being held in check by the American authorities. Emilio Aguinaldo had his headquarters at Bacoar, on the Cavite coast, situated between two divisions of the American army, one at Cavite and the other at Manila, and within easy shelling distance from the American fleet. For obvious reasons he decided to remove his centre of operations, for it was becoming doubtful how long the two parties would preserve peace. The rebels had been sorely disappointed that they were not allowed to enter Manila with the Americans, or even before, for since the first few months of the rebellion they had pictured to themselves the delights of a free raid on the city. Aguinaldo, therefore, removed his headquarters to about three miles north of Manila, but General Otis intimated to him to go farther away from the capital. As he hesitated to do so, the General sent him an ultimatum on the 13th of September ordering him to evacuate that place by the afternoon of the 15th, so, during the night of the 14th, Aguinaldo moved on with his troops to Malolos. From this town, situated about 20 miles from Manila, he could better unite and control the rebel factions here and there over the northern provinces; he could, moreover, either make use of the line of railway, or cut off the connection with Manila, or he could divert supplies from the rich rice districts and Pangasinan ports, whilst the almost impregnable mountains were of easy access in case of need.

Aguinaldo declared Malolos to be the provisional capital of his Revolutionary Government, and convened a Congress to meet there on the 15th of September in the church of Barasoain.¹ About a hundred deputies responded to the summons, and in conformity with Aguinaldo's proclamation of the 23rd of June, they proceeded to elect a President of Congress, Vice-president, Secretaries, etc. The votes were handed in, and Congress adjourned for the result until the 17th of September. This result was one of the most remarkable events of the revolution. Pedro A. Paterno was elected President of Congress! The aristocrat

¹ Barasoain is another parish, but it is only separated from Malolos by a bridged river. It is only five minutes' walk from Malolos church to Barasoain church.

who claimed to be the Great *Maguinong*, *alias* Prince of Luzon ; the aspirant to a Spanish dukedom and consequent grandeeship, was to preside over a legislative body based on republican principles of equality ! The Filipino who published, as a "result of study and political "experience," "the programme of the party who want home rule for the "Philippines, ever Spanish !" and cried *Viva España !* as late as the 31st of May, (*vide* pages 590 *et seq.*) was, within less than four months, elected to guide the destinies of this budding democracy ! Deputies Benito Legarda and Ocampo were chosen to be Vice-president and Secretary respectively. Congress voted for Aguinaldo a salary of \$50,000, and \$25,000 for representation expenses. These figures were afterwards reversed, *i.e.*, \$25,000 salary, and \$50,000 for expenses, but Aguinaldo, who never showed any desire for personal gain, was quite willing to set aside the vote. A decree in Congress, dated the 21st of September, imposed compulsory military service on every able-bodied Philippine male over 18 years of age, excepting those who hold office under the Revolutionary Government. At an early session of Congress Deputy Tomás del Rosario made a long speech advocating Church Disestablishment.¹

The night before Congress met to announce the election of President, *e. tc.*, an attempt was made to poison Emilio Aguinaldo. Dinner was about to be served to him ; the soup was in the tureen, when one of the three Spanish prisoners, who were allowed to be about the kitchen, tasted the soup in a manner to arouse suspicion. The steward at once took a spoonful of it and fell dead on the spot. The three prisoners in question, as well as 11 Franciscan Friars, were consequently placed in close confinement. At the next sitting of Congress the incident was mentioned and it was resolved to go *en masse* to congratulate Aguinaldo on his lucky escape. At 5 p.m. the same day a *Te Deum* was sung in Malolos church anent this occurrence.

The Americans were the nominal possessors of the Philippine Islands, under the terms of the capitulation, pending their ultimate disposition. The terms of peace were referred to a Spanish-American Commission, which met in Paris on the 1st of October. The American Commission was composed of five members, of whom the President was Mr. *ex-Secretary* Day. The Secretary to the Commission was

¹ For want of space I am obliged to omit the summary of all the debates in the Revolutionary Congress of 1898, printed reports of which I have before me.

Mr. John Bassett Moore, late Assistant Secretary of State, an eminent professor of international law. The Spanish Commission, under the leadership of Señor Montero Rios (President of the Senate), represented Spain. The deliberations were carried on in a suite of apartments at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, placed at their disposal by M. Delcassé. Among other questions to be agreed upon and embodied in the treaty, was the future of the Philippines. For Washington officials these Islands really constituted a *terra incognita*. General Merritt left Manila (after appointing General Otis to take his place), and went to Paris to be examined before the Commission. At their request, conveyed to me through the American Embassy, I also proceeded to Paris in October, and expressed my views before the Commissioners, who examined me on the whole question. The future of the Philippines was really the knotty point in the whole debate. The Spanish Commissioners maintained that the Protocol did not determine the question of sovereignty, but left it open for discussion. They argued that the Capitulation of the 13th of August did not signify a surrender of the Islands on the part of Spain, because an armistice had been already concluded prior to that date. From all possible points of view they energetically upheld Spain's rights of sovereignty in the Islands. The Americans claimed possession of the whole group, and offered a money indemnity for improvements and public property there. The Spaniards were so obdurate that, for a while, a rupture of the Conference and resumption of hostilities were considered probable. Finally, the American Commissioners handed an ultimatum to the Spaniards and retired without discussion. In this ultimatum they claimed an absolute cession of the Islands, and offered to pay to Spain \$20,000,000 gold. For a few days the Spaniards still held out, whilst America was prepared, if necessary, to seize the Archipelago by force, and send a fleet to Spanish waters. Sagasta's Government had not the least intention of letting matters go so far as that, but it suited the Spanish Cabinet, already extremely unpopular, to make an appearance of resistance. Moreover, Señor Sagasta had personal motives for wishing to protract the negotiations, the examination of which would lead one too far away from the present subject into Spanish politics.

On the 8th of December the Commissioners on both sides met again for discussion. The demands of the Americans were reluctantly

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yielded to. The form in which the treaty was to be drafted was finally settled. The sitting of the Commission was terminated by the reading of a strongly-worded protest by Señor Montero Rios, in which the Spanish Commissioners declared that they had been compelled to yield to brute force and an abuse of international law against which they vehemently protested. The secretaries of the respective Commissions were then instructed to draw up the document of the TREATY OF PEACE, which was signed at 9 p.m. on Saturday, December 10th, 1898, in the Grand Gallery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. The expenses of the Spanish Commission amounted to £8,400. A delay of six months was agreed upon for the ratification by the two Governments of the Treaty, the (translated) text of which is given at the end of this chapter. The Spaniards having urged for certain tariff guarantees in their commercial relations with the Philippines, the United States undertook to establish equal duties on Spanish and American goods for a period of ten years. But it subsequently transpired that this was no special boon to Spain, seeing that America declared shortly after the signing of the treaty that there would be no preferential tariff, and that merchandise of all nations could enter the Islands at the same rate of duty and on equal terms with America. The clauses of the treaty relating to the Philippines met with determined opposition in the United States, where politicians were divided into three parties advocating respectively annexation, protection, and abandonment of the Islands to the natives.

We must now go back to September to follow the thread of events which intervened from that period, and during the 71 days' sitting of the Peace Commission in Paris. An old acquaintance of mine, Felipe Agoncillo, was sent to Washington in September by Emilio Aguinaldo to obtain permission from the United States Government to represent the rebels' cause on the Paris Commission, or, failing this, to be allowed to state their case. The United States Government refused to officially recognize him, so he proceeded to Paris. Having unsuccessfully endeavoured to be heard before the Commission, he drew up a protest in duplicate, handing a copy to the Spanish and another to the American Commissioners. The purport of this document was that whereas the Americans had supplied the insurgents with war materials and arms to gain their independence and not to fight against Spain in the interests of America, and whereas America now insisted on

claiming possession of the Archipelago, he protested, in the name of Emilio Aguinaldo, against what he considered a defraudment of his just rights. His mission led to nothing, so he returned to Washington to watch events for Aguinaldo.

In this interval, too, matters in Manila remained *in statu quo* so far as the American occupation was concerned. General Otis was left in supreme command in succession to General Merritt, and reinforcements were sent from the United States to strengthen their position. General Otis's able administration wrought a wonderful change in the city. The weary, forlorn look of those who had great interests at stake gradually wore off; business was as brisk as in the old times, and the Custom House was being worked with a promptitude hitherto unknown in the islands. There were no more sleepless nights, fearing an attack from the dreaded rebel or the volunteer. The large majority of foreign (including Spanish) and half-caste Manila merchants showed a higher appreciation of American protection than of the prospect of an absolutely independent Philippine Republic. On the other hand, the drunken brawls of the American soldiers in the cafés, drinking shops, and the open streets constituted a novelty in the colony. It was most unfortunate, because of the extremely bad impression it made on the natives and Spaniards, who are remarkably abstemious. It must also have been the cause of a large percentage of the sickness of the American troops (wrongly attributed to climate), for I know that inebriety in the Philippines is the road to death.

The German trading community observed that, due to the strange conduct of the Commanders of the German Fleet, who showed such partiality towards the Spaniards up to the capitulation of Manila, the natives treated them with marked reticence. The Germans, therefore, addressed a more than ample letter of apology on the subject to the newspaper *La Independencia* (17th October).

As insurgent steamers were again cruising in Philippine waters, all vessels formerly flying the Spanish flag were hastily placed on the American register to secure the protection of the Stars and Stripes, and Consul Williams was deputed to attend to these and other matters connected with the shipping trade of the port.

It was yet theoretically possible that the Archipelago might be handed back to Spain, hence pending the deliberations of the Peace Commission, no movement was made on the part of the Americans to

overthrow the *de facto* Spanish Government still existing in the southern islands. General Fermin Jáudenes, the vanquished Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish forces, in Manila (Sub-Inspector until General Augusti left), was liberated on parole until the first week of October, when the American Government allowed him to return to Spain. He left in the s.s. *Esmeralda* for Hongkong on the 15th of October. Meanwhile, a month before, the Spanish Government appointed General Diego de los Rios, Governor-General of the Philippines, with residence at Yloilo. Spaniards of all classes were at least personally safe in Manila under American protection. All who could reach the capital did so, for Spanish control of the provinces was practically at an end. Aguinaldo, therefore, directed his attention both to matters of government in Luzon and to the conquest of the southern islands. Of course he could not foresee (no one could) that the evacuation by the Spaniards of *all* the islands would be decided by treaty. Moreover, it was no easy task to maintain his own personal prestige (an indispensable condition in all revolutions), carry out his own plans of government, and keep together, in inactivity, a large half-disciplined fighting force. Three weeks after the capitulation of Manila, Aguinaldo sent several small vessels to the Island of Panay, carrying Luzon rebels to effect a landing and stir up rebellion in Visayas. He was anxious to secure all the territory he could before the conditions of peace should be settled in Paris. General Rios was, therefore, compelled to enter on a new campaign, assisted by the small gunboats which had remained south since hostilities commenced north in May. Spanish troops were sent to Singapore *en route* for Yloilo, and then a question arose between Madrid and Washington as to whether they could be allowed to proceed to their destination under the peace protocol. The Tagalog rebels landed in the province of Antique (Panay Island), and a few natives of the locality joined them. They were shortly met by the Spanish troops, and severe fighting took place in the neighbourhood of Bugáson, where the rebels were ultimately routed with great loss of men and impedimenta.

The survivors fled to their vessels and landed elsewhere on the same coast. In several places on the island the flag of rebellion had been unfurled and General Rios' troops showed them no quarter. At the end of six weeks the rebels had been beaten in numerous encounters, without the least apparent chance of gaining the objective

point—the seizure of the port of Yloilo. The rebel chief in the Concepcion district (East Panay), named Perfecto Poblado, who with his followers had taken a mountain refuge in Monte Jaimig, sent a message to General Rios in Yloilo on the 9th of October. He offered his submission and craved pardon for himself and 38 other leaders with 4,000 men who were willing to surrender. General Rios acceded to this petition on the sole condition of depositing their arms. About this time a Mindanao Chief, Datto Maudi, sent 150 fighting men, of splendid physique, to help the Spaniards against the Visayos, for whom they have a traditional hatred.

About this time, in Manila, there was by no means that *entente cordiale* which should have existed between the rebels and the Americans, supposing them to be real allies. Aguinaldo was naturally uneasy about the possible prospect of a protracted struggle with the Spaniards, if the Islands reverted to them; he was none the less irritated because his repeated edicts and proclamations of independence received no recognition from the Americans. His swaggering soldiery, with the air of conquerors, were ever ready to rush to arms on the most trivial pretext, and became a growing menace to the peaceful inhabitants. Therefore, on the 25th of October, Aguinaldo was again ordered to withdraw his troops still farther, to distances varying from five to eight miles off Manila, and he reluctantly complied. When this order was sent to him from Manila his forces in the neighbourhood were estimated to be as follows:—At Coloocan, 3,000 men, with two cannons pointed in the direction of Binondo; Santa Mesa, 380; Pasig, 400; Paco, Santa Ana, Pandacan, and Pasay, 400 to 500 each; south of Malate, 1,200, and at Santolan waterworks (on which the supply of potable water to the capital depended), 380.

In Panay Island General Rios published an edict offering considerable reforms, but the flame of rebellion was too far spread for it to have any effect. The Island of Cebú also was in revolt; the harsh measures of General Montero effected nothing to Spain's advantage, whilst that miserable system of treating suspects as proved culprits created rebels. Montero's uncontrollable volunteer *Moro* contingent (from Mindanao) simply gave way to pillage and unnecessary bloodshed; more than half the villages defied Spanish authority, refused to pay taxes, and forced the friars to take refuge in the capital, which was, so far, safe. Those who were able, took passage to ports outside the

Archipelago. In Leyte there were risings of minor importance, instigated by Tagalog insurgents, and chiefly directed against the friars, who were everywhere obnoxious to the people. At Catbalogan (Samar) an armed mob attacked the Spaniards, who fled to the house of an American. General Rios had not sufficient troops to dominate several islands covering such a large area. He was so hard pressed in Panay alone that, even if he had had ample means of transport, he could neither divide his forces nor spend time in carrying them from one island to another. Towards the end of October he ran short of ammunition, but, opportunely, the Spanish mail steamer *Buenos Aires* brought him a supply with which he could continue the struggle. Fresh Tagalog expeditions were, meanwhile, sent south, and coerced or persuaded the Panay people to rise in greater force than ever, till, finally, General Rios had to fall back on Yloilo. By the middle of November practically the whole island, except the towns of Yloilo, Molo, Jaro and La Paz, was under rebel dominion.

The small detachments and garrisons in Negros Island had been unable to resist the tide of revolt; the west coast of that island was overrun by the rebels under the leadership of Juan Araneta (a much respected planter of Bago, personally known to me), and the local Spanish Governor, Don Isidro Castro, was forced to capitulate, in due written form, at Bacólod, on the 6th of November, with his troops and all the Spanish civil and military employés. By the 1st of December it was evident that, although Spanish empire in Visayas had been definitely broken, there was absolute discord among the (southern) rebels themselves. They broke up into rival factions, each one wanting to set up a government of its own. The American Peace Commissioners had made their formal demand for the cession of all the Islands, and it was clear to the Spanish Government that General Rios would, sooner or later, have to evacuate under the treaty. It was useless, therefore, to continue to shed European blood and waste treasure in those regions. In the first week of December the Madrid Government ordered General Rios to suspend hostilities and retire to Mindanao Island with his troops, pending arrangements for their return to the Peninsula. General Rios replied to this order, saying that he would make the necessary preparations. Meanwhile, on the 11th of December, the rebels approached the fortifications around Yloilo town, and the Spaniards kept up an almost continual fusillade.

In the morning of the 14th of December, before daybreak, the rebels, armed with bolie-knives, attacked the Spanish entrenchments in great force and drove the Spaniards back from their first to their second redoubt. The Spaniards rallied, turned their four field-pieces on the enemy, and opened a raking cannon and musketry fire which mowed down the rebels, who retired in great disorder, leaving about 500 dead and wounded. The Spaniards, who were well protected behind their stockades, had 6 dead and 17 wounded. General Rios then took measures for evacuation. On the 23rd of December he formally handed over Yloilo to the mayor of the town in the presence of his staff, the naval commanders, and the foreign consuls, and requested the German Vice-Consul to look after Spanish interests. The Spanish troops and war material were embarked in perfect order, without any unfortunate incident occurring. Before leaving Yloilo, after many tedious delays respecting the conditions, an exchange of prisoners was effected with the rebels who, at the outset, were inclined to be unduly exacting.

The rebels at once took possession of Yloilo, but a controlling force was already in the roadstead. On the 18th of December an expedition, under the command of General Miller, left Manila for that port. It consisted of the transports *Newport*, *Arizona*, and *Pennsylvania*, convoyed by the warship *Baltimore* and the gunboat *Callao*. On board was a battalion of Iowa Volunteers, with the 6th Artillery and a signal corps detachment.

The Caroline Islands were provisioned for three months and the troops in Cebú Island and Yligan (Mindanao Island) had been already ordered to concentrate and prepare for embarkation on the same day. On the 24th of December the steamers *Buenos Aires*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Cachemir* and *Leon XIII.* transported General Rios and all the troops from Yloilo, Cebú and Yligan to Zamboanga (Mindanao Island), where the bulk of them remained until they could be brought back to Spain on the terms of the Treaty of Peace. In a few days General Rios left Zamboanga in the s.s. *Leon XIII.* for Manila, and remained there to endeavour to negotiate the liberation of the Spanish prisoners detained by Aguinaldo. They were kept under guard far away north in the mountain districts in groups miles away from each other. No one outside the rebel camp could ascertain the exact number of these, which was kept secret. They were supposed to amount to about 11,000 in all, of which 1,500 would be civil servants with their wives and

families, 9,400 soldiers and officers, and about 100 friars. Cut off from all communication with the world, one has yet to learn what were their privations. The rebels insisted that they were well cared for, but no independent and disinterested information on the subject was obtainable. According to the rebel newspaper *La Independencia*, in several towns the prisoners were invited to dances and feasts.

But, on the other hand, Spain failed to fulfil the stipulations of clause 6 of the Treaty of Paris (*vide* page 634), and at this date (end of 1898) there were many Filipinos not only not returned to the Philippines, but forcibly detained in Spanish territory as political prisoners. There existed no proviso that they should only be liberated on condition of Aguinaldo giving the Spanish prisoners their liberty. Moreover, even if Aguinaldo had liberated the Spanish prisoners, Spain was not *immediately* ready with ships of her own or chartered vessels in the Far East to transport 11,000 persons. To have set free 11,000 prisoners, unless they could have been *immediately* shipped, might have led to consequences which no general, revolutionary or otherwise, would run the risk of. It is even questionable whether Spain had made provision for feeding these people in the interval between freedom and embarkation.

The other above-mentioned steamers carried the Spanish sick and wounded troops and the civil servants to the Peninsula, direct from Zamboanga, viâ the Straits of Balâbac.

In Luzon, the Congress at Malolos had now (26th of December) adjourned in great confusion. The deputies could not agree upon the terms of a Constitution. They were already divided into two parties, the Pacificos and the Irreconcilables. The latter were headed by a certain Mabini, a man hitherto unknown and a notorious opponent of Aguinaldo. The Cabinet resigned, and Aguinaldo prudently left Malolos on a visit to Pedro Paterno, at Santa Ana, on the Pasig River.

At the end of the year 1898, after 327 years of sovereignty, all that remained to Spain of her once splendid Far Eastern colonial possessions were the Caroline, the Pelew, and the Ladrone Islands, minus the Island of Guam. Under the Treaty of Peace, signed in Paris, the United States became nominal owners of the evacuated territories, but they were only in real possession by force of arms of Cavite and Manila. The rest of the Archipelago, excepting Mindanao and the Sulu Sultanate, was virtually and forcibly held by the natives in arms.

At the close of 1898 the Americans and the rebels had become rival parties, and the differences between them foreboded either frightful bloodshed or the humiliation of the one or the other.

TREATY OF PEACE

concluded between the United States of America and Spain, signed in Paris on the 10th of December, 1898, and ratified in Washington on the 10th of February, 1899. The original documents are drawn up in Spanish and in English.

Translation of Spanish Text.

Article 1°.—Spain renounces all sovereign rights and dominion over Cuba. Considering that when Spain shall evacuate the said island it will be occupied by the United States, the United States undertake, so long as they shall remain in occupation, to fulfil those duties which international law imposes for the protection of lives and property.

Article 2°.—Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico, all others under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and the Island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrone Archipelago.

Article 3°.—Spain cedes to the United States the Archipelago known by the name of the Philippine Islands, which comprises all those islands situated between the lines beginning and ending as follows, viz. :—A line drawn from W. to E. near the 22nd parallel of N. latitude, crossing the centre of the navigable Channel of Bashee, from the 118th to the 127th degree of longitude E. of Greenwich; another from the 127th degree of longitude W. of Greenwich to the parallel 4° 45' N. latitude; another follows in the parallel of 4° 25' up to its intersection with the meridian of longitude 119° 35' E. of Greenwich. From this last point starts another parallel of latitude 7° 40', and follows up to the intersection with the 116th degree of longitude E. of Greenwich; another line is drawn up to the intersection of the 10th parallel of N. latitude, with the 118th degree of longitude E. of Greenwich; the zone comprised in this cession is closed by the line which runs from the said 118th degree up to the first line of those named in this clause.

The United States will pay to Spain the sum of \$20,000,000 within three months after the ratified Treaty is exchanged.

Article 4°.—For the period of 10 years, counting from the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty, the United States will admit Spanish ships and merchandise into the Philippine ports with the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of the United States.

Article 5°.—As soon as the present Treaty shall be signed the United States will begin to transport to Spain, at their expense, the Spanish soldiers which have fallen prisoners of war to the American forces on the taking of Manila; these soldiers shall have their arms returned to them.

As soon as the ratifications of this treaty shall have been exchanged, Spain shall proceed to evacuate the Philippine Islands as well as that of Guam on the same conditions agreed to by the Commissioners for the evacuation of Porto Rico and the other Antilles, and in conformity with the Protocol of the 12th of August, which remains in force until its stipulations shall have been complied with.

The respective Governments shall fix the period within which the evacuation of the Philippine Islands and that of Guam shall be effected.

The flags and standards, the ships of war not captured in battle, the small arms, cannons of all sizes, with their carriages and fittings, gunpowder, ammunition, provisions, material, and effects of all kinds in possession of the Spanish sea and land forces in the Philippines and Guam will remain Spanish property. The cannons of large calibre which are not field-pieces, and are mounted on the fortifications in the interior or on the coasts, shall remain in their present positions during six months after the ratification of the treaty, and shall be purchased during that period by the United States if the contracting Governments can arrive at a satisfactory and voluntary agreement thereon.

Article 6°.—As soon as the present treaty shall be signed, Spain shall liberate all prisoners of war and all persons arrested and detained for political reasons connected with the Cuban and Philippine insurrections and the war with the United States.

Reciprocally the United States shall liberate all prisoners of war taken by the American forces, and shall negotiate the liberty of all the Spanish prisoners which may be held by the insurgents of Cuba and the Philippines. The United States Government shall transport, at its own expense, to Spain, and the Spanish Government shall transport, at its own expense, to the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Philippines, as the case may be, all those prisoners and arrested persons whom they have respectively undertaken to liberate in virtue of this article.

Article 7°.—Spain and the United States of America mutually renounce, by the present treaty, all national or individual claims for compensation of any kind which might be brought against the other, or which might be brought by their subjects or citizens against the other Government on account of anything which may have taken place from the beginning of the last Cuban insurrection up to the moment of the ratification of the present treaty. They also renounce all right to indemnity for expenses incurred during the war. The United States shall judge and decide the claims of American citizens against Spain.

Article 8°.—In fulfilment of the first three articles Spain abandons in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico, in all the other West Indian Islands, in the Island of Guam, and in the Philippine Archipelago, all the buildings, fortresses, barracks, establishments, public roads, and, in short, all those things which, by custom or right, constitute public property and appertain to the sovereignty of the Spanish crown. Although quite unnecessary to do so, it is hereby declared that the abandonment and cession stipulated shall in no way affect the property and rights accorded by custom or law to the peaceful holders of goods of any sort in the provinces, cities, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations, or any other collectivity which has any legal right to acquire goods or rights in the ceded or abandoned territories, and the same applies to the rights and properties of individuals of every nationality whatsoever.

The abandonment or cession referred to comprises the delivery of all documents relating exclusively to the said renounced or ceded sovereignties, and which documents may have been deposited in the archives in the Peninsula. When the documents existing

in the archives of the Peninsula refer only in part to the said sovereignty, it will suffice for Spain to remit a copy of the matter affecting the said sovereignty.

Reciprocally, Spain has the same right with respect to documents existing in the archives of the said Islands.

In the said abandonment and cession are comprised the rights of the Spanish crown and its authority over the archives and official register, administrative as well as judicial, which relate to rights and properties of the inhabitants of the said Islands.

The archives in registers shall be carefully kept, and the interested parties, without any exception, shall obtain, in legal form, authorised copies of the contracts, wills and whatever other documents form part of the notarial archives, or which may be found in the judicial and administrative archives, whether these official documents be in Spain or whether they be in the said Islands.

Article 9°.—Spanish subjects born in the Peninsula, and resident in the territories, the sovereignty of which Spain abandons or cedes, may remain in or go away from those territories and still hold, in either case, their property rights, as well as the right to sell or dispose of the real estate or its produce. They shall also have the right to follow their trades or professions subject to the laws affecting all other foreigners. If they wish to remain in these territories and preserve their Spanish nationality they will have to inscribe their names in the official register declaring their intention to remain Spaniards, and this must be done within the first year following the ratification of this treaty; those who fail to so declare themselves will be considered as naturalized in the territory in which they reside.

The United States Congress will decide, in due course, all that concerns the civil rights and political status of the natives who inhabit the ceded territories.

Article 10°.—Religious tolerance is guaranteed to the inhabitants of the territories abandoned and ceded by Spain.

Article 11°.—The Spaniards resident in the territories named in this treaty shall be subject to the civil and criminal courts of the country in which they live, and in conformity with the law

therein established, they shall be liable to be cited before these Courts in the same manner and under the same procedure established for the citizens of the country they live in.

Article 12°.—Judicial proceedings now pending shall be continued on the following conditions :—

(1°) Sentences already given, against which there would be no right of appeal under Spanish law, shall be executed by the competent authorities of the territory.

(2°) Civil suits shall continue to take their course before the same Courts, or before those which may be established in their stead.

(3°) Criminal cases pending before the Supreme Court in Spain, against citizens resident in the ceded or abandoned territory, shall continue under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Supreme Court, but the execution of the sentence given shall be confided to the authority of the territory.

Article 13°.—Literary, artistic, and industrial copyright, acquired by Spaniards in the territories mentioned herein, shall be respected up to the ratification of the Treaty. Spanish literary, scientific, and artistic works, which are not a menace to public order, may enter free of all duties and taxes for the period of ten years counting from the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty.

Article 14°.—Spain can establish Consular Agencies in the territories herein named.

Article 15°.—The Governments of the two countries shall reciprocally concede to merchant ships identical treatment with regard to port dues, storage, tonnage, etc., as that accorded to their own merchant ships which are not engaged in coasting trade. This Article can be rescinded on either side on six months' notice of same being given by the one party to the other.

Article 16°.—It is hereby understood that the obligations accepted by the United States with regard to Cuba shall only be in force during the occupation of that island, although the United States undertake to advise the Government which may hereafter be established there, to take up the same obligations.

Article 17°.—This Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain and by the President of the United States with the consent and approbation of the Senate. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington within six months from this date, or before if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries sign and seal this Treaty.

Done in duplicate in Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Ubi felicitas, ibi patria.

WHATEVER may have been the incentive which impelled the Spanish monarchs to encourage the conquest of these Islands, there can, at least, be no doubt as to the earnestness of the individuals intrusted to carry out the Royal will. The nerve and muscle of chivalrous Spain ploughing through a wide unknown ocean in quest of glory and adventure—the unswerving devotion of the ecclesiastics to the cause of Catholic supremacy—each bearing intense privations, cannot fail to incite the wonder of succeeding generations.

But, unfortunately, whilst only a small fraction of this Archipelago was subdued, millions of dollars and hundreds of lives were expended in futile attempts at conquest in Gambodge, Siam, Pegu, Moluccas, Borneo, Japan, etc.—and for all these toils there came no reward, not even the sterile laurels of victory. The Manila seat of Government had not been founded five years when the Governor-General solicited Royal permission to conquer China!

Extension of dominion seized them like a mania. Had their joint efforts been confined to the development of the territory already annexed—had only half the energy and money squandered on fruitless and inglorious expeditions been spent on high roads crossing and re-crossing the islands, tenfold wealth would have accrued and civilization would have followed as a natural consequence.

The government of the Archipelago alone was no mean task.¹

A group of islands inhabited by several heathen races—surrounded by a sea exposed to typhoons, pirates, and Christian-hating Mussulmans—had to be ruled by a handful of Europeans with inadequate funds, had

¹ In 1885, the retiring Governor-General, Joaquin Jovellar, terminated his farewell proclamation to the Colony with the following frank confession of his incapacity, viz. :—"Habitantes de Filipinas:—No os he gobernado con acierto, pero sí con justicia," (i.e., I have NOT governed you adroitly, but I have done so with justice.")

ships and scant war material. For nearly two centuries the financial administration was a chaos, and military organization hardly existed. Local enterprise was disregarded and discouraged so long as abundance of silver dollars came from across the Pacific. Such a short-sighted, unstable dependence left the Colony resourceless when bold foreign traders stamped out monopoly and brought commerce to its natural level by competition. In the meantime the astute ecclesiastics quietly appropriated to themselves the best arable lands within easy reach of the Capital and the Arsenal of Cavite. Landed property was undefined. It all nominally belonged to the State, which, however, granted no titles; "squatters" took up land where they chose without determined limits, and the embroilment continues, in a measure, to the present day.

About the year 1885 the question was brought forward of granting Government titles to all who could establish claims to land.¹ Indeed, for about a year, there was a certain enthusiasm displayed both in the application for and the concession of "Titulos Reales."

But the large majority of holders—among whom the monastic element conspicuously figured—could only show their title by actual possession. It might have been sufficient,² but the fact is that the clergy favoured neither the granting of "Titulos Reales" nor the establishment of the projected Real Estate Registration Offices. Why?³

¹ The conditions of land tenure under Spanish rule in this colony stood briefly thus:—The owners either held the lands by virtue of undisturbed possession or by absolute freehold under title deeds granted by the State. The tenants—the actual tillers—were one degree advanced beyond the state of slave cultivators, inasmuch as they could accumulate property and were free to transfer their services. They corresponded to that class of farmers known in France as *métayers* and amongst the Romans of old as *Coloni Partiarum*, with no right in the land, but entitled to one half of its produce. Like the ancients, they had to perform a number of services to the proprietor which were not specified in writing, but enforced by usage. Tenants of this species recently subsisted—and perhaps still do—in Scotland (*vide* "Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith, edition of 1886, page 160). Leases for long periods were exceptional, and I never heard of compensation being granted for improvements of Philippine estates.

² "Dominium a possessione coepisse dicitur"—Law maxim.

³ In September, 1890, a lawsuit was still pending between the Dominican Corporation and a number of native residents in Calamba (Laguna) who disputed the Dominicans' claim to lands in that vicinity so long as the Corporation were unable to exhibit their title. For this implied monastic indiscriminate acquisition of real estate, several of the best native families (some of them personally known to me) were banished to the Island of Mindoro. *Vide* "La Solidaridad," No. 40, page 218, published in Madrid.

Every impediment, possible up to the last, was placed in the way of trade. In former times, when worldly majesty and divinity were one idea, the struggle with the king and his councillors for the right to legitimate traffic was fierce.

Father Pedro Murillo Velarde in his writings admits that when the possession of the Philippines became an accomplished fact, the Spaniards were more anxious about their own gain than their own honour, or the service of the king, or the welfare of the natives.

Everywhere the white race urged activity like one who sits behind a horse and goads it with the whip. But good advice without example was lost to an ignorant class more apt to learn through the eye than through the ear. They forgot, or did not care to heed, the truism that, to civilize a people, every act one performs, or intelligible word one utters, carries an influence which pervades and gives a colour to the future life and thoughts of the native and makes it felt upon the whole frame of the society in embryo.

The University and the High Schools and Colleges were in the hands of the Friars, who remained as stumbling-blocks in the intellectual advancement of the Colony. "Knowledge is power," and instead of the State holding the fountains of knowledge within its direct control, it yielded them to the exclusive manipulation of those who eked out the measure as it suited their own interests.

Criticism, physical discovery of the age, and contact with foreigners shook the ancient belief in the fabulous and the supernatural; the latter-day modified form of mythology and polytheism was doomed to give way to more certain scientific theses about which the rising generation began to inquire. The immutability of Theology is inharmonious to Science—the School of Progress, and long before they had finished their course in these islands the Friars quaked at the possible consequences.

The dogmatical affirmation "*qui non credit anathema sit*," so indiscriminately used, had lost its power. Public opinion protested against an order of things which checked the social and material onward movement of the Colony. And, strange as it may seem, Spain was absolutely impotent, even though it cost her the whole territory (as has now happened) to remedy the evil. So far as these Islands were concerned, what is known to the world as the Government of

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Spain, was virtually the Executive of the Religious Corporations, who constituted the real Government, the members of which never understood patriotism as men of the world understand it. Every interest was made subservient to the welfare of the Orders. If, one day, the Colony must be lost to *them*, it was a matter of perfect indifference into whose hands it passed. It was their happy hunting-ground and last refuge. But the real Government could not exist without its Executive, and when that Executive was attacked and expelled by America, the real Government fell as a consequence. If the Executive had been strong enough to emancipate itself from the dominion of the Friars only a few years ago, the Philippines might have remained a Spanish Colony to-day. But the wealth in hard cash and the moral religious influence of the Monastic Orders were factors too powerful for any number of executive ministers, who would have fallen like ninepins if they had attempted to extricate themselves from the thralldom of sacerdotalism. Outside political circles there was, and still is in Spain, a class who shrink from the abandonment of ideas of centuries' duration. Whatever the fallacy may be, not a few are beguiled into thinking that its antiquity should command respect.

The conquest of this Colony was decidedly far more a religious achievement than a military one, and the most that could be fairly due to the *Friars of old* was their nation's gratitude for having contributed to its glory—but that gratitude was not an inheritance.

Prosperity began to dawn upon the Philippines when restrictions on trade were gradually relaxed since the second decade of this century. As each year came round, reforms were introduced, but so clumsily that they brought into existence a community whose civil emancipation had reached them too suddenly and too narrowly ; hence the small minority of natives, who had acquired the habits and necessities of their conquerors, yearned to secure for *all* an equal civilization, for which the masses were unprepared. The abolition of tribute in 1884 obliterated caste distinction ; the university graduate and the herder were on a legal equality if they each carried a *cédula personal*, whilst certain Spanish legislators exercised a rare effort to persuade themselves and their partisans that the Colony was ripe for the impossible combination of liberal administration under monastic rule.

During the debate on the Universal Suffrage Bill of the Sagasta Ministry in 1890, Señor Calvo Muñoz championed the Philippine Islanders' cause, and introduced an amendment extending elective rights to this Colony, but it was rejected after a brief discussion.

One cannot help feeling pity for the Spanish nation which has let the Pearl of the Orient slip out of its fingers through culpable and stubborn mismanagement, after repeated warnings and similar experiences in other quarters of the globe. The intelligent world will watch with considerable interest the development of Philippine Home Rule under American auspices, and expect America to substitute a better government, as satisfactory to the foreigners, who have vast trade interests there, as to the natives themselves.

The Filipinos have made enormous sacrifices for the justifiable cause of liberty. At the end of 1897 the realization of their aims was postponed (whether by trick or by treaty matters not) for an indefinite period. Possibly it would have been left to another generation to expel Spanish sovereignty and gain independence, but for the timely advent of the Americans in 1898, and one can only hope that the Filipinos are about to enter on a new era of prosperity and contentment under the protecting mantle of the greatest Republic the world has yet seen.

Happiness is merely comparative : with a lovely climate—a continual summer—and all the absolute requirements of life at hand, there is not one-tenth of the misery in the Philippines that there is in Europe, and none of that forlorn wretchedness facing the public gaze. Beggary—that constant attribute of the highest civilization—is as yet in its infancy—there are only some decrepit professionals who have been thriftless in their youth and know that Friday is alms-giving day. Still this exists only in the most Europeanized centre—Manila, and even the few mendicants one meets seem gay and cheerful in their way. Suicide is extremely rare. The hospitality of the settled Spaniards and Tagálog natives in the provinces is a novel but charming experience to the traveller, for there is nothing to be compared with it in Europe. The tourist, of a genial and forbearing disposition, can roam through half the Colony without heed for the morrow. There is yet a million acres of virgin soil only awaiting the co-operation of husbandman and capitalist to turn it to lucrative account.

It is a beautiful country, copiously endowed by Nature, where the effulgent morning sun contributes to a happy frame of mind—where the European colonist's rural life passes pleasantly enough to soothe the longing for "home, sweet home."

"And yet perhaps if countries we compare
And estimate the blessings which they share,
Though patriots flatter, yet shall wisdom find
An equal portion dealt to all mankind."



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